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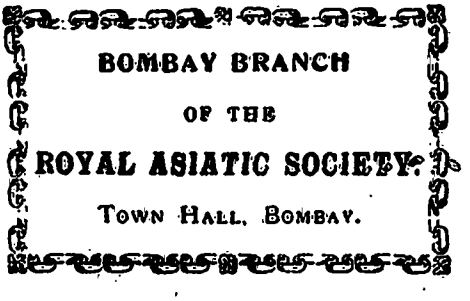

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THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.,

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. REGINALD HEBER, D.D.,

LATE LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

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REVISED AND CORRECTED

BY THE REV. CHARLES PAGE EDEN, M.A.,

FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

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VOL. VI.

REAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN THE SACRAMENT.
DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY, &c.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS; F. AND J. RIVINGTON; HATCHARD AND SON; HAMILTON AND CO.; SIMPKIN AND CO.; CAPES AND SON; J. BAIN; E. HODGSON; H. WASHBOURNE; H. G. BOHN; BICKERS AND BUSH; J. VAN VOORST; C. DOLMAN. OXFORD: I. H. PARKER. CAMBRIDGE: J. AND J. J. DEIGHTON; MACMILLAN AND CO. LIVERPOOL: G. AND J. ROBINSON. BIRMINGHAM: H. C. LANGBRIDGE.

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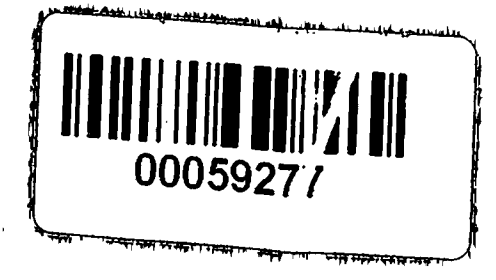

THE

REAL PRESENCE AND SPIRITUAL

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CHRIST IN THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

PROVED AGAINST THE

DOCTRINE OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION:

A DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY:

&c., &c.

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BY JER. TAYLOR, D.D.

Oportuit enim certe ut non solum anima per Spiritum Sanctum in beatam vitam ascenderet, verum etiam ut rude atque terrestre hoc corpus cognato sibi gustu, tactu, et cibo ad immortalitatem reduceretur.—S. Cyril. in Joh., lib. iv. c. 14. [al. c. 3; scil. in Joan. vi. 54.—tom. iv. p. 362.]

Literam sequi, et signa pro rebus accipere, servilis infirmitatis est.—S. Aug. lib. iii. de doctr. Christ. [cap. 9. tom. iii. col. 49.]

TO THE

R. R. Dr. WARNER, L. B. R.[a]

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER,

I am against my resolution and proper disposition by the overruling power of the divine providence which wisely disposes all things, accidentally engaged in the question of Transubstantiation, which hath already so many times passed by the fire and 'under the saw' of contention, that it might seem nothing could remain which had not been already considered and sifted to the bran. I had been by chance engaged in a conference with a person of another persuasion, the man not unlearned nor unwary, but much more confident than I perceived the strength of his argument could warrant; and yet he had some few of the best which their schools did furnish out and ordinarily minister to their προσηλυτοδεκταὶ, their emissaries and ministers of temptation to our people. I then began to consider whether there were not much more in the secret of the question which might not have persuaded him more fiercely than I could then see cause for, or others at least from whom upon the strength of education he might have derived his confidence; and searching into all the secrets of it, I found infinite reason to reprove the boldness of those men who in the sum of affairs and upon examination will be found to think men damned, if they will not speak nonsense, and disbelieve their eyes and ears, and defy their own reason, and recede from antiquity, and believe them in whatsoever they dream, or list to obtrude upon the world, who hath been too long credulous, or it could never have suffered such a proposition to be believed by so many men against all the demonstration in the world. And certainly it is no small matter of wonder that those men of the Roman church should pretend learning, and yet rest their new articles of faith upon propositions against all learning: that they should engage their scholars to read and believe Aristotle, and yet destroy his philosophy, and reason by their article; that they should think all the world fools but themselves, and yet talk and preach such things which if men had spoken before this new device arose, they would have been thought mad. But if these men had by chance or in-

[a] [Lord bishop of Rochester.]

terest fallen upon the other opinion which we maintain against them, they would have filled the world with declamations against the impossible propositions and the δόγματα ἀφιλόσοφα of their adversaries; they would have called us dunces, idiots, men without souls, without philosophy, without sense, without reason, without logic, destroyers of the very first notions of mankind. But now that they are engaged upon the impossible side, they proceed with a prodigious boldness, and seem to wonder that mankind does not receive from them all their first principles, and credit the wildness and new notions of their cataphysics: for metaphysics it is not; their affirmatives and negatives are neither natural, nor above, nor besides nature, but against it, in those first principles which are primely credible. For that I may use S. Austin's words, *Nemo enim huic evidentiæ contradicet, nisi quem plus defensare delectat quod sentit, quam quid sentiendum sit invenire.* But I see it is possible for a man to believe any thing that he hath a mind to; and this to me seems to have been permitted, to reprove the vanity of man's imagination and the confidence of opinion, to make us humble, apt to learn, inquisitive, and charitable: for if it be possible for so great a company of men of all sorts and capacities to believe such impossible things, and to wonder that others do not *eandem insaniam insanire,* it will concern the wisest man alive to be inquisitive in the articles of his first persuasion, to be diligent in his search, modest in his sentences, to prejudge no man, to reprove the adversaries with meekness, and a spirit conscious of human weakness and aptness to be abused. But if we remember that Père Coton, confessor to Henry the fourth of France, was wont to say that 'he could do any thing when he had his God in his hand, and his king at his feet,' meaning him at confession, and the Other in effigy of the crucifix or in the host, we may well perceive that they are not such fools but they will consider the advantages that come to their persons and calling, if they can be supposed to make, with pronouncing four words, bread to become God. Upon the reputation of this great thing the priests were exempt from secular jurisdiction and violence in the council in Dalmatia held by the legates of pope Innocent the third, A.D. MCXCIX. can. 5[b]. Upon this account pope Urban the second in a council which he held at Rome MXCVII. against the emperor Henry the fourth took from secular princes the investiture of benefices, and advanced the clergy above kings, because their hands create God their Creator, as Simeon Dunelmensis reports, lib. ii. *Chron. apud Vigner. Hist. Eccles.*[c] And the same horrible words are used in the famous book called *Stella Clericorum*[d], where the priest is called the creator of his Creator, and thence also infers his privilege and immunity from

[b] [tom. vi. part. 2. col. 1953.]

[c] [Recueil de l'histoire de l'eglise, p. 810. fol. Leyd. 1601.]

[d] [Joan. Hus, De corpore Christi.—Monumenta, part. alt. fol. cccxl. fol. Noriberg. 1558.]

being condemned. I will not with any envy and reproach object to them that saying of a Bohemian priest, against which John Hus wrote a book on purpose, that 'before the priest said his first mass, he was but the son of God, but afterward he was the father of God, and the creator of His body;' it was a rude kind of blasphemy, but not much more than that which their severest men do say, and were never corrected by their expurgatory indices, and is to be seen in Biel on Canon of the Mass, *lection.* iv.[e], and Père de Besse in his Royal Priesthood, lib. i. c. 3, where the priest upon the stock of his power is advanced above angels and the blessed Virgin herself; which is the biggest expression which they can devise, unless they advance him above God himself. The consequent of this is a double honour, that is, an honour and maintenance, in such a manner as may serve the design of ambition, and fill the belly of covetousness.

This was enough to make them willing to introduce it, and as to them the wonder ceases, but it is strange the world could receive it; for though men might be willing to believe a thing that would make for their profit and reputation, yet that they should entertain it to their prejudice, as the other part must do, that at so great a price and with so great a diminution of their rights, they should suffer themselves to be cozened of their reason, is the stranger thing of the two. But to this also there were many concurrent causes; for first, this doctrine entered upon the world in the most barbarous, most ignorant, and most vicious ages of the world; for we know when it began, by what steps and progressions it prevailed, and by what instruments. It began in the ninth age, and in the tenth was suckled with little arguments and imperfect pleadings, in the eleventh it grew up with illusions and pretence of miracles, and was christened and confirmed in the twelfth, and afterwards lived upon blood, and craft, and violence; but when it was disputed by Paschasius Ratbert the deacon in the ninth century, the first collateral device by which they attempted to set up their fancy was to devise miracles, which we find done accordingly in the same Paschasius[f] telling a tale of Plegilus seeing upon the altar a babe like that which was pictured in the arms of Simeon; in Joannes Diaconus[g] telling a story of something in the days of S. Gregory the great, but never told by any before him, viz., in the year DCCCLXXIII., that is two hundred and seventy years after the death of S. Gregory, and extracted from the archives of Rome or Italy out of England, where it seems they could better tell what so long before done at Rome; by Damianus[h] in the year MLX., who tells two more; by Guitmond[i] writing against Berengarius out of the Vitæ PP. by Lanfranc, who served his end upon the report of

[e] [fol. vi. sq.]
[f] [Gul. Malmesb. de gest. reg. angl., lib. iii. p. 114.]
[g] [Vit. S. Gregor., lib. ii. cap. 41.]
[h] [In opusc. xxxiv. capp. 1, 2.]
[i] [De verit. euchar. lib. ii. in Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. xi. p. 357 sq.]

strange apparitions; and from him Alexander of Hales[k] also tells a pretty tale. For they then observed that the common people did not only then believe all reports of miracles, but desired them passionately, and with them would swallow any thing. But how vainly and falsely the world was then abused, we need no greater witness than the learned bishop of the Canaries, Melchior Canus[l]. And yet even one of these authors, though possible[m] apt enough to credit or report any such fine device for the promotion of his new opinion, yet it is vehemently suspected, that even the tale which was reported out of Paschasius was a long time after his death thrust in by some monk in a place to which it relates not, and which without that tale would be more united and more coherent: and yet if this and the other miracles pretended had not been illusions or directly fabulous, it had made very much against the present doctrine of the Roman church, for they represent the body in such manner as by their explications it is not, and it cannot be: they represent it broken, a finger or a piece of flesh, or bloody or bleeding, or in the form of an infant; and then when it is in the *species* of bread; for if as they say Christ's body is present no longer than the form of bread remained, how can it be Christ's body in the miracle, when the *species* being gone, it is no longer a sacrament? But the dull inventors of miracles in those ages considered nothing of this; the article itself was then gross and rude, and so were the instruments of probation. I noted this, not only to shew at what door so incredible a persuasion entered, but that the zeal of prevailing in it hath so blinded the refiners of it in this age, that they still urge these miracles for proof, when if they do any thing at all, they reprove the present doctrine.

But besides this device, they enticed the people forward by institution of the solemn feast of *Corpus Christi* day, entertained their fancies by solemn and pompous processions, and rewarded their worshippings and attendances on the blessed sacrament with indulgences granted by pope Urban the fourth, inserted in the Clementines[n] and enlarged by John the twenty-second and Martin the fifth. And for their worshipping of the consecrated water they had authentic precedents, even the example of Bonaventure's lamb, S. Francis his mule, S. Anthony of Padoa's ass; and if these things were not enough to persuade the people to all this matter, they must needs have weak hearts, and hard heads; and because they met with opponents at all hands, they proceeded to a more vigorous way of arguing: they armed legions against their adversaries, they confuted at one time in the town of Beziers[o] sixty thousand persons, and in one battle disputed so prosperously and acutely, that they killed about ten thousand men that were sacramentaries: and this Bellarmine[p] gives as an

[k] [Sum. theol. part. iv. q. ii. memb. 2. art. 4. § 3.]
[l] [Loc. theol. xi. 6.]
[m] [sic edd.]
[n] [vid. lib. iii. tit. 16. col. 227.]
[o] [Hist. Albig., cap. xiii. sqq.]
[p] [De notis eccles., cap. xviii.]

instance of the marks of his church; this way of arguing was used in almost all the countries of christendom, till by crusados, massacres, and battles, burnings, and the constant *carnificia* and butchery of the Inquisition, which is the main prop of the papacy, and does more than *Tu es Petrus*, they prevailed far and near, and men durst not oppose the evidence whereby they fought. And now the wonder is out, it is not strange that the article hath been so readily entertained. But in the Greek churches it could not prevail, as appears not only in Cyril's book of late, dogmatically affirming the article in our sense, but in the answer of cardinal Humbert to Nicetas[q], who maintained the receiving the holy sacrament does break the fast, which it could not do if it were not, when[r] it seems, bread and wine, as well as what we believe it to be, the body and blood of Christ.

And now in prosecution of their strange improbable success they proceed to persuade all people that they are fools, and do not know the measures of sense, nor understand the words of scripture, nor can tell when any of the fathers speak affirmatively or negatively; and after many attempts made by divers unprosperously enough, as the thing did constrain and urge them, a great wit, cardinal Perron, hath undertaken the question and hath spun his thread so fine and twisted it so intricately, and adorned it so sprucely with language and sophisms, that although he cannot resist the evidence of truth, yet he is too subtle for most men's discerning, and though he hath been contested by potent adversaries, and wise men, in a better cause than his own, yet he will always make his reader believe that he prevails; which puts me in mind of what Thucydides[s] told Archidamus the king of Sparta, asking him whether he or Pericles were the better wrestler; he told him that when he threw Pericles on his back he would with fine words persuade the people that he was not down at all, and so he got the better. So does he; and is to all considering men a great argument of the danger that articles of religion are in, and consequently men's persuasions, and final interest, when they fall into the hands of a witty man and a sophister, and one who is resolved to prevail by all means. But truth is stronger than wit, and can endure when the other cannot, and I hope it will appear so in this question, which although it is managed by weak hands, that is, by mine, yet to all impartial persons it must be certain and prevailing upon the stock of its own sincerity and derivation from God.

And now (R. R.) though this question hath so often been disputed and some things so often said, yet I was willing to bring it once more upon the stage, hoping to add some clearness to it, by fitting it with a good instrument, and clear conveyance and representment, by saying something new, and very many which are not generally known, and less generally noted; and I thought there was a present necessity of it, because the emissaries of the church of Rome are busy now to

[q] [Cap. xx.—Bibl. vett. patr. Galland., tom. xiv. p. 219.]

[r] ['what' C.]

[s] [Plut. in vit. Pericl.]

disturb the peace of consciences by troubling the persecuted, and injecting scruples into the infortunate, who suspect every thing, and being weary of all, are most ready to change from the present. They have got a trick to ask, where is our church now? what is become of your articles, of your religion? We cannot answer them as they can be answered; for nothing satisfies them but being prosperous, and that we cannot pretend to but upon the accounts of the Cross, and so we may indeed 'rejoice and be exceeding glad,' because we hope that 'great is our reward in heaven.' But although they are pleased to use an argument that, like Jonas' gourd, or sparagus, is in season only at some times, yet we, according to the nature of truth, enquire after the truth of their religion upon the account of proper and theological objections; our church may be a beloved church and dear to God though she be persecuted, when theirs is in an evil condition by obtruding upon the christian world articles of religion, against all that which ought to be the instruments of credibility and persuasion, by distorting and abusing the sacraments, by making error to be an art, and that a man must be witty to make himself capable of being abused, by out-facing all sense and reason, by damning their brethren for not making their understanding servile and sottish, by burning them they can get and cursing them that they cannot get, by doing so much violence to their own reasons, and forcing themselves to believe that no man ever spake against their new device, by making a prodigious error to be necessary to salvation, as if they were lords of the faith of christendom.

But these men are grown to that strange triumphal gaiety upon their joy that the church of England as they think is destroyed, that they tread upon her grave which themselves have digged for her who lives and pities them; and they wonder that any man should speak in her behalf, and suppose men do it out of spite and indignation, and call the duty of her sons, who are by persecution made more confident, pious, and zealous in defending those truths for which she suffers on all hands, by the name of anger, and suspect it of malicious, vile purposes. I wondered when I saw something of this folly in one that was her son once[t], but is run away from her sorrow, and disinherited himself because she was not able to give him a temporal portion, and thinks he hath found out reasons enough to depart from the miserable. I will not trouble him, or so much as name him, because if his words are as noted as they are public, every good man will scorn them; if they be private, I am not willing to publish his shame, but leave him to consideration and repentance. But for our dear afflicted mother, she is under the portion of a child, in the state of discipline, her government indeed hindered, but her worshippings the same, the articles as true, and those of the church of Rome as false as ever, of which I hope the following book will be one great instance. But I wish that all tempted persons would consider the illogical deductions by which these men would impose upon their

[t] [See note to p. 285 infra.]

consciences, "If the church of England be destroyed, then Transubstantiation is true;" which indeed had concluded well if that article had only pretended false because the church of England was prosperous. But put the case the Turk should invade Italy, and set up the Alcoran in S. Peter's church, would it be endured that we should conclude that Rome was antichristian because her temporal glory is defaced? The apostle in this case argued otherwise,—The church of the Jews was cut off for their sins; 'be not high-minded, o ye gentiles, but fear lest He also cut thee off;' it was counsel given to the Romans. But though (blessed be God) our afflictions are great, yet we can and do enjoy the same religion as the good christians in the first three hundred years did theirs; we can serve God in our houses, and sometimes in churches; and our faith which was not built upon temporal foundations, cannot be shaken by the convulsions of war and the changes of state. But they who make our afflictions an objection against us, unless they have a promise that they shall never be afflicted, might do well to remember that if they ever fall into trouble they have nothing left to represent or make their condition tolerable; for by pretending religion is destroyed when it is persecuted, they take away all that which can support their own spirits and sweeten persecution. However, let our church be where it pleases God it shall, it is certain that Transubstantiation is an evil doctrine, false and dangerous; and I know not any church in christendom which hath any article more impossible or apt to render the communion dangerous, than this in the church of Rome: and since they command us to believe all or will accept none, I hope the just reproof of this one will establish the minds of those who can be tempted to communicate with them in others.

I have now given account of the reasons of my present engagement; and though it may be enquired also why I presented it to you, I fear I shall not give so perfect an account of it; because those excellent reasons which invited me to this signification of my gratitude are such which although they ought to be made public, yet I know not whether your humility will permit it; for you had rather oblige others than be noted by them. Your predecessor in the see of Rochester[t], who was almost a cardinal when he was almost dead, did publicly in those evil times appear against the truth defended in this book, and yet he was more moderate and better tempered than the rest[u]; but because God hath put the truth into the hearts and mouths of his successors, it is not improper that to you should be offered the opportunities of owning that which is the belief and honour of that see since the religion was reformed. But lest it be thought that this is an excuse rather than a reason of my address to you, I must crave pardon of your humility, and serve the end of glorification of God in

[t] [Fisher; Baleus, Script. illustr., cent. viii. 68.]
[u] [Cf. Preface to Duct. Dubit.]

it, by acknowledging publicly that you have assisted my condition by the emanations of that grace which is the crown of martyrdom; expending the remains of your lessened fortunes, and increasing charity, upon your brethren who are dear to you, not only by the band of the same ministry, but the fellowship of the same sufferings. But indeed the cause in which these papers are engaged is such that it ought to be owned by them that can best defend it, and since the defence is not with secular arts and aids but by spiritual, the diminution of your outward circumstances cannot render you a person unfit to patronize this book, because where I fail, your wisdom, learning, and experience can supply; and therefore if you will pardon my drawing your name from the privacy of your retirement into a public view, you will singularly oblige and increase those favours by which you have already endeared the thankfulness and service of

R. R.

your most affectionate and endeared servant

in the Lord Jesus,

JER. TAYLOR.

DISCOURSE

OF THE

REAL PRESENCE OF CHRIST

IN

THE HOLY SACRAMENT.

§ 1. State of the question.

THE tree of knowledge became the tree of death to us, and the tree of life is now become an apple of contention. The holy symbols of the eucharist were intended to be a contesseration and an union of christian societies to God, and with one another; and the evil taking it, disunites us from God; and the evil understanding it, divides us from each other. Οὔκουν δεινὸν, εἰ γῆ χρηστὴ μὲν ἁμαρτοῦσ' ὧν χρεὼν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν, κακὸν δίδωσι καρπόν[a]. And yet if men would but do reason, there were in all religion no article which might more easily excuse us from meddling with questions about it than this of the holy sacrament. For as the man in Phædrus that being asked what he carried hidden under his cloak, answered, it was hidden under his cloak; meaning that he would not have hidden it but that he intended it should be secret; so we may say in this mystery to them that curiously ask what or how it is, *mysterium est*, 'it is a sacrament and a mystery;' by sensible instruments it consigns spiritual graces, by the creatures it brings us to God, by the body it ministers to the Spirit. And that things of this nature are undiscernible secrets, we may learn by the experience of those men who have in cases not unlike vainly laboured to tell us, how the material fire of hell should torment an immaterial soul, and how baptismal water should cleanse the spirit, and how a sacrament should nourish a body, and make it sure of the resurrection.

2. It was happy with christendom when she in this article retained the same simplicity which she always was bound to do in her manners and entercourse; that is, to believe the thing heartily, and not to enquire curiously; and there was peace in this article for almost a

[a] [——— οὔκουν δεινὸν, εἰ γῆ μὲν κακὴ
τυχοῦσα καιροῦ θεόθεν εὖ στάχυν φέρει,
χρηστὴ δ' ἁμαρτοῦσ' ὧν χρεὼν αὐτὴν τυχεῖν
κακὸν δίδωσι καρπὸν, ἀνθρώποις δ' ἀεὶ
ὁ μὲν πονηρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν κακὸς,
ὁ δ' ἐσθλὸς ἐσθλὸς, οὐδὲ συμφορᾶς ὕπο
φύσιν διέφθειρ', ἀλλὰ χρηστός ἐστ' ἀεί.
Eurip. Hec. 594.]

thousand years together, and yet that Transubstantiation was not determined, I hope to make very evident. *In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definivit ecclesia; diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato; sive quocunque modo adesse verum corpus Christi,* so said the great Erasmus[b]; 'it was late before the church defined transubstantiation; for a long time together it did suffice to believe that the true body of Christ was present, whether under the consecrated bread or any other way:' so the thing was believed, the manner was not stood upon. And it is a famous saying of Durandus[c], *Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus,* 'we hear the word, we perceive the motion, we know not the manner, but we believe the presence:' and Ferus[d], of whom Sixtus Senensis[e] affirms that he was *vir nobiliter doctus, pius et eruditus,* hath these words, *Cum certum sit ibi esse corpus Christi, quid opus est disputare num panis substantia maneat vel non?* 'when it is certain that Christ's body is there, what need we dispute whether the substance of bread remain or no?' and therefore Cuthbert Tonstal[f] bishop of Duresme would have every one left to his conjecture concerning the manner; *De modo quo id fieret satius erat curiosum quemque relinquere suæ conjecturæ, sicut liberum fuit ante concilium Lateranum,* 'before the Lateran council it was free for every one to opine as they please, and it were better it were so now.' But S. Cyril[g] would not allow so much liberty; not that he would have the manner determined, but not so much as thought upon; *Firmam fidem mysteriis adhibentes, nunquam in tam sublimibus rebus illud 'Quomodo' aut cogitemus aut proferamus.* For if we go about to think it or understand it, we lose our labour; *quomodo enim id fiat, ne in mente intelligere, nec lingua dicere possumus, sed silentio et firma fide id suscipimus;* 'we can perceive the thing by faith, but cannot express it in words, nor understand it with our mind,' said S. Bernard[h]. *Oportet igitur*—it is at last after the steps of the former progress come to be a duty—*nos in sumptionibus divinorum mysteriorum indubitatam retinere fidem, et non quærere quo pacto.* The sum is this,—The manner was defined but very lately; there is no need at all to dispute it, no advantages by it, and therefore it were better it were left at liberty to every man to think as he please; for so it was in the church for above a thousand years together; and yet it were better men would not at all trouble themselves concerning it; for it is a thing impossible to be understood, and therefore it is not fit to be enquired after. This was their sense: and I suppose we do in no sense prevaricate their so pious and prudent counsel by saying, THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IS REAL AND SPIRITUAL; because this account does still leave

[b] 1 Cor. c. vii. [tom. vi. col. 696 C.]
[c] Neand. synops. Chron. p. 203. [al. fol. 90 a, 8vo.]
[d] In Matth. xxvi. [fol. 341 b.]
[e] Biblioth. Sixt. Senensis, lib. iv. tit. 'Johannes Ferus.' [tom. i. p. 418.]
[f] Tonstal de Eucharist., lib. i. p. 46. [4to. Lutet. 1554.]
[g] Cyril. [Alex.] in Joh., lib. iv. c. 13. [vid. c. 2. p. 358 sqq.]
[h] Epist. lxxvii. [? col. 1455 fin.]

the article in his deepest mystery: not only because spiritual formalities and perfections are undiscernible and incommensurable by natural proportions and the measures of our usual notices of things, but also because the word 'spiritual' is so general a term, and operations[i] so various and many by which the Spirit of God brings His purposes to pass and does His work upon the soul, that we are in this specific term very far from limiting the article to a minute and special manner. Our word of 'spiritual presence' is particular in nothing but that it excludes the corporal and natural manner; we say it is not this, but it is to be understood figuratively, that is, not naturally, but to the purposes and in the manner of the Spirit and spiritual things, which how they operate or are effected, we know no more than we know how a cherubin sings or thinks, or by what private conveyances a lost notion returns suddenly into our memory and stands placed in the eye of reason. Christ is present spiritually, that is, by effect and blessing; which in true speaking is rather the consequent of His presence than the formality. For though we are taught and feel that, yet this we profess we cannot understand, and therefore curiously enquire not. Σαφὴς ἔλεγχος ἀπιστίας τὸ πῶς περὶ[j] Θεοῦ λέγειν, said Justin Martyr[k], 'it is a manifest argument of infidelity to enquire concerning the things of God, how, or after what manner.' And in this it was that many of the fathers of the church laid their hands upon their mouths, and revered the mystery, but like the remains of the sacrifice, they burnt it; that is, as themselves expound the allegory, it was to be adored by faith and not to be discussed with reason; knowing that, as Solomon[l] said, *Scrutator majestatis opprimetur a gloria*, 'he that pries too far into the majesty shall be confounded with the glory.'

3. So far it was very well; and if error or interest had not unravelled the secret, and looked too far into the sanctuary, where they could see nothing but a cloud of fire, majesty and secrecy indiscriminately mixed together, we had kneeled before the same altars, and adored the same mystery, and communicated in the same rites, to this day. For in the thing itself there is no difference amongst wise and sober persons, nor ever was till the manner became an article, and declared or supposed to be of the substance of the thing. But now the state of the question is this.

4. The doctrine of the church of England and generally of the protestants in this article, is, that after the minister of the holy mysteries hath ritely[m] prayed, and blessed or consecrated the bread and the wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a SACRAMENTAL, that is, in a SPIRITUAL, REAL manner; so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of His passion: the wicked re-

[i] ['and the operations' A.]
[j] [al. ἐπὶ.]
[k] [Expos. rect. fid. § 14.—Append. part. i. p. 431.]
[l] [Prov. xxv. 27, ed. vulg.]
[m] [sic edd.]

ceive not Christ, but the bare symbols only; but yet to their hurt, because the offer of Christ is rejected, and they pollute the blood of the covenant by using it as an unholy thing[n]. The result of which doctrine is this: it is bread, and it is Christ's body: it is bread in substance, Christ in the sacrament; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed, as the symbols are; each as they can; Christ as Christ can be given; the bread and wine as they can, and to the same real purposes to which they are designed; and Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul as the elements do the body. It is here as in the other sacrament; for as there natural water becomes the laver of regeneration, so here bread and wine become the body and blood of Christ; but there and here too the first substance is changed by grace, but remains the same in nature.

5. That this is the doctrine of the church of England is apparent in the church catechism, affirming the "inward part or thing signified" by the consecrated bread and wine to be "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's supper;" and the "benefit" of it to be, "The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine:" and the same is repeated severally in the exhortation, and in the prayer of the address before the consecration, in the canon of our communion; "verily and indeed" is *reipsa*, that's really enough. That's our sense of the 'real presence;' and Calvin[o] affirms as much, saying, "In the supper Christ Jesus, viz., His body and blood, is truly given under the signs of bread and wine." And Gregory de Valentia[p] gives this account of the doctrine of the protestants, that although Christ be corporally in heaven, yet is He received of the faithful communicants in this sacrament truly, both spiritually by the mouth of the mind, through a most near conjunction of Christ with the soul of the receiver by faith, and also sacramentally with the bodily mouth, &c. And which is the greatest testimony of all, we who best know our own minds, declare it to be so.

6. Now that the spiritual is also a real presence, and that they are hugely consistent, is easily credible to them that believe that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are real graces, and a spirit is a proper substance: and τὰ νοητὰ are amongst the Hellenists τὰ ὄντα, 'intelligible' things, or things discerned by the mind of a man are more truly and really such, and of a more excellent substance and reality, than things only sensible. And therefore when things spiritual are signified by materials, the thing under the figure is called true, and the material part is opposed to it, as less true or real. The examples of this are not infrequent in scripture. The tabernacle into which the high priest

[n] Dum enim sacramenta violantur, ipse cujus sunt sacramenta violatur.—S. Hieron. in 1 Mala. [tom. iii. col. 1811.]

[o] Lib. iv. Inst. c. 7. [leg. 17.] sect. 32. [p. 375.]

[p] De missæ sacrific. [e. g. lib. i. cap. 3. p. 515, col. 1. fin.]

entered, was a type or a figure of heaven. Heaven itself is called σκηνὴ ἀληθινὴ[q], 'the true tabernacle,' and yet the other was the material part. And when they are joined together, that is, when a thing is expressed by a figure, ἀληθῆ, 'true,' is spoken of such things though they are spoken figuratively: Christ "the true light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world[r];" He is also "the true vine[s]," and *vere cibus*, 'truly or really meat,' and *panis verus e cœlo*, 'the true bread from heaven[t];' and spiritual goods are called 'the true riches[u]:' and in the same analogy the spiritual presence of Christ is the most true, real, and effective; the other can be but the image and shadow of it, something in order to this: for if it were in the sacrament naturally or corporeally, it could be but in order to this spiritual, celestial, and effective presence; as appears beyond exception in this, that the faithful and pious communicants receive the ultimate end of His presence, that is, spiritual blessings; the wicked, who by the affirmation of the Roman doctors[v] do receive Christ's body and blood in the natural and corporal manner, fall short of that for which this is given, that is, of the blessings and benefits.

7. So that (as S. Paul[w] said) 'he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outwardly in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly,' ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος· and περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι· that's the real Jew and the true circumcision, that which is 'of the heart,' and 'in the spirit,' and in this sense it is that Nathaniel is said to be ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης[x], 'really and truly an Israelite:' so we may say of the blessed sacrament, Christ is more truly and really present in spiritual presence than in corporal, in the heavenly effect than in the natural being; this if it were at all, can be but the less perfect, and therefore WE are to the most real purposes and in the proper sense of scripture the more real defenders of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament; for the spiritual sense is the most real, and most true, and most agreeable to the analogy and style of scripture, and right reason, and common manner of speaking. For every degree of excellency is a degree of being, of reality, and truth: and therefore spiritual things, being more excellent than corporal and natural, have the advantage both in truth and reality. And this is fully the sense of the christians who use the Egyptian liturgy[y], *Sanctifica nos Domine noster, sicut sanctificasti has oblationes propositas, sed fecisti illas non fictas* (that's for 'real') *et quicquid apparet est mysterium tuum spiritale,* (that's for 'spiritual.') To all which I add the testimony of Bellarmine[z] concerning S. Austin, *Apud Augustinum sæpissime illud solum*

[q] Heb. viii. [2.]
[r] 1 John ii. 8.—[John i. 9.]
[s] John xv. [1.]
[t] John vi. [55, 32.]
[u] Luke xvi. [11.]
[v] Concil. Trident. sess. 4. sub Julio iii. 1551. can. 8. [tom. x. col. 82 B.]
[w] Rom. ii. [28.]
[x] John i. [47.]
[y] [vid. Renaudot, liturg. oriental., tom. i. p. 118.]
[z] Lib. i. Euch. c. 14. [leg. 13.] Sect. 'Respondeo apud.' [tom. iii. col. 529.]

dici tale, et vere tale, quod habet effectum suum conjunctum; res enim ex fructu æstimatur; itaque illos dicit vere comedere corpus Christi qui utiliter comedunt, 'they only truly eat Christ's body that eat it with effect; for then a thing is really or truly such, when it is not to no purpose; when it hath his effect.' And in his eleventh book against Faustus the Manichee, chap. vii.[a], he shews that in scripture the words are often so taken as to signify not the substance, but the quality and effect of a thing. So when it is said, 'Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' that is, 'corruption shall not inherit:' and in the resurrection our bodies are said to be spiritual, that is, 'not in substance, but in effect and operation;' and in the same manner he often speaks concerning the blessed sacrament. And Clemens Romanus[b] affirms expressly, τοῦτ' ἔστι πιεῖν τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τῆς κυριακῆς μεταλαβεῖν ἀφθαρσίας, 'this is to drink the blood of Jesus, to partake of the Lord's immortality.'

8. This may suffice for the word 'real;' which the English papists much use, but (as appears) with less reason than the sons of the church of England: and when the 'real presence' is denied, the word real is taken for natural, and does not signify *transcendenter*, or in his just and most proper signification. But the word *substantialiter* is also used by protestants in this question: which I suppose may be the same with that which is in the article of Trent[c]; *Sacramentaliter præsens Salvator substantia sua nobis adest,* 'in substance, but after a sacramental manner:' which words if they might be understood in the sense in which the protestants use them, that is, 'really,' 'truly,' without fiction or the help of fancy, but *in rei veritate*, so as Philo calls spiritual things ἀναγκαιόταται οὐσίαι, 'most necessary, useful, and material substances,' it might become an instrument of an united confession. And this is the manner of speaking which S. Bernard used in his sermon of S. Martin[d], where he affirms *in sacramento exhiberi nobis veram carnis substantiam, sed spiritualiter, non carnaliter,* 'in the sacrament is given us the true substance of Christ's body or flesh, but not carnally, but spiritually; that is, not to our mouths, but to our hearts, not to be chewed by teeth, but to be eaten by faith. But they mean it otherwise, as I shall demonstrate by and by. In the mean time it is remarkable that Bellarmine, when he is stating this question, seems to say the same thing for which he quotes the words of S. Bernard now mentioned; for he says that Christ's body is there 'truly, substantially, really, but not corporally, nay you may say spiritually:' and now a man would think we had him sure; but his nature is labile and slippery, you are never the nearer for this; for first he says it is not safe to use the word 'spiritually,' nor yet safe

[a] [tom. viii. col. 223.]

[b] [leg. Clem. Alex. pædag., lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 177.]

[c] Decretum de SS. euchar. sacra. can. i. [Harduin, tom. x. col. 79.]

[d] [Bellarm.] lib. i. Euchar. c. 2. reg. 3. [tom. iii. col. 461.]

to say He is 'not there corporally,' lest it be understood not of the manner of His presence, but to the exclusion of the nature. For he intends not (for all these fine words) that Christ's body is present 'spiritually,' as the word is used in scripture, and in all common notices of usual speaking; but 'spiritually' with him signifies 'after the manner of spirits,' which besides that it is a cozening the world in the manner of expression, is also a direct folly and contradiction, that a body should be substantially present, that is, with the nature of a body, naturally, and yet be not as a body but as a spirit, with that manner of being with which a spirit is distinguished from a body. In vain therefore it is that he denies the carnal manner and admits a spiritual, and ever after requires that we believe a carnal presence, even in the very manner. But this caution and exactness in the use of the word 'spiritual' is therefore carefully to be observed, lest the contention of both parties should seem trifling and to be for nothing. We say that Christ's body is in the sacrament really, but spiritually. They say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say, that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference? Here; by 'spiritually' they mean 'present after the manner of a spirit;' by 'spiritually' we mean 'present to our spirits only;' that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception; but their way makes His body to be present no way but that which is impossible and implies a contradiction; a body not after the manner of a body, a body like a spirit; a body without a body; and a sacrifice of body and blood, without blood: *corpus incorporeum, cruor incruentus.* They say that Christ's body is truly present there as it was upon the cross, but not after the manner of all or any body, but after that manner of being as an angel is in a place; that's their 'spiritually:' but we by the 'real spiritual presence' of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.

9. That which seems of hardest explication is the word *corporaliter,* which I find that Melancthon used; saying, *corporaliter quoque communicatione carnis Christi Christum in nobis habitare;* which manner of speaking I have heard he avoided after he had conversed with Œcolampadius, who was able then to teach him and most men in that question; but the expression may become warrantable, and consonant to our doctrine; and means no more than 'really and without fiction,' or 'beyond a figure:' like that of S. Paul[e], "In Christ dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily:" upon which S. Austin[f] says, *In ipso inhabitat plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter quia in templo habitaverat umbraliter.* And in S. Paul[g] σκία καὶ σῶμα are opposed; "which are a shadow of things to come, but the body is of

[e] Col. ii. 9.

[f] [ep. clxxxvii. cap. 13. tom. ii. col. 691 B.]

[g] Col. ii. 17.

Christ," that is, the substance, the reality, the correlative of the type and figure, the thing signified. And among the Greeks σωματοποιεῖν signifies *solidare*, to make firm, real and consistent; but among the fathers, σῶμα or body signifies πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι γενόμενον, 'every thing that is produced from nothing,' saith Phavorinus[h]; that is, every thing that is real, *extra non ens*, that hath a proper being; so that we receiving Christ in the sacrament 'corporally' or 'bodily,' understand that we do it really, by the ministry of our bodies receiving Him unto our souls. And thus we affirm Christ's body to be present in the sacrament not only in type or figure, but in blessing and real effect; that is, more than in the types of the law; the shadows were of the law, "but the body is of Christ[i]." And besides this, the word 'corporally' may be very well used when by it is only understood a corporal sign. So S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his third Catechism[j] says that the "Holy Ghost did descend corporally in the likeness of a dove," that is, in a type or representment of a dove's body, for so he and many of the ancients did suppose; and so he again[k] uses the word, "Jesus Christ as a man did inspire the Holy Spirit corporally into His apostles;" where by 'corporally' it is plain he means 'by a corporal or material sign or symbol,' viz. 'by breathing upon them and saying, Receive ye the Holy Ghost.' In either of these senses if the word be taken, it may indifferently be used in this question.

10. I have been the more careful to explain the question, and the use of these words according to our meaning in the question, for these two reasons. 1) Because until we are agreed upon the signification of the words, they are equivocal; and by being used on both sides to several purposes, sometime[l] are pretended as instruments of union, but indeed effect it not; but sometimes displease both parties, while each suspects the word in a wrong sense. And this hath with very ill effect been observed in the conferences for composing the difference in this question; particularly that of Poissy, where it was propounded in these words, *Credimus in usu cœnæ Dominicæ vere, reipsa et substantialiter, seu in substantia*[m], *verum corpus et sanguinem Christi spirituali et ineffabili modo esse, exhiberi, sumi a fidelibus communicantibus.* Beza[n] and Gallasius[o] for the Reformed, and Espencæus and Monlucius for the Romanists, undertook to propound it to their parties: but both rejected it; for though the words were not disliked, yet they suspected each other's sense. But now that I have declared what is meant by us in these words, they are made useful in the ex-

[h] [in voc.]
[i] Col. ii. 17.
[j] [§ 14. p. 46.]
[k] [leg. Cyril. Alex.] Dial. de incar. unig. [tom. v. part. i. p. 706 D.]
[l] ['sometimes' A.]
[m] [leg. 'id est, in ipsa substantia.']
[n] Eccles. hist. [Bezæ vel Gallarsii, 8vo. Anvers, 1580.] Eccle. Gallic., lib. iv. pp. 604, 605. [scil. tom. i.] et Comment. de statu relig. et reip. sub Carolo ix. A.D. 1561. [part. i. 323 sqq.] et Thuanum, hist. lib. xxviii. ad eundem annum. [tom. ii. p. 125 sq.]
[o] [leg. 'Gallarsius.']

plicating the question. 2) But because the words do perfectly declare our sense, and are owned publicly in our doctrine and manner of speaking, it will be in vain to object against us those sayings of the fathers which use the same expressions: for if by virtue of those words, 'really,' 'substantially,' 'corporally,' 'verily and indeed,' and 'Christ's body and blood,' the fathers shall be supposed to speak for Transubstantiation, they may as well suppose it to be our doctrine too, for we use the same words; and therefore those authorities must signify nothing against us, unless these words can be proved in them to signify more than our sense of them does import: and by this truth many, very many of their pretences are evacuated.

11. One thing more I am to note in order to the same purposes; that in the explication of this question it is much insisted upon that it be enquired whether, when we say we believe Christ's body to be 'really' in the sacrament, we mean, that body, that flesh, that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified, dead and buried? I answer, I know none else that He had, or hath: there is but one body of Christ natural and glorified; but he that says that body is glorified which was crucified, says it is the same body, but not after the same manner[p]: and so it is in the sacrament; we eat and drink the body and blood of Christ that was broken, and poured forth; for there is no other body, no other blood of Christ; but though it is the same which we eat and drink, yet it is in another manner: and therefore when any of the protestant divines, or any of the fathers, deny that body which was born of the Virgin Mary, that which was crucified, to be eaten in the sacrament[q], as Bertram, as S. Hierome[r], as Clemens Alexandrinus[s] expressly affirm; the meaning is easy, they intend that it is not eaten in a natural sense, and then calling it *corpus spirituale*, the word 'spiritual' is not a substantial predication, but is an affirmation of the manner, though in disputation it be made the predicate of a proposition, and the opposite member of a distinction. That body which was crucified is not that body that is eaten in the sacrament, if the intention of the proposition be to speak of the eating it in the same manner of being; but that body which was crucified, the same body we do eat, if the intention be to speak of the same thing in several manners of being and operating: and this I noted, that we may not be prejudiced by words when the notion is certain and easy. And thus far is the sense of our doctrine in this article.

12. On the other side, the church of Rome uses the same words we do, but wholly to other purposes, affirming, First, that after the words of consecration, on the altar there is no bread, in the chalice

[p] See Bp. Ridley's answer to Curtop's [?] first argument in his Disp. at Oxford, Foxe, Martyrol., p. 1451. vet. edit. [tom. iii. p. 52. fol. Lond. 1684.]

[q] Vide infra, sect. 12.

[r] Dupliciter vero sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur, vel spiritualis illa, atque divina, de qua ipse dixit, Caro mea vere est cibus, &c. vel caro et sanguis, quæ crucifixa est, et qui militis effusus est lancea.—In epist. Ephes. c. 1. [tom. iv. part. i. col. 328.]

[s] [Pædag., lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 177.]

there is no wine. Secondly, that the accidents, that is, the colour, the shape, the bigness, the weight, the smell, the nourishing qualities of bread and wine do remain[t]; but neither in the bread, nor in the body of Christ, but by themselves, that is, so that there is whiteness and nothing white, sweetness and nothing sweet, &c. Thirdly, that in the place of the substance of bread and wine there is brought the natural body of Christ, and His blood that was shed upon the cross. Fourthly, that the flesh of Christ is eaten by every communicant, good and bad, worthy and unworthy. Fifthly, that this is conveniently, properly, and most aptly called Transubstantiation, that is, a conversion of the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's natural body, of the whole substance of the wine into His blood. In the process of which doctrine, they oppose *spiritualiter* to *sacramentaliter* and *realiter*[u], supposing the spiritual manducation, though done in the sacrament by a worthy receiver, not to be sacramental and real.

13. So that now the question is not whether the symbols be changed into Christ's body and blood or no, for it is granted on all sides; but whether this conversion be sacramental and figurative, or whether it be natural and bodily: nor is it whether Christ be really taken, but whether He be taken in a spiritual or in a natural manner. We say the conversion is figurative, mysterious, and sacramental; they say it is proper, natural, and corporal: we affirm that Christ is really taken by faith, by the spirit, to all real effects of His passion; they say He is taken by the mouth, and that the spiritual and the virtual taking Him in virtue or effect is not sufficient, though done also in the sacrament.

Hic Rhodus, hic saltus;—

this thing I will try by Scripture,—by Reason,—by Sense,—and by Tradition.

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§ 2. Transubstantiation not warrantable by scripture.

1. THE scriptures pretended for it, are S. John vi. and the words of institution, recorded by three evangelists, and S. Paul. Concerning which I shall first lay this prejudice; that by the confession of the Romanists themselves, men learned and famous in their generations, nor these places, nor any else in scripture are sufficient to prove Transubstantiation. Cardinal Cajetan affirms that there is in scripture nothing of force or necessity to infer Transubstantiation out of the words of institution, and that the words, *seclusa ecclesiæ auctoritate*, 'setting aside the decree of the church,' are not sufficient. This is reported by Suarez[x], but he says that the words of Cajetan by the command of Pius V. were left out of the Roman edition, and he adds that *Cajetanus solus ex catholicis hoc docuit*, 'he only of their side taught it;' which is carelessly affirmed by the Jesuit, for another

[t] Concil. Trid. decretum de SS. eucharist. sacram. [tom. x. col. 81.]

[u] Can. viii. anathematis. [col. 84.]

[x] Tom. iii. disp. 46. sect. 3. [p. 635.]

cardinal, bishop of Rochester, John Fisher[y], affirmed the same thing; for speaking of the words of institution recorded by S. Matthew, he says, *Neque ullum hic verbum positum est quo probetur in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam,* 'there are no words set down here,' viz. in the words of institution, 'by which it may be proved that in our mass there is a true presence of the flesh and blood of Christ.' To this I add a third cardinal, bishop of Cambray de Aliaco[z], who though he likes the opinion, because it was then more common, that the substance of bread does not remain after consecration, yet *ea non sequitur evidenter ex scripturis,* 'it does not follow evidently from scripture.'

2. To these three cardinals I add the concurrent testimony of two famous schoolmen. Johannes Duns Scotus[a], who for his rare wit and learning became a father of a scholastical faction in the schools of Rome, affirms *non extare locum ullum scripturæ tam expressum ut sine ecclesiæ declaratione evidenter cogat transubstantiationem admittere,* 'there is no place of scripture so express that without the declaration of the church it can evidently compel us to admit Transubstantiation;' and Bellarmine[b] himself says that it is not altogether improbable, since it is affirmed *a doctissimis et acutissimis hominibus,* 'by most learned and most acute men.' The bishop of Evreux, who was afterwards cardinal Richelieu, not being well pleased with Scotus in this question, said that Scotus had only considered the testimonies of the fathers cited by Gratian, Peter Lombard, Aquinas and the schoolmen before him: suppose that; but these testimonies are not few, and the witty man was as able to understand their opinion by their words as any man since; and therefore we have the income of so many fathers as are cited by the canon law, the Master of the Sentences, and his scholars, to be partly a warrant, and none of them to contradict the opinion of Scotus[c], who neither believed it to be taught evidently in scripture nor by the fathers.

3. The other schoolman I am to reckon in this account is Gabriel Biel[d]. *Quomodo ibi sit corpus Christi, an per conversionem alicujus in ipsum, an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantia et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone bibliæ,* 'how the body of Christ is there, whether by conversion of any thing into it, or without conversion it begin to be the body of Christ with the bread, the accidents and the substance of the bread still remaining, is not found expressed in the canon of the Bible.' Hither I could add the concurrent testimony of Ocham in iv. q. 6[e]; of Johannes de Bassolis[f] who is called *Doctor ordinatis-*

[y] Cap. i. contr. captiv. Babylon. [leg. cap. ix. fol. 104 b.]

[z] In iv. sent. q. 6. lit. f. [leg. h; fol. 265.]

[a] Veritas eucharistiæ sine transubstantiatione salvari potest. Scotus in iv. dist. 11. q. 3. [tom. viii. p. 605.]

[b] Bellarmin. de euch., lib. iii. c. 23. Sect. 'Secundo dicit.' [tom. iii. col. 752.]

[c] Vide infra, sect. xi. n. 19.

[d] Lect. xl. in can. missæ. [init. fol. 85 a.]

[e] [ad init.]

[f] [fol. 37 sq.]

simus, but that so much to the same purpose is needless, and the thing is confessed to be the opinion of many writers of their own party; as appears in Salmeron[g]. And Melchior Canus[h] bishop of the Canaries amongst the things not expressed in scripture reckons the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ.

4. If it be said that the church's determination is a better interpreter of scripture than they, it is granted; but did the church ever interpret scripture to signify Transubstantiation, and say that by the force of the words of scripture it was to be believed? If she did not, then to say she is a better interpreter is to no purpose; for though the church be a better interpreter than they, yet they did not contradict each other, and their sense might be the sense of the church. But if the church before their time had expounded it against their sense and they not submit to it, how do you reckon them catholics, and not me? For it is certain if the church expounding scripture did declare it to signify Transubstantiation, they did not submit themselves and their writings to the church. But if the church had not in their times done it, and hath done it since, that is another consideration, and we are left to remember that till Cajetan's time, that is, till Luther's time, the church had not declared that scripture did prove Transubstantiation; and since that time we know who hath; but not the church catholic.

5. And indeed it had been strange if the cardinals of Cambray, de Sancto Vio[i] and of Rochester, that Scotus and Biel should never have heard that the church had declared that the words of scripture did infer Transubstantiation. And it is observable that all these lived long after the article itself was said to be decreed in the Lateran; where if the article itself was declared, yet it was not declared as from scripture; or if it was, they did not believe it. But it is an usual device amongst their writers to stifle their reason, or to secure themselves with a submitting to the authority of their church, even against their argument; and if any one speaks a bold truth, he cannot escape the inquisition unless he compliment the church, and with a civility tell her that she knows better: which in plain English is no otherwise than the fellow that did penance for saying the priest lay with his wife; he was forced to say, 'Tongue thou liest,' though he was sure his eyes[j] did not lie. And this is that which Scotus said, "Transubstantiation without the determination of the church is not evidently inferred from scripture." This I say is a compliment, and was only to secure the friar from the inquisitors: or else was a direct stifling of his reason; for it contains in it a great error, or a worse danger. For if the article be not contained so in scripture as that we are bound to believe it by his being there, then the church must make a new article, or it must remain as it was, that is, obscure,

[g] Tom. ix. tractat. 16. [p. 110.]
[h] Loc. com., lib. iii. c. 3. fund. 2. [p. 151.]
[i] [Rectius 'De Vio;' vid. Ciacon. in Caietan.]
[j] ['eyne' A.]

and we uncompelled and still at liberty. For she cannot declare unless it be so; she declares what is, or what is not: if what is not, she declares a lie; if what is, then it is in scripture before, and then we are compelled, that is, we ought to have believed it. If it be said it was there, but in itself obscurely: I answer, then so it is still; for if it was obscurely there, and not only *quoad nos*, or by defect on our part, she cannot say it is plain there: neither can she alter it, for if she sees it plain, then it was plain; if it be obscure, then she sees it obscurely: for she sees it as it is, or else she sees it not at all, and therefore must declare it to be so; that is, probably, obscurely, peradventure, but not evidently, compellingly, necessarily.

6. So that if according to the casuists, especially of the Jesuits' order, it be lawful to follow the opinion of any one probable doctor; here we have five good men and true, besides Ocham, Bassolis, and Melchior Canus, to acquit us from our search after this question in scripture.—But because this, although it satisfies me, will not satisfy them that follow the decree of Trent; we will try whether this doctrine be to be found in scripture. *Pede pes.*

§ 3. Of the sixth chapter of S. John's gospel.

1. In this chapter it is earnestly pretended that our blessed Saviour taught the mystery of Transubstantiation; but with some different opinions; for in this question they are divided all the way: some reckon the whole sermon as the proof of it, from verse 33 to 58; though how to make them friends with Bellarmine[k] I understand not; who says, *Constat,* 'it is known that the eucharist is not handled in the whole chapter: for Christ there discourses of natural bread; the miracle of the loaves, of faith, and of the incarnation is[l] a great part of the chapter;' *Solum igitur quæstio est de illis verbis, Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita, et de sequentibus fere ad finem capitis,* 'the question only is concerning those words,' verse 51, 'The bread which I will give is My flesh which I will give for the life of the world, and so forward almost until the end of the chapter.' The reason which is pretended for it is because Christ speaks in the future, and therefore probably relates to the institution which was to be next year; but this is a trifle, for the same thing in effect is before spoken in the future tense, and by way of promise, "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat that endureth to everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you[m]." The same also is affirmed by Christ under the expression of water, S. John iv. 14, "He that drinketh the water which I shall give him shall never thirst, but the water which I shall give him shall be a fountain of water springing up to life eternal; the places are exactly parallel; and yet as this is not meant of baptism, so neither is the other of the eucharist; but both of them of

[k] Lib. i. de euchar. cap. 5. [tom. iii. col. 471.]

[l] ['in' A.]

[m] [ver. 27.]

spiritual sumption of Christ. And both of them being promises to them that shall come to Christ and be united to Him, it were strange if they were not expressed in the future; for although they always did signify in present, and *in sensu currenti,* yet because they are of never failing truth, to express them in the future is most proper, that the expectation of them may appertain to all,

Ad natos natorum et qui nascentur ab illis[n].

But then because Christ said, "The bread which I will give is My flesh which I will give for the life of the world," to suppose this must be meant of a corporal manducation of His flesh in the holy sacrament, is as frivolous as if it were said that nothing that is spoken in the future can be figurative; and if so, then let it be considered what is meant by these, "To him that overcomes I will give to eat of the tree of life," and "To him that overcomes I will give to eat of the hidden Manna[o];" these promises are future, but certainly figurative; and therefore why it may not be so here, and be understood of eating Christ spiritually or by faith, I am certain there is no cause sufficient in this excuse. For if eating Christ by faith, be a thing of all times, then it is also of the future; and no difference of time is so apt to express an eternal truth as is the future, which is always in flux and potential signification. But the secret of the thing was this, the arguments against the sacramental sense of these words drawn from the following verses between this and the fifty-first verse could not so well be answered, and therefore Bellarmine[p] found out the trick of confessing all till you come thither, as appears in his answer to the ninth argument, that of 'some catholics.' However; as to the article I am to say these things;

2. First, that very many of the most learned Romanists affirm that in this chapter Christ does not speak of sacramental or oral manducation, or of the sacrament at all; Johannes de Ragusio[q], Biel[r], Cusanus[s], Ruard Tapper[t], Cajetan[u], Hessels[v], Jansenius[x], Waldensis[y], Armachanus[z]; save only that Bellarmine going to excuse it, says in effect that they did not do it very honestly; for he affirms that they did it, that they might confute the Hussites and the Lutherans about the communion under both kinds; and if it be so and be not so as it may serve a turn, it is so for Transubstantiation and it is not so for

[n] [vid. Virg. Æn. iii. 98.]
[o] [Rev. ii. 7, 17.]
[p] Lib. i. euch. c. 7. sect. 'Respondeo, verba.' [tom. iii. col. 484.]
[q] De communione sub utraque spec e. [Concil. reg., tom. xxxi. p. 72.]
[r] In can. [sc. Missæ; lect. lxxxiv. ad fin.—fol. 225 a.]
[s] In epist. vii. ad Bohem. [p. 858 sqq.]
[t] Artic. xv. [tom. ii. p. 243 sqq.]
[u] Part. iii. q. 80. art. 8. [fol. 339 b.]
[v] Lib. de commun. sub una specie. [cap. xx. fol. 20 sqq.]
[x] Concord. evang., c. lix. [p. 457.]
[y] Tom. ii. de sacram. c. 91. [fol. 125 b.]
[z] Lib. ix. c. 8. [fol. 68.]—Ejusdem sententiæ sunt Æneas Sylvius, dial. contr. Tabor., [p. 671 C.]—Alensis, part. iv. q. 11. memb. 2. art. 4. [§ 1. fin. p. 402.]—Lindanus, [Panopl. p. 344.]—Gaspar Sagerus. [al. Sasgerus, Scrutin. conat. viii. ad fin. p. 113; De missa, sect. i. assert. 4; et alibi.] et alii.

the half communion, we have but little reason to rely upon their judgment or candour in any exposition of scripture. But it is no new thing for some sort of men to do so. The heretic Severus in Anastasius Sinaita[a], maintained it lawful, and even necessary, Δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας αἱρέσεις τὰ δόγματα Χριστοῦ μεταλλάττειν καὶ μεταῤῥυθμίζεσθαι, 'according to occasions and emergent heresies to alter and change the doctrines of Christ:' and the cardinal of Cusa[b] affirmed it lawful 'diversely to expound the scriptures according to the times.' So that we know what precedents and authorities they can urge for so doing: and I doubt not but it is practised too often, since it was offered to be justified by Dureus[c] against Whitaker.

3. Secondly, these great clerks had reason to expound it not to be meant of sacramental manducation, to avoid the unanswerable argument against their half communion; for so Christ said[d], "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you;" it is therefore as necessary to drink the chalice as to eat the bread, and we perish if we omit either.—And their new whimsy of 'concomitancy' will not serve the turn, because 1) There it is *sanguis effusus*, that is, sacramentally poured forth, 'blood that is poured forth,' not that is in the body. 2) If it were in the body, yet a man by no concomitancy can be said to drink what he only eats. 3) If in the sacramental body Christ gave the blood by concomitancy, then He gave the blood twice; which to what purpose it might be done is not yet revealed. 4) If the blood be by concomitancy in the body, then so is the body with the blood, and then it will be sufficient to drink the chalice without the host as to eat the host without the chalice, and then we must drink His flesh as well as eat His blood; which if we could suppose to be possible, yet the precept of eating His flesh and drinking His blood were not observed by drinking that which is to be eaten, and eating that which is to be drunk. But certainly they are fine propositions which cannot be true unless we can eat our drink and drink our meat, unless bread be wine and wine be bread, or to speak in their style, unless the body be the blood and the blood the body; that is, unless each of the two symbols be the other as much as itself; as much that which it is not as that which it is. And this thing their own pope Innocentius[e] the third, and from him Vasquez[f] noted, and Salmeron[g], who affirmed that Christ commanded the manner as well as the thing, and that without eating and drinking the precept of Christ is not obeyed.

4. Thirdly, but what ever can come of this, yet upon the account

[a] [Odeg., cap. vii. p. 110.—Ὅτι πρὸς τὰς νόσους καὶ τὰς ἀνακυπτούσας τῶν αἱρεσέων δεῖ παραλλάττειν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δόγματα.]

[b] Epist. ii. ad Bohem. [p. 833 sqq.]

[c] [Confut. resp. Whitakeri, rat. ii. p. 45 b.]

[d] [ver. 53.]

[e] Lib. iv. de miss. myst. c. 21. [tom. i. p. 386.]

[f] In iii. t. 3. disp. 216. n. 50. [p. 473.]

[g] Tom. viii. tract. 24. [p. 194 sq.]

of these words so expounded by some of the fathers concerning oral manducation and potation, they believed themselves bound by the same necessity to give the eucharist to infants[h] as to give them baptism; and did for above seven ages together practise it. And let these men that will have these words spoken of the eucharist, answer the argument; Bellarmine is troubled with it, and instead of answering, increases the difficulty, and concludes firmly against himself, saying, if the words be understood of eating Christ's body spiritually, or by faith, it will be more impossible to infants, for it is easier to give them *intinctum panem*, 'bread dipt in the chalice,' than to make them believe. To this I reply, that therefore it is spoken to infants in neither sense, neither is any law at all given to them; and no laws can be understood as obligatory to them in that capacity. But then although I have answered the argument, because I believe it not to be meant in the sacramental sense to any, nor in the spiritual sense to them; yet Bellarmine hath not answered the pressure that lies upon his cause. For since it is certain (and he confesses it[i]) that it is easier, that is, it is possible to give infants the sacrament; it follows that if here the sacrament be meant, infants are obliged; that is, the Church is obliged to minister it, as well as baptism: there being in virtue of these words the same necessity, and in the nature of the thing the same possibility of their receiving it. But then on the other side no inconvenience can press our interpretation of spiritual eating Christ by faith, because it being naturally impossible that infants should believe, they cannot be concerned in an impossible commandment. So that we can answer S. Austin's and Innocentius his arguments for communicating of infants, but they cannot.

5. Fourthly, if these words be understood of sacramental manducation, then no man can be saved but he that receives the holy sacrament; for "unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." If it be answered that the holy sacrament must be eaten in 'act' or in 'desire;' I reply that is not true; because 1) If a catechumen desires baptism only in the article of his death, it is sufficient to salvation, and they dare not deny it. 2) Fools, young persons, they that are surprised with sudden death, cannot be thought to perish for want of the actual

[h] Clem. Rom., lib. viii. c. 20. constit. apostol. [al. c. 13. p. 409.]—[Dionys. Areop.] eccles. hierarch. cap. ult. [p. 153.]—Gennadius, cap. lii. de dogm. eccles. cap. de sabbato sancto paschatis, [p. 30.]—S. Cyprian. ep. lix. ad Fidum, [p. 160 sqq.—Sed vid. potius lib. de lapsis, pp. 125, 32.]—Concil. Tolet. ii. [leg. xi.] can. 11. [tom. iii. col. 1028.]—S. August. epp. xciii. et cvi. [al. clxxxii. et clxxxvi. tom. ii. coll. 640, 73.] Innocentius papa ibid.—Paulinus episc. Nolanus A.D. 353. epist. xii. ad Severum, [col. 197.] Paulinus de infantibus ait,

Pura* salutiferis imbuit ora cibis.

Hic mos duravit ad tempora Ludovici Pii et Lotharii, ait Beat. Rhenan. in Tertull. de cor. mil. [cap. iii.]

[i] Lib. i. euchar., c. 7. sect. 'Respondeo, communem.' [tom. iii. col. 480.]

* [al. 'cruda.']

susception or desire. 3) There is nothing in the words that can warrant or excuse the actual omission of the sacrament. And it is a strange deception that these men suffer by misunderstanding this distinction of receiving the sacrament either in act or desire: for they are not opposite but subordinate members, differ only as act and disposition; and this disposition is not at all required but as it is in order to the act, and therefore is nothing of itself, and is only the imperfection of, or passage to the act; if therefore the act were not necessary, neither were the disposition; but if the act be necessary, then the desire, which is but the disposition to the act, is not sufficient. As if it be necessary to go from Oxford to London, then it is necessary that you go to Henley, or Uxbridge; but if it be necessary to be at London, it is not sufficient to go to Uxbridge; but if it be not necessary to be at London, neither is it necessary to go so far. But this distinction, as it is commonly used, is made to serve ends, and is grown to that inconvenience, that repentance itself is said to be sufficient if it be only in desire[j]; for so they must, that affirm repentance in the article of death after a wicked life to be sufficient; when it is certain there can be nothing actual but infective[k] desires; and all the real and most material events of it cannot be performed, but desired only. But whosoever can be excused from the actual susception of a sacrament, can also in an equal necessity be excused from the desire; and no man can be tied to an absolute, irrespective desire of that which cannot be had: and if it can, the desire alone will not serve the turn. And indeed a desire of a thing when we know it cannot be had, is a temptation either to impatience, or a scruple; and why or how can a man be obliged to desire that to be done, which in all his circumstances is not necessary it should be done? A preparation of mind to obey in those circumstances in which it is possible, that is, in which he is obliged, is the duty of every man; but this is not an explicit desire of the actual susception, which in his case is not obligatory, because it is impossible. 4) And lastly, such a desire of a thing is wholly needless, because in the present case the thing itself is not necessary; therefore neither is the desire; neither did God ever require it but in order to the act. But however if we find by discourse that for all these decretory words, the desire can suffice, I demand by what instrument is that accepted; whether by faith, or no? I suppose it will not be denied. But if it be not denied, then a spiritual manducation can perform the duty of those words, for susception of the sacrament in desire is at the most but a spiritual manducation. And S. Austin affirms that baptism can perform the duty of those words, if Beda[l] quotes him right; for in his sermon to infants, and in his third book *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, he

j [See the author's Sermons on the Invalidity of a late or death-bed repentance; vol. iv. p. 381 sqq.]

k ['ineffective' A.]

l Beda in 1 Cor. x. citat Augustini sermon. ad Infantes. [tom. vi. p. 365.]

affirms that in baptism infants receive the body of Christ; so that these words may as well be understood of baptism as of the eucharist, and of faith better than either.

6. Fifthly, the men of Capernaum understood Christ to speak these words of His natural flesh and blood, and were scandalized at it; and Christ reproved their folly by telling them His words were to be understood in a spiritual sense; so that if men would believe Him, that knew best the sense of His own words, there need be no scruple of the sense; I do not understand these words in a fleshly sense but in a spiritual, saith Christ: "the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken they are spirit, and they are life[m]." Now besides that the natural sense of the words hath in it too much of the sense of the offended disciples, the reproof and consultation of it is equally against the Romanists, as against the Capernaites. For we contend it is spiritual; so Christ affirmed it: they that deny the spiritual sense and affirm the natural, are to remember that Christ reproved all senses of these words that were not spiritual. And by the way let me observe, that the expression of some chief men among the Romanists are so rude and crass, that it will be impossible to excuse them from the understanding the words in the sense of the men of Capernaum; for as they understood Christ to mean His true flesh natural and proper, so do they; as they thought Christ intended they should tear Him with their teeth and suck His blood, for which they were offended, so do these men not only think so, but say so, and are not offended. So said Alanus[n], *Apertissime loquimur, corpus Christi vere a nobis contrectari, manducari, circumgestari, dentibus teri, sensibiliter sacrificari, non minus quam ante consecrationem panis.* And they frequently quote those metaphors of S. Chrysostom which he preaches in the height of his rhetoric, as testimonies of his opinion in the doctrinal part: and Berengarius was forced by pope Nicholas to recant in those very words, affirming that Christ's body, *sensualiter non solum sacramento sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri,* that 'Christ's flesh was sensually not only in the sacrament but in truth of the thing to be handled by the priests' hands, to be broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful:' in so much that the gloss on the canon *De consecratione,* dist. ii. cap. '*Ego Berengarius*[o],' affirms it to be a worse heresy than that of Berengarius, unless it be so[p] soberly understood; to which also Cassander assents. And indeed I thought that the Romanists had been glad to separate their own opinion from the carnal conceit of the men of Capernaum and the 'offended disciples,' supposing it to be a great objection against their doctrine that it was the same with

[m] S. John vi. [63.]

[n] Lib. iii. [leg. i.] de euchar. c. 37. [p. 435.—'Ex quo sequitur, horum accidentium medio ac ministerio, sicut per eadem ante panis, ita nunc Corpus ac Sanguinem vere a nobis contrectari' &c., . . . 'non minus quam fierent in ipso pane.']

[o] [cap. xlii. col. 2104.]

[p] ['so' deest A.]

the men of Capernaum, and is only finer dressed: but I find that Bellarmine[q] owns it, even in them, in their rude circumstances: for he affirms that "Christ corrected them not for supposing so, but reproved them for not believing it to be so." And indeed himself says as much[r], *Corpus Christi vere ac proprie manducari etiam corpore in eucharistia,* 'the body of Christ is truly and properly manducated or chewed with the body in the eucharist:' and to take off the foulness of the expression by avoiding a worse, he is pleased to speak nonsense; *Nam ad rationem manducationis non est mera*[s] *attritio, sed satis est sumptio et transmissio ab ore ad stomachum per instrumenta humana,* 'a thing may be manducated or chewed though it be not attrite or broken:' if he had said it might be swallowed and not chewed, he had said true, but to say it may be chewed without chewing or breaking, is a riddle fit to spring from the miraculous doctrine of Transubstantiation. And indeed it is a pretty device, that we take the flesh, and swallow down flesh, and yet manducate or chew no flesh, and yet we swallow down only what we manducate; *accipite, manducate,* were the words in the institution. And indeed according to this device there were no difference between eating and drinking: and the whale might have been said to have eaten Jonas when she swallowed him without manducation or breaking him; and yet no man does speak so, but in the description of that accident reckon the whale to be fasting for all that morsel;

Invasusque cibus jejuna vixit in alvo,

said Alcimus Avitus[t];

Jejuni, plenique tamen vate intemerato,

said Sidonius Apollinaris[u];

Vivente jejunus cibo,

so Paulinus[v]; the fish was full and fasting, that is, she swallowed Jonas, but eat nothing. As a man does not eat bullets or quicksilver against the Iliacal passion, but swallows them, and we do not eat our pills; the Greek physicians therefore call a pill καταπότιον, 'a thing to be swallowed;' and that this is distinct from eating, Aristotle[w] tells us, speaking of the elephant, ἐσθίει τὴν γῆν, καταπίνει τοὺς λίθους, 'he eats the earth, but swallows the stones.' And Hesychius[x] determined this thing, *Non comedet ex eo quisquam, i. e. non dividetur, quia dentium est dividere et partiri cibos, cum aliter mandi non possint.* To chew is but a circumstance of nourishment, but the essence of man-

[q] Lib. i. euchar., c. 6. sect. '2. ex dubitatione.' [tom. iii. col. 477.]
[r] Ibid., cap. 11. resp. ad 5. arg. [col. 512.]
[s] [leg. 'necessaria.']
[t] [De diluv., lib. iv. p. 609 F.]
[u] [Carm. xvi. lin. 28.]
[v] [Carm. xxi. (al. xxii.) lin. 214. col. 577.]
[w] [Hist. animal. viii. 26.]
[x] In Levit., lib. ii. c. 1. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. vii. p. 24.]

ducation. But Bellarmine adds that if you will not allow him to say so, then he grants it in plain terms that Christ's body is chewed, is attrite or broken with the teeth, and that not tropically but properly, which is the crass doctrine which Christ reproved in the men of Capernaum. To lessen and sweeten this expression he tells us, it is indeed broken; but how? under the *species* of bread and invisibly; well, so it is, though we see it not: and it matters not under what: if it be broken, and we bound to believe it, then we cannot avoid the being that which they so detested, devourers of man's flesh. See Theophylact in number 15 of this section.

7. Sixthly, concerning the bread or the meat indeed of which Christ speaks, He also affirms that 'whosoever eats it hath life abiding in him[y]:' but this is not true of the sacrament; for the wicked eating it, receive to themselves damnation. It cannot therefore be understood of oral manducation, but of spiritual, and of eating Christ by faith: that is, receiving Him by an instrument or action evangelical. For receiving Christ by faith includes any way of communicating with His body: by baptism, by holy desires, by obedience, by love, by worthy receiving of the holy sacrament; and it signifies no otherwise but as if Christ had said, 'To all that believe in Me and obey, I will become the author of life and salvation.' Now because this is not done by all that receive the sacrament, not by unworthy communicants, who yet eat the symbols (according to us) and eat Christ's body (according to their doctrine) it is unanswerably certain that Christ here spake of spiritual manducation, not of sacramental. Bellarmine (he that answers all things whether he can or no) says that words of this nature are conditional; meaning, that he who eats Christ's flesh worthily shall live for ever: and therefore this effects nothing upon vicious persons, yet it may be meant of the sacrament, because without his proper condition it is not prevalent. I reply, that it is true it is not, it cannot; and that this condition is spiritual manducation: but then without this condition the man doth not eat Christ's flesh, that which Himself calls the true bread, for "he that eats this, ἔχει, he 'hath' life in him," that is, "he is united to Me, he is in the state of grace at present." For it ought to be observed that although promises *de futuro possibili* are to be understood with a condition appendent, yet propositions affirmative at present are declarations of a thing in being, and suppose it actually existent: and the different parts of this observation are observable in the several parts of the fifty-fourth verse. "He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life;" that's an affirmation of a thing in being, and therefore implies no other condition but the connection of the predicate with the subject, "he that eats hath life." But it follows, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν ἐν ἐσχάτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ[z], 'and I will raise him up at the last day;' that's *de futuro possibili*, and therefore im-

[y] [verse 54.]

[z] [leg. ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.]

plies a condition besides the affirmation of the antecedent, viz., *si permanserit*, 'if he remains' in this condition, and does not unravel his first interest and forfeit his life. And so the argument remains unharmed, and is no other than what I learned from S. Austin[z], *Hujus rei sacramentum, &c., de mensa dominica sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium; res vero ipsa cujus sacramentum est omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit.* And it is remarkable that the context and design of this place takes off this evasion from the adversary: for here Christ opposes this eating of His flesh to the Israelites' eating of Manna, and prefers it infinitely; because they who did eat Manna might die, viz., spiritually and eternally; but they that eat His flesh shall never die, meaning, they shall not die eternally: and therefore this eating cannot be a thing which can possibly be done unworthily. For if Manna, as it was sacramental, had been eaten worthily, they had not died who eat it; and what privilege then is in this above Manna, save only that the eating of this supposes the man to do it worthily, and to be a worthy person, which the other did not? Upon which consideration Cajetan[a] says, that this eating is not common to worthily and unworthily, and that it is not spoken of eating the sacrament, but of eating and drinking (that is, communicating with) the death of Jesus. The argument therefore lies thus,—There is something which Christ hath promised us, which whosoever receives, he receives life and not death: but this is not the sacrament, for of them that communicate, some receive to life and some to death, saith S. Austin, and a greater than S. Austin, S. Paul[b]: and yet this which is life to all that receive it, is Christ's flesh, said Christ himself; therefore Christ's flesh here spoken of is not sacramental.

8. Seventhly, to warrant the spiritual sense of these words against the natural, it were easy to bring down a traditive interpretation of them by the fathers, at least a great consent. Tertullian[c] hath these words, *Etsi carnem ait nihil prodesse, ex materia dicti dirigendus est sensus: nam quia durum et intolerabilem existimaverunt sermonem ejus, quasi vere carnem suam illis edendam determinasset, ut in spiritu*[d] *disponeret statum salutis, præmisit, Spiritus est qui vivificat; atque ita subjunxit, Caro nihil prodest, ad vivificandum scilicet,* 'because they thought His saying hard and intolerable, as if He had determined His flesh to be eaten by them, that He might dispose the state of salvation in the spirit, He premised, It is the spirit that giveth life: and then subjoins, The flesh profiteth nothing, meaning, nothing to the giving of life.' So that here we have, besides His authority, an excellent argument for us: Christ said, 'He that eateth My flesh hath life; but the flesh (that is, the fleshly sense of it) profits nothing

[z] Tract. xxvi. in Johan. [§ 15. tom. iii. col. 500 D.]

[a] Cajetan. in Joh. vi. [tom. iv. p. 334.]

[b] 1 Cor. xi. [29 sqq.]

[c] Tertul. de resur. carn. [c. xxxvii.]

[d] [melius, 'spiritum.']

to life; but the Spirit (that is, the spiritual sense) does;' therefore these words are to be understood in a spiritual sense.

9. And because it is here opportune by occasion of this discourse, let me observe this, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is infinitely useless, and to no purpose; for 1) By the words of our blessed Lord, by the doctrine of S. Paul, and the sense of the church, and the confession of all sides, the natural eating of Christ's flesh (if it were there, or could so be eaten) alone or of itself does no good, does not give life; but the spiritual eating of Him is the instrument of life to us; and this may be done without their transubstantiated flesh; it may be done in baptism; by faith, and charity; by hearing, and understanding; and therefore it may also in the blessed eucharist, although there also according to our doctrine He be eaten only sacramentally and spiritually. And hence it is that in the mass book[e] anciently it is prayed after consecration, *Quæsumus omnipotens Deus, ut de perceptis muneribus gratias exhibentes, beneficia potiora sumamus,* 'we beseech Thee, almighty God, that we giving thanks for these gifts received may receive greater gifts.' Which besides that it concludes against the natural presence of Christ's body (for what greater thing can we receive if we receive that?) it also declares that the grace and effect of the sacramental communion is the thing designed beyond all corporal sumption: and as it is more fully expressed in another collect[f], *Ut terrenis affectibus expiati ad superni plenitudinem sacramenti, cujus libavimus sancta, tendamus,* 'that being redeemed from all earthly affections we may tend to the fulness of the heavenly sacrament, the holy things of which we have now begun to taste.' And therefore to multiply so many miracles and contradictions and impossibilities to no purpose, is an insuperable prejudice against any pretence less than a plain declaration from God. Add to this, that this bodily presence of Christ's body is either for corporal nourishment, or for spiritual: not for corporal, for natural food is more proper for it, and to work a miracle to do that for which so many natural means are already appointed, is to no purpose, and therefore cannot be supposed to be done by God; neither is it done for spiritual nourishment, because to the spiritual nourishment, virtues and graces, the word and the efficacious signs, faith and the inward actions, and all the emanations of the Spirit are as proportioned, as meat and drink are to natural nourishment; and therefore there can be no need of a corporal presence. 2) Corporal manducation of Christ's body is apparently inconsistent with the nature and condition of the body. First, because that which is after the manner of a spirit and not of a body, cannot be eaten and drunk after the manner of a body, but of a spirit; as no man can eat a

[e] Fer. vi. Quatuor temp. Septembr. post. consecrat. [p. 400, 400. Antuerp. 1617.]

[f] In Miss. vol. 'Pro quacunque necessitate.' [ibid. p. lxviii.]

cherubin with his mouth, if he were made apt to nourish the soul: but by the confession of the Roman doctors, Christ's body is present in the eucharist after the manner of a spirit, therefore without proportions to our body or bodily actions. Secondly, that which neither can feel or be felt, see or be seen, move or be moved, change or be changed, neither do nor suffer corporally, cannot certainly be eaten corporally; but so they affirm concerning the body of our blessed Lord; it cannot do or suffer corporally in the sacrament, therefore it cannot be eaten corporally, any more than a man can chew a spirit, or eat a meditation, or swallow a syllogism into his belly. This would be so far from being credible, that God should work so many miracles in placing Christ's natural body for spiritual nourishment, that in case it were revealed, to be placed there to that purpose, itself must need one great miracle more to verify it, and reduce it to act; and it would still be as difficult to explain as it is to tell how the material fire of hell should torment spirits and souls. And Socrates in Plato's banquet[g] said well, "Wisdom is not a thing that can be communicated by local or corporal contiguity." 3) That the corporal presence does not nourish spiritually, appears, because some are nourished spiritually who do not receive the sacrament at all, and some that do receive yet fall short of being spiritually nourished, and so do all unworthy communicants; this therefore is to no purpose, and therefore cannot be supposed to be done by the wise God of all the world, especially with so great a pomp of miracles. 4) Card. Perron[h] affirms that the real natural presence of Christ in the sacrament is to greatest purpose, because the residence of Christ's natural body in our bodies does really and substantially join us unto God, establishing a true and real unity between God and men. And Bellarmine speaks something like this *De euchar.* lib. iii. c. 9[i]. But concerning this,—besides that every faithful soul is actually united to Christ without the actual residence of Christ's body in our bodies, since every one that is regenerated and born anew of water and of the spirit is *σύμφυτος*, 'the same plant' with Christ, as S. Paul calls him Rom. vi. 5, he 'hath put on Christ,' he is 'bone of His bone, and flesh of His flesh,' Gal. iii. 27; Eph. v. 30, and all this by faith, by baptism, by regeneration of the spirit,—besides this, I say, this corporal union of our bodies to the body of God incarnate, which these great and witty dreamers dream of, would make man to be God. For that which hath a real and substantial unity with God is consubstantial with the true God, that is, he is really, substantially, and truly God: which to affirm were highest blasphemy. 5) One device more there is to pretend an usefulness of the doctrine of Christ's natural presence: viz. that by His contact and conjunction it becomes the cause and the seed of the resurrection. But besides that

[g] [§ iv. tom. v. p. 12.]
[h] De l' euchar. p. 265. Gallic. [livr. ii. auth. 11. fol. Par. 1622.]
[i] [tom. iii. col. 705 sqq.]

this is condemned by Vasquez[j] as groundless, and by Suarez[k] as improbable and a novel temerity; it is highly confuted by their own doctrine; for how can the contact or touch of Christ's body have that or any effect on ours, when it can neither be touched, nor seen, nor understood but by faith? which Bellarmine[l] expressly affirms. —But to return from whence I am digressed.

10. Tertullian[m] adds in the same place, *Quia et sermo caro erat factus, proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus auditu, et ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus; nam et paulo ante carnem suam panem quoque cœlestem pronunciarat, urgens usquequaque per allegoriam necessariorum pabulorum memoriam patrum, qui panes et carnes Ægyptiorum præverterant divinæ vocationi,* 'because the Word was made flesh, therefore He was desired for life, to be devoured by hearing, to be ruminated or chewed by the understanding, to be digested by faith; for a little before He called His flesh also celestial bread, still, or all the way, urging by an allegory of necessary food, the memory of their fathers who preferred the bread and flesh of Egypt before the divine calling.'

11. S. Athanasius, or who is the author of the tractate upon the words *Quicunque dixerit verbum in Filium hominis*[n] in his works, saith, ὅτι καὶ ἃ λέγει οὐκ ἐστὶ σαρκικὰ ἀλλὰ πνευματικά· πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφὴ γένηται; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοὺς ἀφελκύσῃ καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρῶσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν· ἃ γὰρ λελάληκα (φησὶν) ὑμῖν, πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή· i. e. 'the things which He speaks are not carnal but spiritual; for to how many might His body suffice for meat, that it should become the nourishment of the whole world? But for this it was that He put them in mind of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, that He might draw them off from carnal and corporal senses, and that they might learn that His flesh which He called meat was from above, heavenly and spiritual nourishment. For saith He, the things that I have spoken, they are spirit and they are life.'

12. But Origen[o] is yet more decretory in this affair. *Est et in Novo testamento litera quæ occidit eum qui non spiritualiter ea quæ dicuntur adverterit; si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, et biberitis sanguinem meum, occidit hæc litera,* 'if we understand these words of Christ, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood,' literally, this letter kills; for there is in the New testament a

[j] Tom. iii. in 3. disp. 204. n. 3. [p. 366.]

[k] Ibid. disp. 64. sect. 1. [?]

[l] Lib. iii. de euchar. c. 9. [tom. iii. col. 705 sqq.]

[m] [num. 8, supra.]

[n] [Sive Epist. iv. ad Serapion. § 19. tom. i. p. 710 B.]

[o] Origen. in Levit. c. 10. hom. vii. [tom. ii. p. 225 D.]

letter that kills him who does not spiritually understand those things which are spoken.'

13. S. Ambrose[p] not only expounds it in a spiritual sense, but plainly denies the proper and natural. *Non iste panis est qui vadit in corpus, sed ille panis vitæ æternæ qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit,* 'that is not the bread of life which goes into the body, but that which supports the substance of the soul.' And[q], *fide tangitur, fide videtur, non tangitur corpore, non oculis comprehenditur,* this bread 'is touched by faith, it is seen by faith:' and without all peradventure that this is to be understood of eating and drinking Christ by faith, is apparent from Christ's own words, verse 35, "I am the bread of life, he that cometh to Me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on Me shall not thirst:" 'coming' to Christ is eating Him, 'believing Him' is drinking His blood; 'it is not touched by the body, it is not seen with the eyes.' S. Chrysostom[r] in his forty-seventh homily upon this chapter of S. John expounds these words in a spiritual sense; for these things, saith he, are οὐδὲν σαρκικὸν ἔχοντα οὐδὲ ἀκολουθίαν φυσικὴν, 'such as have in them nothing carnal, nor any carnal consequence.'

14. S. Austin[s] gave the same exposition, *Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? crede et manducasti:* and again[t], *Credere in eum, hoc est manducare panem vivum; qui credit manducat.*

15. Theophylact[u] makes the spiritual sense to be the only answer in behalf of our not being cannibals or devourers of man's flesh, as the men of Capernaum began to dream, and the men of Rome, though in better circumstances, to this day dream on. *Putabant isti quod Deus cogeret σαρκοφάγους, quia enim*[x] *nos hoc spiritualiter intelligimus, neque carnium voratores sumus, imo sanctificamur per talem cibum, non sumus carnis voratores,* 'the men of Capernaum thought Christ would compel them to devour man's flesh; but because we understand this spiritually, therefore we are not devourers of man's flesh, but are sanctified by this meat.' Perfectly to the same sense, and almost in the very words, Theodorus bishop of Heraclea is quoted in the Greek Catena upon John[y].

16. It were easy to add that Eusebius[z] calls the words of Christ His flesh and blood, ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα; that so also does S. Hierome[a], saying

[p] De sacrament., lib. v. c. 4. [§ 24. tom. ii. col. 378.]

[q] In Lucam, lib. vi. c. 8. [§ 57. tom. i. col. 1397 A. 'Fide tangitur Christus, fide Christus videtur,' &c.—The author is speaking, not of the holy eucharist, but of the woman touching Christ's garment.]

[r] [tom. viii. p. 278 A.]

[s] Tract. xxv. in Joh. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 489 E.]

[t] Tract. xxvi. [col. 494 D.]

[u] In Joh. vi. [p. 655.]

[x] [leg.—'σαρκοφάγους fieri; quia autem'—]

[y] [p. 197. fol. Antuerp. 1630.]

[z] Lib. iii. eccles. theol. contra Marcell. Ancyr. M.S. [cap. 12. p. 180 B. fol. Par. 1628.]

[a] S. Hieron. psalm. cxlvii. [tom. ii. append. col. 504.]

that although it may be understood in mystery, *tamen verius corpus Christi et sanguis ejus sermo scripturarum est;* that so does Clemens Alexandrinus[b]; that S. Basil[c] says that His doctrine and His mystical coming is His flesh and blood; that S. Bernard[d] says to imitate His life and communicate with His passion is to eat His flesh; but I decline for the present to insist upon these; because all of them, excepting S. Hierome only, may be supposed to be mystical expositions, which may be true, and yet another exposition may be true too. It may suffice that it is the direct sense of Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, S. Ambrose, S. Austin, and Theophylact, that these words of Christ in the sixth of S. John are not to be understood in the natural or proper but in the spiritual sense. The spiritual they declare not to be the mystical, but the literal sense; and therefore their testimonies cannot be eluded by any such pretence.

17. And yet after all this, suppose that Christ in these words did speak of the sacramental manducation, and affirmed that the bread which He would give should be His flesh; what is this to Transubstantiation? That Christ did speak of the sacrament as well as of any other mystery, of this amongst others; that is, of all the ways of taking Him; is to me highly probable: Christ is the food of our souls; this food we receive in at our ears, our mouth, our hearts; and the allusion is plainer in the sacrament than in any other external rite, because of the similitude of 'bread,' and 'eating,' which Christ used upon occasion of the miracle of the loaves which introduced all that discourse. But then this comes in only as it is an act of faith; for the meat which Christ gives is to be taken by faith, Himself being the expounder[e]. Now the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, being acts and symbols and consignations of faith, and effects of believing, that is, of the first and principal receiving Him by faith in His words and submission to His doctrine, may well be meant here; not by virtue of the words, for the whole form of expression is metaphorical, not at all proper; but by the proportion of reason and nature of his effect; it is an act or manner of receiving Christ, and an issue of faith, and therefore is included in the mystery. The food that Christ said He would give is His flesh, which He would give for the life of the world[f], viz., to be crucified and killed. And from that verse forward He doth more particularly refer to His death; for He speaks of 'bread' only before, or 'meat,' ἄρτος ἡ βρῶσις· but now He speaks of flesh and blood, ἄρτος καὶ πόσις, 'bread and drink,' and therefore by analogy He may allude to the sacrament, which is His similitude and representation; but this is but the meaning of the

[b] Clem. Alex. lib. i. pædag. c. 6. [p. 125.]

[c] Ἐστὶ μέντι καὶ νοητὸν στόμα τοῦ ἐνδὸν ἀνθρώπου ᾧ τρέφεται μεταλαμβάνων τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς, ὃς ἐστὶν ἄρτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς.—S. Basil. in psal. xxxiii. [tom. i. p. 144 B.]

[d] [In psalm. 'Qui habitat,' serm. iii. col. 519 G.]

[e] Ver. 47, 29, and 64.

[f] Ver. 51.

second or third remove; if here Christ begins to change the particulars of His discourse, it can primarily relate to nothing but His death upon the cross; at which time He gave His flesh for the life of the world; and so giving it, it became meat; the receiving this gift was a receiving of life, for it was given for the life of the world. The manner of receiving it is by faith, and hearing the word of God, submitting our understanding; the digesting this meat is imitating the life of Christ, conforming to His doctrine and example; and as the sacraments are instruments or acts of this manducation, so they come under this discourse, and no otherwise.

18. But to return: this very allegory of the word of God to be called meat, and particularly Manna, which in this chapter Christ particularly alludes to, is not unusual in the Old testament. Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Μωσῆς, saith Philo[g], οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὃν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν κύριος τοῦ φαγεῖν, τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συνέταξε κύριος· ὁρᾷς τῆς ψυχῆς τροφὴν οἷα ἐστί; λόγος θεοῦ συνεχὴς, ἐρικὼς δρόσῳ, κύκλῳ πᾶσαν περιειληφὼς, καὶ μηδὲν μέρος ἀμέτοχον αὐτοῦ ἐών· 'Moses said unto them, This is the bread which the Lord hath given us to eat; this is the word which the Lord hath ordained, you see what is the food of the soul, even the eternal word of God,' &c. Καλεῖ μάννα τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων λόγον θεῖον[h], 'the word of God, the most honourable and eldest of things, is called manna;' and τρέφεται δὲ τῶν μὲν τελειοτέρων ἡ ψυχὴ ὅλῳ τῷ λόγῳ[i], 'the soul is nourished by the word,'

——— qui pastus pulcherrimus est animorum[k].

19. And therefore now I will resume those testimonies of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Eusebius, S. Basil, S. Hierome and S. Bernard, which I waved before[l], all agreeing upon this exposition, that the word of God, Christ's doctrine, is the flesh He speaks of, and the receiving it and practising it are the eating His flesh; for this sense is the literal and proper: and S. Hierome is express to affirm that the other exposition is mystical, and that this is the more true and proper: and therefore the saying of Bellarmine[m] that they only give the mystical sense, is one of his confident sayings without reason, or pretence of proof. And whereas he adds that they do not deny that these words are also understood literally of the sacrament: I answer, it is sufficient that they agree in this sense: and the other fathers do so expound it with an exclusion to the natural sense of eating Christ in the sacrament; particularly this appears in the testimonies of Origen and S. Ambrose above quoted: to which I add the words of Eusebius in the third book of his *Theologia Ecclesiastica*[n], expounding the sixty-third verse of the sixth of S. John; he brings in Christ speaking thus, "Think not that I speak of this flesh which I bear,

[g] In allegoriis. [lib. iii. tom. i. p. 342.]
[h] In libro, Pejorem insidiari meliori. [tom. ii. p. 216.]
[i] Allegoriis. [lib. iii. tom. i. p. 346.]
[k] [Vid. Cic. Tusc. qu. V. 23.]
[l] Supra. [num. 16.]
[m] De euchar., lib. i. c. 7. sect. 'Ad alios patres.' [tom. iii. col. 482.]
[n] [not. z, supra.]

and do not imagine that I appoint you to drink this sensible and corporal blood; but know ye, that the words which I have spoken are spirit and life." Nothing can be fuller to exclude their interpretation, and to affirm ours: though to do so be not usual, unless they were to expound scripture in opposition to an adversary; and to require such hard conditions in the sayings of men, that when they speak against Titius they shall be concluded not to speak against Caius if they do not clap their contrary negative to their positive affirmative, though Titius and Caius be against one another in the cause, is a device to escape rather than to intend truth and reality in the discourses of men. I conclude, it is notorious and evident what Erasmus[o] notes upon this place, *Hunc locum veteres interpretantur de doctrina cœlesti, sic enim dicit panem suum ut frequenter dixit sermonem suum,* 'the ancient fathers expound this place of the heavenly doctrine; so He calls the bread His own as He said often the word to be His.' And if the concurrent testimonies of Origen, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, S. Basil, Athanasius, Eusebius, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Austin, Theophylact, and S. Bernard are a good security for the sense of a place of scripture, we have read their evidence, and may proceed to sentence.

20. But it was impossible but these words falling upon the allegory of bread and drink, and signifying the receiving Christ crucified, and communicating with His passion in all the ways of faith and sacrament, should also meet with as allegorical expounders, and for the likeness of expression be referred to sacramental manducation. And yet I said this cannot at all infer Transubstantiation, though sacramental manducation were only and principally intended. For if it had been spoken of the sacrament, the words had been verified in the spiritual sumption of it; for as Christ is eaten by faith out of the sacrament, so is He also in the sacrament: as He is real and spiritual meat to the worthy hearer, so is He to the worthy communicant: as Christ's flesh is life to all that obey Him, so to all that obediently remember Him; so Christ's flesh is meat indeed, however it be taken, if it be taken spiritually, but not however it be taken, if it be taken carnally: He is nutritive in all the ways of spiritual manducation, but not in all the ways of natural eating, by their own confession, nor in any, by ours. And therefore it is a vain confidence to run away with the conclusion, if they should gain one of the premises: but the truth is this; it is neither properly spoken of the sacrament, neither if it were, would it prove any thing of Transubstantiation.

21. I will not be alone in my assertion, though the reasonableness and evidence would bear me out: S. Austin[p] saith the same; *Spiritaliter intelligite quod loquutus sum, Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis; . . Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, spiri-*

[o] [In Joan. vi. 51. tom. vi. p. 366.]
[p] Aug. in psal. xcviii. [tom. iv. col. 1066 A.]

taliter intellectum vivificabit nos, 'that which I have spoken is to be understood spiritually, ye are not to eat that body which ye see; I have commended a sacrament to you, which being understood spiritually will give you life;' where besides that he gives testimony to the main question on our behalf, he also makes 'sacramentally' and 'spiritually' to be all one. And again[q], *Ut quia jam similitudinem mortis ejus in baptismo accipimus, similitudinem quoque sanguinis et carnis sumamus, ita ut et veritas non desit in sacramento, et ridiculum nullum fiat in paganis quod cruorem occisi hominis bibamus,* 'that as we receive the similitude of His death in baptism, so we may also receive the likeness of His flesh and blood, so that neither truth be wanting in the sacrament, nor the pagans ridiculously affirm that we should drink the blood of the crucified man.' Nothing could be spoken more plain in this question; we receive Christ's body in the eucharist, as we are baptized into His death; that is, by figure and likeness. In the sacrament there is a verity or truth of Christ's body: and yet no drinking of blood or eating of flesh, so as the heathen may calumniate us by saying we do that which the men of Capernaum thought Christ taught them they should. So that though these words were spoken of sacramental manducation (as sometimes it is expounded) yet there is reality enough in the spiritual sumption to verify these words of Christ, without a thought of any bodily eating His flesh. And that we may not think this doctrine dropt from S. Austin by chance, he again affirms dogmatically[r], *Qui discordat a Christo, nec carnem ejus manducat nec sanguinem bibit, etiamsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat,* 'he that disagrees from Christ,' that is, disobeys Him, 'neither eats His flesh nor drinks His blood, although to his condemnation he every day receive the sacrament of so great a thing.' The consequent of which words is plainly this, that there is no eating of Christ's flesh or drinking His blood but by a moral instrument, faith and subordination to Christ; the sacramental external eating alone being no eating of Christ's flesh, but the symbols and sacrament of it.

22. Lastly, suppose these words of Christ, 'The bread which I shall give is My flesh,' were spoken literally of the sacrament; what He promised He would give He performed, and what was here expressed in the future tense was in His time true in the present tense, and therefore is always presently true after consecration; it follows that in the sacrament this is true, *Panis est corpus Christi,* 'the bread is the body of Christ.' Now I demand whether this proposition will be owned. It follows inevitably from this doctrine, if these words be spoken of the sacrament. But it is disavowed by the

[q] Gratianus ex Augustino, De consecrat. dist. ii. sect. 'Utrum.' [sc. cap. lxxii. col. 2124.] Lugduni, 1541.

[r] Prosper, sent. 339; [al. 341.] sed verba sunt S. Augustini [in Joan. tract. xxvi. § 18. tom. iii. part. 2. col. 501.]

princes of the party against us. *Hoc tamen est impossibile, quod panis sit corpus Christi,* 'it is impossible that the bread should be Christ's body,' saith the gloss of Gratian[s]; and Bellarmine[t] says it cannot be a true proposition, *in qua subjectum supponit pro pane, prædicatum autem pro corpore Christi; panis enim et corpus Domini res diversissimæ sunt.* The thing that these men dread is lest it be called bread and Christ's body too, as we affirm it unanimously to be; and as this argument upon their own ground evinces it. Now then how they can serve both ends I cannot understand. If they will have the bread or the meat which Christ promised to give to be His flesh, then so it came to pass; and then it is bread and flesh too. If it did not so come to pass, and that it is impossible that bread should be Christ's flesh; then when Christ said the bread which He would give should be His flesh, He was not to be understood properly of the sacrament; but either figuratively in the sacrament, or in the sacrament not at all; either of which will serve the end of truth in this question. But of this hereafter.

By this time I hope I may conclude that Transubstantiation is not taught by our blessed Lord in the sixth chapter of S. John. *Johannes de tertia et eucharistica cœna nihil quidem scribit, eo quod cæteri tres Evangelistæ ante illum eam plene descripsissent.* They are the words of Stapleton[u], and are good evidence against them.

§ 4. Of the words of institution.

1. *Multa mala oportet interpretari eos qui unum non recte intelligere volunt,* said Irenæus[x], 'they must needs speak many false things who will not rightly understand one.' The words of consecration are *præcipuum fundamentum totius controversiæ, atque adeo totius hujus altissimi mysterii,* said Bellarmine[y], 'the greatest ground of the whole question;' and by adhering to the letter the mystery is lost, and the whole party wanders in eternal intricacies, and inextricable riddles; which because themselves cannot untie, they torment their sense and their reason, and many places of Scripture, whilst they pertinaciously stick to the impossible letter, and refuse[z] the spirit of these words.

The words of institution are these:

S. MATT. xxvi. 26.

"Jesus took bread and blessed it and brake it and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is My

S. MARK xiv. 22.

"Jesus took bread and blessed it and gave to them, and said: Take, eat, this is My body. And He took

[s] De consecrat. dist. ii. c. 55. gloss. 'Panis est in altari.' [col. 2112.]

[t] De euchar., lib. iii. c. 19. [tom. iii. col. 732.]

[u] Prompt. cathol. serm. iii. heb. sanct. [p. 799 B.]

[x] Contr. hæres., lib. v. [vid. cap. 13 fin. p. 309.]

[y] Lib. i. c. 8. euchar. sect. 'Sequitur argumentum.' [tom. iii. col. 485.]

[z] ['refute' A.]

body: and He took the cup and gave thanks and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it, for this is My blood of the New testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

S. Luke xxii. 19.

"And He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is My body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of Me. Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the New testament in My blood which is shed for you."

the cup, and when He had given thanks He gave it to them, and they all drank of it; and He said to them, This is My blood of the New testament which is shed for many."

1 Cor. xi. 23.

"The Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread; and when He had given thanks He brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is My body which is broken for you, this do in remembrance of Me. After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying, This cup is the New testament in My blood; this do ye as often as ye drink it in remembrance of Me."

2. These words contain the institution, and are usually called the 'words of consecration' in the Latin church. Concerning which the consideration is material. Out of these words the Latin church separates, *Hoc est corpus meum*, 'this is My body,' and say that these words pronounced by the priest with due intention do effect this change of the bread into Christ's body, which change they call Transubstantiation. But if these words do not effect any such change, then it may be Christ's body before the words, and these may only declare what is already done by the prayers of the holy man; or else it may become Christ's body only in the use and manducation: and as it will be uncertain when the change is, so also it cannot be known what it is. If it be Christ's body before those words, then the literal sense of these words will prove nothing, it is so as it will be before these words, and made so by other words which refer wholly to use; and then the *præcipuum fundamentum*, the 'pillar and ground' of Transubstantiation is supplanted. And if it be only after the words, and not effected by the words, it will be Christ's body only in the reception. Now concerning this I have these things to say.

3. First, by what argument can it be proved that these words, 'Take, and eat,' are not as effective of the change as *Hoc est corpus meum*, 'this is My body?' If they be, then the taking and eating does consecrate: and it is not Christ's body till it be taken and eaten, and then when that's done it is so no more; and besides that reservation, circumgestation, adoration, elevation of it must of themselves fall to the ground; it will also follow that it is Christ's body only in a mystical, spiritual, and sacramental manner.

4. Secondly, by what argument will it so much as probably be concluded that these words, 'This is My body,' should be the words effective of conversion and consecration? That Christ used these words is true, and so He used all the other; but did not tell which were the consecrating words, nor appoint them to use those words; but to do the thing, and so to remember and represent His death. And therefore the form and rites of consecration and ministries are in the power of the church, where Christ's command does not intervene; as appears in all the external ministries of religion: in baptism, confirmation, penance, ordination, &c. And for the form of consecration of the eucharist, S. Basil[a] affirms that it is not delivered to us, *τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων*[b] *ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; κ.τ.λ.*; 'the words of invocation in the manifestation or opening the eucharistical bread and cup of blessing, which of all the saints hath left us? for we are not content with these which the apostles and the evangelists mention, but before and after we say other things which have great efficacy to this mystery.' But it is more material which S. Gregory[c] affirms concerning the apostles, *Mos apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem Dominicam oblationis hostiam consecrarent*, 'the apostles consecrated the eucharist only by saying the Lord's prayer.' To which I add this consideration, that it is certain Christ interposed no command in this case, nor the apostles; neither did they for ought appears intend the recitation of those words to be the sacramental consecration, and operative of the change, because themselves recited several forms of institution in S. Matthew and S. Mark for one, and S. Luke and S. Paul for the other, in the matter of the chalice especially; and by this difference declared there is no necessity of one, and therefore no efficacy in any as to this purpose.

5. Thirdly, if they make these words to signify properly and not figuratively, then it is a declaration of something already in being, and not effective of any thing after it. For else *Est* does not signify 'is' but 'it shall be;' because the conversion is future to the pronunciation; and by the confession of the Roman doctors[d] the bread is not transubstantiated till the *-um* in *meum* be quite out, till the last syllable be spoken; but yet I suppose they cannot shew any example, or reason, or precedent, or grammar, or any thing for it, that *est* should be an active word. And they may remember how confidently they use to argue against them that affirm men to be justified by a *fiducia* and persuasion that their sins are pardoned: saying, that faith must suppose the thing done, or their belief is false: and if it be done before, then to believe it does not do it at all, because it is

[a] De Spir. S. c. 27. [tom. iii. pp. 54, 5.]

[b] [Insert *ἐγγράφως*.]

[c] Lib. vii. ep. 63. [al. lib. ix. indict. 2. ep. 12. tom. ii. col. 940 D.]

[d] Bellarm., lib. i. de euchar. c. 11. sect. 'Respondeo cum.' [tom. iii. col. 509.]

done already. The case is here the same, they affirm that it is made Christ's body by saying it is Christ's body; but their saying so must suppose the thing done, or else their saying so is false; and if it be done before, then to say it does not do it at all, because it is done already.

6. Fourthly, when our blessed Lord 'took bread,' He 'gave thanks,' said S. Luke and S. Paul; He 'blessed it,' said S. Matthew and S. Mark; *εὐχαριστήσας*, 'making it eucharistical;' *εὐλογήσας*, that was, 'consecrating' or making it holy; it was common bread, unholy, when He blessed it and made it eucharistical, for *εὐχαριστήσας* was the same with *εὐλογήσας*· *εὐχαριστηθεῖσα τροφὴ* is the word in Justin[e], and *εὐχαριστηθέντα ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου*, 'bread and wine,' 'food made eucharistical,' or on which Christ had given thanks: *eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi*, so Irenæus and others; and S. Paul[f] does promiscuously use *εὐλογεῖν* and *εὐχαριστεῖν* and *προσεύχεσθαι*· and in the same place the Vulgar Latin renders *εὐχαριστίαν* by *benedictionem*, and therefore S. Paul[g] calls it 'the cup of blessing;' and in this very place of S. Matthew S. Basil[h] reads *εὐχαριστήσας* instead of *εὐλογήσας*, either in this following the old Greek copies who so read this place, or else by interpretation so rendering it, as being the same; and on the other side S. Cyprian[i] renders *εὐχαριστήσας* (the word used in the blessing the chalice) by *benedixit*. Against this Smiglecius[k] the Jesuit with some little scorn says, it is very absurd to say that Christ gave thanks to the bread, and so it should be if *εὐλογεῖν* and *εὐχαριστεῖν*, 'blessing' and 'giving of thanks,' were all one. But in this he shewed his anger or want of skill, not knowing or not remembering that the Hebrews and Hellenist Jews love abbreviature of speech; and in the epistle to the Hebrews S. Paul uses *ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας*, 'to appease or propitiate our sins,' instead of *ἱλάσκεσθαι Θεὸν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*, 'to propitiate or appease God concerning our sins;' and so is *εὐχαριστεῖν τὸν ἄρτον*, that is, *Θεὸν περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου*, only that by this means God also makes the bread holy, blessed, and eucharistical. Now I demand, what did Christ's blessing effect upon the bread and the chalice? any thing, or nothing? if no change was consequent, it was an ineffective blessing, a blessing that blessed not: if any change was consequent, it was a blessing of the thing in order to what was intended, that is, that it might be eucharistical, and then the following words, 'This is My body, this is the blood of the New testament,' or 'the New testament in My blood,' were, as Cabasilas[l] affirms, *ἐν εἴδει διηγήσεως*, 'by way of history and narration;' and so the Syriac interpreter puts them together in the place of

[e] [note m, infra.]
[f] 1 Cor. xiv. [15—17.]
[g] 1 Cor. x. [16.]
[h] In regulis moralibus. [reg. xxi. cap. 4. tom. ii. p. 254.]
[i] Epist. ad Cæcilium. [ep. lxiii. 151.]
[k] Respons. ad Nod. Gordium.
[l] [vid. Liturg. expos. cap. viii. sq. p. 209.]

S. Matthew, εὐλογήσας and εὐχαριστήσας, 'blessing' and 'giving of thanks,' when He did bless it He made it eucharistical.

7. Fifthly, the Greek church universally taught that the consecration was made by the prayers of the ministering man. Justin Martyr[m] calls it τὴν δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, 'nourishment made eucharistical by prayer;' and Origen[n] calls it ἄρτους σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγίον τι, 'bread made a body, a holy thing by prayer;' διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, so Damascene[o], 'by the invocation and illumination of the Holy Ghost,' μεταποιοῦνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, 'they are changed into the body and blood of Christ.' But for the Greek church the case is evident and confessed.—For the ancient Latin church[p], S. Hierome reproving certain pert deacons for insulting over priests, uses this expression for the honour of priests above the other, *ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur*, 'by their prayers the body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament.' And S. Austin[q] calls the sacrament *prece mystica consecratum*. But concerning this I have largely discoursed in another place[r]. But the effect of the consideration in order to the present question is this; that since the change that is made is made not naturally, or by a certain number of syllables in the manner of a charm, but solemnly, sacredly, morally, and by prayer, it becomes also the body of our Lord to moral effects, as a consequent of a moral instrument.

8. Sixthly, and it is considerable that since the ministries of the church are but imitations of Christ's priesthood which He officiates in heaven, since He effects all the purposes of His graces and our redemption by intercession, and representing in the way of prayer the sacrifice which He offered on the cross: it follows that the ministries of the church must be of the same kind, operating in the way of prayer, morally, and therefore wholly to moral purposes; to which the instrument is made proportionable. And if these words which are called the words of consecration be exegetical, and enunciative of the change that is made by prayers and other mystical words; it cannot be possibly inferred from these words that there is any other change made than what refers to the whole mystery and action: and therefore 'Take, eat,' and 'This do,' are as necessary to the sacrament as *Hoc est corpus*, and declare that it is Christ's body only in the use and administration; and therefore not natural but spiritual. And this is yet more plain by the words in the Hebrew text of S. Matthew, 'Take, eat this which is My body,' plainly supposing the thing to be done already; not by the exegetical words, but by the precedents,

[m] Apol. ii. [al. apol. i. § 66. p. 83.]

[n] Lib. viii. contra Celsum. [§ 33. tom. i. p. 766.]

[o] Lib. iv. de fide, [cap. 13. tom. i. p. 270.]

[p] Vide Ambrosium Catharinum in integro quem scripsit libro hac de re.

[q] Lib. iii. de Trin. cap. 4. [tom. viii. col. 798 B.]

[r] The Divine Institution of the office ministerial. sect. 7.

the mystic prayer, and the words of institution and use; and to this I never saw any thing pretended in answer. But the force of the argument upon supposition of the premises is acknowledged to be convincing by an archbishop of their own[s], *Si Christus dando consecravit, &c.* 'If Christ giving the eucharist did consecrate,' as Scotus[t] affirmed, 'then the Lutherans will carry the victory, who maintain that the body of Christ is in the eucharist only while it is used, while it was taken and eaten. And yet on the other side if it was consecrated when Christ said, Take, eat, then He commanded them to take bread and to eat bread, which is to destroy the article of Transubstantiation.' So that in effect, whether it was consecrated by those words or not by those words, their new doctrine is destroyed. If it was not consecrated when Christ said, 'Take, eat,' then Christ bid them take bread, and eat bread, and they did so: but if it was consecrated by those words, 'Take, eat,' then the words of consecration refer wholly to use, and it is Christ's body only in the taking and eating, which is the thing we contend for. And into the concession of this Bellarmine[u] is thrust by the force of our argument. For to avoid Christ's giving the apostles that which "He took," and "brake," and "blessed," that is, bread, the same case being governed by all these words; he answers, *Dominum accepisse et benedixisse panem, sed dedisse panem non vulgarem, . . sed benedictum et benedictione mutatum,* 'the Lord took bread and blessed it, but He gave not common bread, but bread blessed and changed by blessing;' and yet it is certain He gave it them before the words which he calls the words of consecration. To which I add this consideration, that all words spoken in the person of another are only declarative and exegetical, not operative and practical; for in particular, if these words, *Hoc est corpus meum,* were otherwise, then the priest should turn it into his own, not into the body of Christ. Neither will it be easy to have an answer, not only because the Greeks and Latins are divided in the ground of their argument concerning the mystical instrument of consecration; but the Latins themselves have seven several opinions, as the archbishop of Cæsarea, De capite fontium[x], hath enumerated them, in his nuncupatory epistle to pope Sixtus Quintus before his book of 'Divers treatises:' and that the consecration is made by 'This is My body,' though it be now the prevailing opinion, yet that by them Christ did not consecrate the elements, was the express sentence of pope Innocent the third and Innocent the fourth, and of many ancient fathers, as the same archbishop of Cæsarea testifies in the book now quoted; and the scholastics are hugely divided upon this point, viz., Whether these words are to be taken materially or significatively; the expression is barbarous and

[s] Archiep. Cæsar. [De capite fontium.] Tractat. varii, disp. De neces. correct. theol. schol. [lib. i. cap. 1. fol. 5. 8vo. Par. 1586.]

[t] [? 'Sotus.' vid. loc.]

[u] De euchar., lib. i. c. 11. [tom. iii. col. 508.]

[x] Tractat. varii. [not. s, supra.]

rude, but they mean, whether they be consecratory or declarative. Aquinas makes them consecratory, and his authority brought that opinion into credit: and yet Scotus and his followers are against it: and they that affirm them to be taken significatively, that is, to be consecratory, are divided into so many opinions that they are not easy to be reckoned; only Guido Brianson[y] reckons nine, and his own makes the tenth. This I take upon the credit of one of their own archbishops.

9. But I proceed to follow them in their own way; whether *Hoc est corpus meum* do effect or signify the change, yet the change is not natural and proper, but figurative, sacramental, and spiritual; exhibiting what it signifies, being real to all intents and purposes of the Spirit: and this I shall first shew by discussing the words of institution; first those which they suppose to be the consecratory words, and then the other.

10. *Hoc est corpus meum.*—Concerning which form of words we must know, that as the eucharist itself was in the external and ritual part an imitation of a custom and a sacramental already in use among the Jews, for the *major domo* to break bread and distribute wine at the passover after supper to the eldest according to his age, to the youngest according to his youth, as it is notorious and known in the practice of the Jews: so also were the very words which Christ spake in this changed subject, an imitation of the words which were then used, 'This is the bread of sorrow which our fathers eat in Egypt, this is the passover[z]:' and this passover was called 'The body of the paschal lamb:' nay, it was called 'the body of our Saviour,' and 'our Saviour' himself; καὶ εἶπεν Ἐσδρὰς τῷ λαῷ, τοῦτο πάσχα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, said Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.*[a]; 'And Esdras said to the Jews, This passover is our Saviour,' and 'This is the body of our Saviour,' as it is noted by others. So that here the words were made ready for Christ, and made His by appropriation, by *Meum:* He was 'the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world,' He is the true passover; which He then affirming called that which was the antitype of the passover, 'the Lamb of God,' 'His body,' the body of the true passover, to wit, in the same sacramental sense in which the like words were affirmed in the Mosaical passover.

§ 5. *Hoc,* 'this.'

1. *Hoc,* 'this;' that is, 'this bread is My body, this cup,' or the wine in the cup, 'is My blood.' Concerning the chalice there can be no doubt, it is τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, *hic calix,* 'this chalice;' and as little of the other. The fathers refer the pronoun demonstrative to 'bread,' saying that of bread it was Christ affirmed, 'This is My body;' which I shall have in the sequel more

[y] In iv. sentent. [qu. vi. fol. 61 A.]
[z] Scaliger. de emendatione tempor., lib. vi. [p. 570 sqq.]
[a] [§ 72. p. 169 E.]

occasion to prove; for the present these may suffice; *Christus panem corpus suum appellat,* saith Tertullian[b]. *Nos audiamus panem quem fregit Dominus . . esse corpus Salvatoris,* so S. Hierome[c]. Τὴν σάρκα σῖτον ὠνόμασε, so S. Cyril of Alexandria[d], 'He called bread His flesh.' Theodoret[e] saith that 'to the body He gave the name of the symbol, and to the symbol the name of His body.' Τοῦτο therefore signifies 'this bread;' and it matters not that 'bread' in the Greek is of the masculine gender; for the substantive being understood, not expressed, by the rule of grammar the adjective must be the neuter gender, and it is taken substantively. Neither is there any inconvenience in this, as Bellarmine weakly dreams upon as weak suggestions. For when he had said that *hoc* is either taken adjectively or substantively, he proceeds[f], 'Not adjectively, for then it must agree with the substantive, which in this case is masculine, bread being so both in Greek and in Latin.' But if you say it is taken substantively (as we contend it is) he confutes you thus, 'If it be taken substantively, so that *hoc* signifies 'this thing,' and so be referred to 'bread,' then it is most absurd, because it cannot be spoken of any thing seen, that is, of a substantive, unless it agrees with it, and be of the same gender;' that is in plain English, it is neither taken adjectively nor substantively: not adjectively, because it is not of the same gender; not substantively, because it is not of the same gender; that is, because substantively it is not adjectively. But the reason he adds is as frivolous, because no man pointing to his brother will say, *hoc est frater meus,* but *hic est frater meus.* I grant it; but if it be a thing without life, you may affirm it in the neuter gender, because it being of neither sex, the subject is supplied by 'thing,' so that you may say *hoc est aqua,* 'this is water;' so in S. Peter[g], τοῦτο χάρις, 'this is grace,' and δάκτυλος Θεοῦ ἐστι τοῦτο[h]. But of a person present you cannot say so, because he is present, and there is nothing distinct from him, neither *re* nor *ratione,* 'in the thing nor in the understanding;' and therefore you must say *hic* not *hoc,* because there is no subject to be supposed distinct from the predicate. But when you see an image or figure of your brother, you may then say, *hoc est frater meus,* because here is something to make a subject distinct from the predicate. This thing, or this picture, this figure, or this any thing, that can be understood and not expressed, may make a neuter gender; and every schoolboy knows it: so it is in the blessed sacrament, there is a subject or a thing distinct from *corpus;* 'This bread,' this which you see, 'is My body;' and therefore is in *hoc* no impropriety, though bread be understood.

[b] Lib. adv. Judæos, [cap. xi. p. 196 C.]
[c] Ep. ad Hebidiam. [tom. iv. part. i. col. 171.]
[d] In Joh. 12.
[e] Dial. i. c. 8. [tom. iv. p. 26.]
[f] Lib. i. de euch. chap. 10. sect. 'Porro 4.' [tom. iii. col. 496.]
[g] 1 Pet. ii. [19.]
[h] Exod. viii. [19.]

2. To which I add this, that though bread be the nearest part of the thing demonstrated, yet it is not bread alone, but sacramental bread; that is, bread so used, broken, given, eaten, as it is in the institution and use: τοῦτο, 'this' is My body; and τοῦτο refers to the whole action about the bread and wine, and so τοῦτο may be easily understood without an impropriety. And indeed it is necessary that τοῦτο, 'this,' should take in the whole action on all sides; because the bread neither is the natural body of Christ, nor yet is it alone a sufficient symbol or representment of it; but the bread broken, blessed, given, distributed, taken, eaten; this is Christ's body, viz., as Origen's[i] expression is, *typicum symbolicumque corpus.* —By the way give me leave to express some little indignation against those words of Bellarmine, which cannot easily be excused from blasphemy, saying that if our Lord had said of the bread which the apostles saw and knew to be bread, 'This is My body,' *absurdissima esset locutio,* 'it had been a most absurd speech.' So careless are these opiniators of what they say, that rather than their own fond opinions should be confuted, they care not to impute nonsense to the Eternal Wisdom of the Father. And yet that Christ did say this of bread so ordered and to be used, *Hoc est corpus meum,* besides that the thing is notorious, I shall prove most evidently.

3. First, that which Christ broke, which He gave to His disciples, which He bid them eat, that He affirmed was His body. What gave He but what He broke? what did He break but that which He took? what did He take? *accepit panem,* saith the scripture, 'He took bread,' therefore of bread it was that He affirmed it was His body. Now the Roman doctors will by no means endure this; for if of bread He affirmed it to be His body, then we have cleared the question, for it is bread and Christ's body too; that is, it is bread naturally, and Christ's body spiritually; for that it cannot be both naturally, they unanimously affirm. And we are sure upon this article, for *disparatum de disparato non prædicatur proprie;* it is a rule of nature and essential reason, if it be bread it is not a stone, if it be a mouse it is not a mule; and therefore when there is any predication made of one diverse thing by another, the proposition must needs be improper and figurative. And the gloss of Gratian[j] disputes it well, "If bread be the body of Christ," viz., properly and naturally, "then something that is not born of the Virgin Mary is the body of Christ; and the body of Christ should be both alive and dead." Now that *hoc,* 'this,' points to bread, besides the notoriousness of the thing in the story of the gospels, in the matter of fact, and S. Paul calling it 'bread' so often (as I shall shew in the sequel), it ought to be certain to the Roman doctors, and confessed, because by their doctrines when Christ said *hoc,* 'this,' and a while after, it was bread; because

[i] In c. xv. Matt. [ver. 17.—tom. iii. p. 500 A.]
[j] De consecrat. dist. ii. c. 'Quia.' [sc. cap. xxxv. col. 2099.]

it was not consecrated till the last syllable was spoken. To avoid this therefore, they turn themselves into all the opinions and disguises that can be devised. Stapleton[k] says, that *hoc*, 'this,' does only signify the predicate, and is referred to the body, so as Adam said, "This is flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone;" *hoc*, not 'this rib,' but 'this thing, this predicate;' so *Hic est filius meus, hic est sanguis testamenti.* Now this is confuted before; for it can only be true when there is no difference of subject and predicate, as in all figures and sacraments and artificial representments there are. Some others say, 'this is,' that is, 'this shall be' My body; so that 'is' demonstrates not what is but what shall be; but this prevailed not amongst them. Others say that 'this' signifies nothing; so Innocentius the third, Major, the count of Mirandula, De capite Fontium, and Catharinus. Others yet affirm, that 'this' signifies 'these accidents;' so Ruard Tapper, and others whom Suarez reckons and confutes. Thomas Aquinas and his scholars affirm that 'this' demonstrates neither bread, nor the body, nor nothing, nor the accidents, but a substance indefinitely which is under the accidents of bread; as when Christ turned the water into wine, He might have said *Hoc est vinum*, not meaning that water is wine, but this which is here, or this which is in the vessel, is wine; which is an instance in which Bellarmine pleases himself very much, and uses it more than once, not at all considering that in this form of speech there is the same mistake as in the former (for in this example there are not two things, as we contend there are in the sacrament) and that to make up the proposition the understanding is forced to make an artificial subject; and 'this' refers to wine, and is determined by his imaginary subject, and makes not an essential or physical but a logical predication, 'This which is in the vessel is wine;' and the proposition is identical, if it be reduced to a substantial. But when Christ said *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc* (first) neither points to *corpus*, as the others do to *vinum*, even by their own confession; nor yet (secondly) to an artificial subject, whereby it can by imagination become demonstrative and determinate; for then it were no real affirmative, not at all significative, much less effective of a change; nor yet (thirdly) will they allow that it points to that subject which is really there, viz., bread; but what then? It demonstrates something real, 1) that either is not the predicate, and then there would be two things disparate signified by it, two distinct substances, which in this case could be nothing but bread and the body of Christ: or 2) it demonstrates nothing but the predicate, and then the proposition were identical, viz., this body of Christ is the body of Christ; which is an absurd predication: or else 3) it demonstrates something that is indemonstrable, pointing at something that is nothing certain, and then it cannot be pointed at.

[k] Ejusdem sententiæ sunt Ocham, Petrus de Aliaco Cameracensis, Antisiodorensis [al. Guillerm. Altissiodorensis] in 4. l. sent. dist. 13. [fol. 258.] Roffensis, cap. 4. contra captiv. Babyl. [fol. 48.] Maldonat. Barradius in evangel.

or demonstrated; for if by this which is under the species they mean any certain substance, it must be bread or the body of Christ, either of which undoes their cause.

4. But if it be enquired by what logic or grammar it can be that a pronoun demonstrative should signify indeterminately, that is, an *individuum vagum:* they tell us no, it does not; but it signifies an individual determinate substance under the accidents of bread, not according to the formality of the bread, but *secundum rationem substantiæ communem et individuum vage per ordinem ad accidentia,* 'but according to the formality of a substance common and individual, indefinitely or indeterminately by order to those accidents.' So Gregory de Valentia[l]; which is as good and perfect nonsense as ever was spoken. It is determinate and not determinate, it is substantial[m] in order to accidents, individual and yet common, universal and particular; it is limited, but after an unlimited manner; that is, it is and it is not; that is, it is the logic and the grammar and the proper sense of Transubstantiation, which is not to be understood but by them that know the new and secret way to reconcile contradictories. Bellarmine[n] sweetens the sense of this as well as he may, and says that the pronoun demonstrative does point out and demonstrate the species, that is, the accidents of bread; these accidents are certain and determinate; so that the pronoun demonstrative is on the side of the species or accidents, not of the substance; but yet so as to mean not the accidents but the substance, and not the substance which is but which shall be; for it is not the same yet: which indeed is the same nonsense with the former, abused or set off with a distinction the parts of which contradict each other. The pronoun demonstrative does only point to the accidents, and yet does not mean the accidents, but the substance under them; and yet it does not mean the substance that is under them, but that which shall be; for the substance which is meant is not yet: and it does not point at the substance, but yet it means it: for the substance indeed is meant by the pronoun demonstrative, but that it does not at all demonstrate it, but the accidents only. And indeed this is a fine secret: the substance is pointed at before it is, and the demonstration is upon the accidents, but means the substance, *in obliquo,* but not *in recto;* not directly, but as by the by; just as a man can see a thing before it be made, and by pointing at a thing which you see, demonstrates or shews you a thing which shall never be seen. But then if you desire to know how it was pointed at before it was, that is the secret not yet revealed. But finally this is the doctrine that hath prevailed at least in the Jesuits' schools. 'This' points out something under the accidents of bread, meaning, 'This which is contained under the accidents of bread is My body;'-there it rests. But before it go any

[l] Lib. ii. exam. myst. Calvin., c. 1. sect. '4. objectio.' [p. 445.]

[m] ['a substance,' A.]

[n] Lib. i. euch., c. 11. sect. 'Ad id vero.' [tom. iii. col. 509.]

further I shall disturb his rest with this syllogism: when Christ said, *Hoc*, 'this' is My body, by 'this' He meant 'this which is contained under the accidents of bread' is My body. But at that instant that which was contained under the accidents of bread was the substance of bread; therefore to the substance of bread Christ pointed, that He related to by the pronoun demonstrative, and of that He affirmed it was His body. The major is that the Jesuits contend for: the minor is affirmed by Bellarmine, *Quando dicitur 'hoc,' tum non est præsens substantia corporis Christi:* therefore the conclusion ought to be his and owned by them. However I will make bold to call it a demonstration upon their own grounds, and conclude that it is bread and Christ's body too; and that is the doctrine of the protestants. And I add this also, that it seems a great folly to declaim against us for denying the literal, natural sense, and yet that themselves should expound it in a sense which suffers a violence and a most unnatural, ungrammatical torture; for if they may change the words from the right sense and case to the oblique and indirect, why may not we? And it is less violence to say *Hoc est corpus meum, i. e. hic panis est corpus meum; viz. spiritualiter*, than to say, *hoc est*, that is, *sub his speciebus est corpus meum.* And this was the sense of Ocham[o] the father of the Nominalists; it may be held that under the species of bread there remains also the substance, because this is neither against reason nor any authority of the Bible; and of all the manners this is most reasonable, and more easy to maintain, and from thence follow fewer inconveniences than from any other. Yet because of the determination of the church (viz. of Rome) all the doctors commonly hold the contrary. By the way observe that their church hath determined against that against which neither the scripture nor reason hath determined.

5. Secondly, the case is clearer in the other kind, as in transition I noted above[p]. Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, *hic calix.* I demand to what τοῦτο, *hic*, 'this,' does refer? what it demonstrates and points at? The text sets the substantive down, ποτήριον, 'this cup;' that is, the wine in this cup; of this it is that He affirmed it to be the blood of the New testament, or the New testament in His blood: that is, 'This is the sanction of the everlasting testament, I make it in My blood, this is the symbol, what I now do in sign I will do to-morrow in substance, and you shall for ever after remember and represent it thus in sacrament.' I cannot devise what to say plainer than that this τοῦτο points at the chalice.

Hoc potate merum[q]——

So Juvencus a priest of Spain in the reign of Constantine, 'Drink this wine.' (But by the way, this troubled some body, and therefore an

[o] In iv. qu. 6. [sine pag.—fol. Lugd. 1495.]

[p] Numb i. sect. 5.—Vide Picherel. Doct. Sorbon. in xxvi. Matth. [Opusc. theol., p. 15.]

[q] Evang. hist., lib. iv. 456. [p. 113.]

order was taken to corrupt the words[r] by changing them into *Hunc potate meum;* but that the cheat was too apparent.) And if it be so of one kind, it is so in both, that is beyond all question. Against this Bellarmine[s] brings *argumentum robustissimum,* a most robustious argument,—"By ποτήριον or 'cup' cannot be meant the wine in the cup, because it follows, ἐν αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, 'this cup (is the New testament in My blood) which was shed for you;' referring to the cup, for the word can agree with nothing but the cup; therefore by the cup is meant not wine, but blood, for that was poured out." To this I oppose these things; 1) Though it does not agree with αἵματι, yet it must refer to it, and is an ordinary κατάχρησις of case called ἀντίπτωσις. And it is not unusual in the best masters of language. Οὐ προσεκτέον ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῖς τούτων λόγοις εἰδότας, for εἰδόσιν, in Demosthenes. So also Goclenius in his Grammatical Problems observes another out of Cicero, *Bene autem dicere, quod est perite loqui, non habet definitam aliquam regionem cujus terminis septa teneatur;* many more he cites out of Plato, Homer, and Virgil. And methinks these men should least of all object this, since in their Latin bible Sixtus Senensis[t] confesses, and all the world knows, there are innumerable barbarisms and improprieties, *hyperbata* and *antiptoses.* But in the present case it is easily supplied by ἐστὶ, which is frequently understood, and implied in the article τὸ; τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον; that is, τὸ ἐστὶ ἐκχυνόμενον, that is, in My blood 'which is shed' for you. 2) If it were referred to 'cup,' then the figure were more strong and violent, and the expression less literal; and therefore it makes much against them, who are undone if you admit figurative expressions in the institution of this sacrament. 3) To what can τοῦτο refer but to ποτήριον, 'this cup?' and let what sense soever be affixed to it afterwards, if it do not suppose a figure, then there is no such things as figures, or words, or truth, or things. 4) That ἐκχυνόμενον must refer to αἷμα appears by S. Matthew[u] and S. Mark, where the word is directly applied to blood; S. Paul uses not the word, and Bellarmine himself gives the rule, *Verba Domini rectius exposita a Marco, &c.;* 'when one evangelist is plain, by him we are to expound another that is not plain:' and S. Basil[x] in his reading of the words, either following some ancienter Greek copy, or else mending it out of the other evangelists, changes the case into perfect grammar, and good divinity, διαθήκη ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνομένῳ.

[r] Atque ait, hic sanguis populi delicta remittet:
Hunc potate meum: (instead of
Hoc potate merum:) nam veris credite dictis,
Posthac non unquam vitis gustabo liquorem,
Donec regna patris melioris munere vitæ
In nova me rursus concedent surgere vina.

[s] Lib. i. c. 10. de euchar. sect. 'Sed addo arg.' [tom. iii. col. 496.]

[t] Lib. viii. Biblioth. [hær. xiii. dissol. object. § 10. tom. ii. p. 1119.]

[u] Vide Bezam in annot. in hunc locum. [sc. in Matth. xxvi. 28.]

[x] Reg. moral. xxi. [tom. ii. p. 254.]

6. Thirdly, the symbols of the blessed sacrament are called 'bread' and 'the cup,' after consecration; that is, in the whole use of them. This is twice affirmed by S. Paul[y], "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communication" (so it should be read) "of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communication of the body of Christ?" as if he had said, "This bread is Christ's body;" though there be also this mystery in it, "This bread is the communication of Christ's body," that is, the exhibition and donation of it; not Christ's body formally, but virtually and effectively; it makes us communicate with Christ's body in all the effects and benefits. A like expression we have in Valerius Maximus[z], where Scipio in the feast of Jupiter is said *Graccho communicasse concordiam*, that is, *consignasse*, he 'communicated concord,' he consigned it with the sacrifice, giving him peace and friendship, the benefit of that communication; and so is the cup of benediction, that is, when the cup is blessed, it communicates Christ's blood, and so does the blessed bread; for "to eat the bread" in the New testament is the sacrifice of Christians;" they are the words of S. Austin[a], *Omnes de uno pane participamus;* so S. Paul, "we all partake of this one bread." Hence the argument is plain,—That which is broken is the communication of Christ's body: but that which is broken is bread: therefore bread is the communication of Christ's body. "The bread which we break," those are the words.

7. Fourthly, the other place of S. Paul[b] is plainer yet, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup." And, "so often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye declare the Lord's death till He come:" and the same also ver. 27; three times in this chapter he calls the eucharist 'bread.' It is bread, sacramental bread when the communicant eats it; but he that in the church of Rome should call to the priest to give him a 'piece of bread,' would quickly find that instead of bread he should have a 'stone' or something as bad. But S. Paul had a little of the Macedonian simplicity, calling things by their own plain names[c].

8. Fifthly, against this some little things are pretended in answer by the Roman doctors. 1) That the holy eucharist or the sacred body is called 'bread' because it is made of bread; as Eve is called of Adam bone of his bone; and the rods changed into serpents are still called rods; or else because it sometimes was bread, therefore so it is called after: just as we say, the blind see, the lame walk, the harlots enter into the kingdom of heaven. Which answer although Bellarmine[d] mislikes, yet lest any others should be pleased with it, I have this certain confutation of it; that by the Roman doctrine the bread is wholly annihilated, and nothing of the bread becomes any thing of

[y] 1 Cor. x. [16.]
[z] [lib. iv. cap. 2. § 3.]
[a] Lib. xvii. de civ. Dei, cap. 5. [tom. vii. col. 467 A.]
[b] [1 Cor. xi. 28, 26.]
[c] [Plut. apophthegm., tom. vi. p. 678.]
[d] Lib. i. c. 14. de euchar. [tom. iii. col. 546.]

the holy body; and the holy body never was bread, not so much as the matter of bread remaining in the change. It cannot therefore be called bread, unless it be bread; at least not for this reason. For if the body of Christ be not bread then, neither ever was it bread, neither was it made of bread: and therefore these cannot be the reasons, because they are not true. But in the instances alleged, the denomination still remains, because the change was made in the same remaining matter, or in the same person, or they were to be so again as they were before; nothing of which can be affirmed of the eucharist, by their doctrine, therefore these instances are not pertinent. 2) Others answer that the holy body is called bread because it seems to be so; just as the effigies and forms of pomegranates, of bulls, of serpents, of cherubims, are called by the names of those creatures whom they do resemble. I reply, that well they may, because there is there no danger of being deceived by such appellations, no man will suppose them other than the pictures, and so to speak is usual and common. But in the matter of the holy eucharist it ought not to be called bread for the likeness to bread, unless it were bread indeed; because such likeness and such appellation are both of them a temptation against that which these men call an article of faith: but rather because it is like bread, and all the world are apt to take it for such, it ought to have been described with caution, and affirmed to be Christ and God, and not to be bread though it seem so. But when it is often called bread in scripture, which name the church of Rome does not at all use in the mystery; and is never called in scripture the Son of God, or God, or Christ, which words the church of Rome does often use in the mystery; it is certain that it is called bread, not because it is like bread, but because it is so indeed. And indeed upon such an answer as this it is easy to affirm an apple to be a pigeon, and no apple; for if it be urged that all the world calls it an apple, it may be replied then as now, it is true they call it an apple because it is like an apple, but indeed it is a pigeon. 3) Some of them say when it is called bread, it is not meant that particular kind of nourishment, but in general it means any food, and so only represents Christ's body as a celestial divine thing intended some way to be our food; just as in S. John vi. Christ is called "the bread that came down from heaven," not meaning material bread, but divine nourishment. But this is the weakest of all, because this which is called bread is broken, is eaten, hath the accidents of bread, and all the signs of his proper nature; and it were a strange violence that it should here signify any manner of food to which it is not like, and not signify that to which it is so like. Besides this, bread here signifies, as wine or chalice does in the following words; now that did signify the fruit of the vine, that special manner of drink, Christ himself being the interpreter; and therefore so must this mean that special manner of food.

9. Sixthly, if after the blessing the bread doth not remain, but (as

they affirm) be wholly annihilated, then by blessing God destroys a creature; which indeed is a strange kind of blessing; ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εὐλογῶν βεβαιοῖ τοὺς λόγους τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ παντοδαπὴν παρέχει φορὰν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς εὐλογουμένοις, saith Suidas, verb. εὐλογῆσαι [d]. 'when God blesses, He confirms His words with deeds, and gives all sorts of good to that which He blesses.' And certain it is that although blessing can change it, it must yet change it to the better; and so we affirm He does: for the bread, besides the natural being, by being blessed becomes the body of Christ in a sacramental manner; but then it must remain bread still, or else it receives not that increase and change; but if it be annihilated and becomes nothing, it is not Christ's body in any sense, nor in any sense can pretend to be blessed. To which add the words of S. Austin [e], *Ille ad quem non esse non pertinet, non est causa deficiendi, id est, tendendi ad non esse,* 'He that is the fountain of all being, is not the cause of not being, much less can His blessing cause any thing not to be.' It follows therefore that by blessing the bread becomes better, but therefore it still remains.

10. Seventhly, that it is bread of which Christ affirmed 'This is My body,' and that it is bread after consecration, was the doctrine of the fathers in the primitive church. I begin with the words of a whole council of fathers *In Trullo* at Constantinople [f], decreeing thus against the Aquarii, *In sanctis nihil plus quam corpus Christi offeratur, ut ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aqua mixtum,* 'in the holy places (or offices) let nothing more be offered but the body of Christ, as the Lord himself delivered, that is, bread and wine mingled with water.' So Justin Martyr [g], Εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα τὸ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι, 'we are taught that the food made eucharistical, the food which by change nourishes our flesh and blood, is the flesh and blood of Jesus incarnate,' οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, 'we do not receive it as common bread:' no, for it is τροφὴ εὐχαριστηθεῖσα, it is 'made sacramental and eucharistical,' and so it is sublimed to become the body of Christ. But it is natural food still, and that for two reasons. 1) Because still he calls it bread, not common bread but extraordinary, yet bread still. Cardinal Perron says, "It follows not to say, it is not common bread, therefore it is bread; so as of those which appeared as men to Abraham, we might say they were not common men; but it follows not that they were men at all. So the Holy Ghost descending like a dove upon the blessed Jesus was no common dove, and yet it follows not it was a dove at all." I reply to this, that of whatsoever you can say it is extraordinary in his kind, of that you may also affirm it to be of that kind: as concerning the richest scarlet, if you

[d] [col. 1503 A.]
[e] Lib. lxxxiii. quæst. 21. [tom. vi. col. 5 F.]
[f] [can. xxxii. tom. iii. col. 1674.]
[g] Just. Mart. apol. ii. [al. apol. i. § 66. p. 83 B.]

say this is no ordinary colour, you suppose it to be a colour: so the Corinthian brass was no common brass, and the Colossus was no common statue, and Christmas day is no common day, yet these negatives suppose the affirmative of their proper subject; Corinthian brass is brass, Colossus is a statue, and Christmas day is a day. But if you affirm of a counterfeit, or of an image or a picture, by saying it is no common thing, you deny to it the ordinary nature by diminution; but if it have the nature of the thing, then to say it is not common, denies the ordinary nature by addition and eminency; the first says it is not so at all, the second says it is more than so; and this is taught to every man by common reason, and he could have observed it if he had pleased; for it is plain Justin said this of that which before the consecration was known to be natural bread, and therefore now to say it was not common bread is to say it is bread and something more. 2) The second reason from the words of Justin to prove it to be natural food still, is because it is that by which our blood and our flesh is nourished by change. Bellarmine says that these words, "by which our flesh and blood is nourished," mean by which they use to be nourished; not meaning that they are nourished by this bread when it is eucharistical. But besides that this is *gratis dictum*, without any colour or pretence from the words of Justin, but by a presumption taken from his own opinion, as if it were impossible that Justin should mean any thing against his doctrine: besides this I say the interpretation is insolent, *Nutriuntur, i. e. solent nutriri;* as also because both the verbs are of the present tense, τρέφονται σάρκες, and σῶμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι, 'the flesh and blood are nourished by bread,' and 'it is the body of Christ;' that is, both in conjunction; so that he says not, as Bellarmine would have him, *Cibus ille ex quo carnes nostræ ali solent cum prece mystica consecratur, efficitur corpus Christi;* but, *Cibus ille quo carnes nostræ aluntur, est corpus Christi:* the difference is material, and the matter is apparent; but upon this alone I rely not. To the same purpose are the words of Irenæus[h], *Dominus accipiens panem, suum corpus esse confitebatur, et temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit,* 'our Lord taking bread confessed it to be His body, and the mixture of the cup He confirmed to be His blood.' Here Irenæus affirms to be true what Bellarmine[i] says *non potest fieri,* 'cannot be done;' that in the same proposition 'bread' should be the subject, and 'body' should be the predicate; Irenæus says that Christ said it to be so, and him we follow. But most plainly in his fifth book[k], *Quando ergo et mixtus calix, et fractus*[l] *panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi; ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia: quomodo carnem negant*

[h] Lib. iv. c. 57. [leg. 53. al. 33. § 2. col. 731.] p. 270.]

[i] De euch., lib. iii. c. 19. [tom. iii.

[k] [cap. ii. § 3. init. p. 294.]

[l] [al. 'factus.']

capacem esse donationis Dei qui[m] *est vita æterna, quæ sanguine et corpore Christi nutritur?* and a little after he affirms that we are flesh of His flesh and bone of His bones; and that this is not understood of the spiritual man, but of the natural disposition or temper; *quæ de calice qui est sanguis ejus nutritur, et de pane qui*[n] *est corpus ejus augetur;* and again, *eum calicem qui est creatura*[o] *suum sanguinem qui effusus est, ex quo auget nostrum sanguinem, et eum panem qui est creatura*[o]*, suum corpus confirmavit, ex quo nostra auget corpora;* 'it is made the eucharist of the bread, and the body of Christ out of that of which the substance of our flesh consists and is increased; by the bread which He confirmed to be His body He increases our bodies, by the blood which was poured out He increases our blood;' that is the sense of Irenæus so often repeated. And to the same purpose is that of Origen[p], ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος, 'the bread which is called the eucharist is to us the symbol of thanksgiving or eucharist to God.' So also Tertullian[q], *acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit,* 'He made the bread which He took and distributed to His disciples to be His body.' But more plainly in his book *De corona militis*[r], *Calicis aut panis nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur,* 'we cannot endure that any of the cup or any thing of the bread be thrown to the ground:' the eucharist he plainly calls bread; and that he speaks of the eucharist is certain, and Bellarmine[s] quotes the words to the purpose of shewing how reverently the eucharist was handled and regarded. The like is in S. Cyprian[t], *Dominus corpus suum panem vocat, et sanguinem suum vinum appellat,* 'our Lord calls bread His body, and wine His blood.' So John Maxentius[u] in the time of pope Hormisda, "The bread which the whole church receives in memory of the passion is the body of Christ." And S. Cyril of Jerusalem[x] is earnest in this affair, "Since our Lord hath declared and said to us of bread, This is My body, who shall dare to doubt it?" which words I the rather note because cardinal Perron brings them as if they made for his cause, which they most evidently destroy; for if of bread Christ made this affirmation, that it is His body, then it is both bread and Christ's body too, and that is it which we contend for. In the dialogues against the Marcionites collected out of Maximus[y], Origen is brought in proving the reality of Christ's flesh and blood in His incarnation by this argument; "If as these men say He be without flesh and blood; ἢ τινὸς σώμα-

[m] [al. 'quæ.']
[n] [al. 'quod.']
[o] [al. 'a creatura.']
[p] Lib. viii. adv. Celsum. [§ 57. tom. i. p. 784 F.]
[q] Tertul. adv. Marcion., lib. iv. c. 40. [p. 457 D.]
[r] [cap. iii. p. 102 A.]
[s] Bellar., lib. iv. euch. c. 14. [leg. lib. i. c. 13.] sect. 'Si rursus objicias.' [tom. iii. col. 527.]
[t] Cyprian. ep. lxxvi. [al. lxix. p. 182.]
[u] Dial. ii. contr. Nestor. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., part. i. p. 391.]
[x] Catech. mystag. iv. [§ 1. p. 320 A.]
[y] [In opp. Origen.—Adamantii dialogus de recta in Deum fide, § 4.—tom. i. p. 853 E.]

τος ἢ ποίου αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς ἄρτον τε καὶ ποτήριον ἐνετέλλετο, κ.τ.λ. 'of what body and of what blood did He command the images or figures, giving the bread and cup to His disciples, that by these a remembrance of Him should be made?' But Acacius[z] the successor of Eusebius in his bishopric calls it bread and wine even in the very use and sanctification of us, *Panis vinumque ex hac materia vescentes sanctificat*, 'the bread and wine sanctifies them that are fed with this matter.' *In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam sed vinum*, so S. Hierome[a], 'He offered wine, not water, in the type (representment or sacrament) of His blood.' To the same purpose, but most plain, are the words of Theodoret[b], ἔν γε τῇ τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα, 'in the exhibition of the mysteries He called bread His body, and the mixture in the chalice He called blood.' So also S. Austin, Serm. ix. *De diversis*[c], "The eucharist is our daily bread, but we receive it so that we are not only nourished by the belly, but also by the understanding." And I cannot understand the meaning of plain Latin if the same thing be not affirmed in the little mass-book published by Paulus the fifth for the English priests, *Deus qui humani generis utramque substantiam præsentium munerum et alimento vegetas, et renovas sacramento; tribue quæsumus, ut eorum et corporibus nostris subsidium non desit et mentibus;* the present gifts were appointed for the nourishment both of soul and body. Who please may see more in Macarius twenty-seventh homily[d], and Ammonius in his Evangelical Harmony in the *Bibliotheca PP.*[e]; and this though it be decried now-a-days in the Roman schools, yet was the doctrine of Scotus[f], of Durandus[g], Ocham[h], Cameracensis[i], and Biel[k], and those men were for consubstantiation, that Christ's natural body was together with natural bread; which although I do not approve, yet the use that I now make of them cannot be denied me; it was their doctrine that after consecration bread still remains, after this let what can follow. But that I may leave the ground of this argument secure, I add this, that in the primitive church eating the eucharistical bread was esteemed a breaking the fast, which is not imaginable any man can admit but he that believes bread to remain after consecration, and to be nutritive as before: but so it was that in the second age of the church it was advised that either they should end their station (or fast) at the communion, or defer the communion to the end of the station; as appears in Tertullian, *De oratione*, cap. 14[l], which unanswerably proves that

[z] Acacius in Gen. ii. Græc. caten. in Pentateuch. [fol. 41 b. 8vo. Col. Agr. 1572.]

[a] Lib. ii. adv. Jovin. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 198.]

[b] Dial. i. ἄτρεπτος [tom. iv. p. 26.]

[c] [al. Serm. lvii. tom. v. col. 334 A.]

[d] [? § 12. Galland. tom. vii. p. 106.]

[e] [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. iii. p. 28.]

[f] Sent. iv. dist. 11. q. 3. [p. 618.]

[g] Ibid. q. 1. [p. 712 sq.]

[h] Ibid. q. 6, et Centilog. theol. concl. iv. [? xx.] q. 6. [vid. p. 21. not. e, supra.]

[i] Ibid. q. 6. ar. 1. [fol. cclxiii. b sqq.]

[k] Canon. miss. lect. xl. H. [fol. 85 sqq.]

[l] [p. 135 B.]

then it was thought to be bread and nutritive, even then when it was eucharistical: and Picus Mirandula[m] affirms that if a Jew or a christian should eat the sacrament for refection, it breaks his fast. The same also is the doctrine of all those churches who use the liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, and S. Chrysostom, who hold that receiving the holy communion breaks the fast, as appears in the disputation of cardinal Humbert[n] with Nicetas about six hundred years ago.—The sum of all is this; if of bread Christ said, 'This is My body,' because it cannot be true in a proper natural sense, it implying a contradiction that it should be properly bread and properly Christ's body, it must follow that it is Christ's body in a figurative improper sense. But if the bread does not remain bread, but be changed by blessing into our Lord's body; this also is impossible to be in any sense true but by affirming the change to be only in use, virtue and condition, with which change the natural being of bread may remain. For he that supposes that by the blessing the bread ceases so to be, that nothing of it remains, must also necessarily suppose that the bread being no more, it neither can be the body of Christ nor any thing else. For it is impossible that what is taken absolutely from all being, should yet abide under a certain difference of being, and that that thing which is not at all should yet be after a certain manner. Since therefore (as I have proved) the bread remains, and of bread it was affirmed, 'This is My body,' it follows inevitably that it is figuratively, not properly and naturally spoken of bread, that it is the flesh or body of our Lord.

§ 6. *Est corpus meum.*

1. THE next words to be considered are *Est corpus*, 'this is My body;' and here begins the first tropical[o] expression. *Est*, that is, *significat* or *repræsentat et exhibet corpus meum*, say some; 'this is My body, it is to all real effects the same to your particulars which My body is to all the church; it signifies the breaking of My body, the effusion of My blood for you, and applies My passion to you, and conveys to you all the benefits; as this nourishes your bodies, so My body nourishes your souls to life eternal, and consigns your bodies to immortality.' Others make the trope in *corpus*, so that *est* shall signify properly, but *corpus* is taken in a spiritual sense, sacramental and mysterious, not a natural and presential. Whether the figure be in *est* or in *corpus*, is but a question of rhetoric, and of no effect: that the proposition is tropical and figurative is the thing, and that Christ's natural body is now in heaven definitely and nowhere else; and that He is in the sacrament as He can be in a sacrament, in the hearts of faithful receivers as He hath promised to be there; that is, in the sacrament mystically, operatively, as in a moral and divine instrument; in the hearts of

[m] Apol. iv. 6. [tom. i. p. 124.]

[n] [p. 7. not. q, supra.]

[o] ['topical,' B, C.]

receivers by faith and blessing: this is the truth and the faith of which we are to give a reason and account to them that disagree. But this, which is to all the purpose which any one pretends can be in the sumption of Christ's body naturally, yet will not please the Romanists unless *est*, 'is,' signify properly without trope or metonymy, and *corpus* be *corpus naturale*. Here then I join issue; it is not Christ's body properly, or naturally: for though it signifies a real effect, yet it signifies the body figuratively, or the effects and real benefits.

2. Now concerning this there are very many inducements to infer the figurative or tropical interpretation.

First, 1) In the language which our blessed Lord spake there is no word that can express *significat*, but they use the word 'is;' the Hebrews and the Syrians always join the names of the signs with the things signified: and since the very essence of a sign is to signify, it is not an improper elegancy in those languages to use *est* for *significat*. 2) It is usual in the Old testament, as may appear, to understand *est* when the meaning is for the present, and not to express it; but when it signifies the future then to express it[p]; "the seven fat cows, seven years; the seven withered ears shall be seven years of famine." 3) The Greek interpreters of the bible supply the word *est* in the present tense which is omitted in the Hebrew, as in the places above quoted; but although their language can very well express 'signifies,' yet they follow the Hebrew idiom. 4) In the New testament the same manner of speaking is retained, to declare that the nature and being of signs is to signify they have no other *esse* but *significare*, and therefore they use *est* for *significat*; 'The seed is the word, the field is the world, the reapers are the angels, the harvest is the end of the world; the rock is Christ; I am the door; I am the vine, My Father is the husbandman; I am the way, the truth, and the life; Sarah and Agar are the two testaments; the stars are the angels of the churches, the candlesticks are the churches;' and many more of this kind. We have therefore great and fair and frequent precedents for expounding this *est* by *significat*, for it is the style of both the testaments to speak in signs and representments, where one disparate speaks of another, as it does here; the body of Christ, of the bread, which is the sacrament: especially since the very institution of it is representative, significative, and commemorative; for so said our blessed Saviour, "Do this in memorial of Me[q];" and "this doing, ye shew forth the Lord's death till He come," saith S. Paul.

3. Secondly, the second credibility that our blessed Saviour's words are to be understood figuratively is, because it is a sacrament[r]:

[p] [Gen. xli. 26, 27; xl. 12, 18; xvii. 10; Exod. xii. 11.]

[q] Nemo recordatur nisi quod in præsentia non est positum.—S. August. in psal. xxxvii. [tom. iv. col. 294 D.]

[r] Hæc n. sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant semper attenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum,

for mysterious and tropical expressions are very frequently, almost regularly and universally used in scripture in sacraments and sacramentals. And therefore it is but a vain discourse of Bellarmine to contend that this must be a proper speaking, because it is a sacrament. For that were all one as to say, 'He speaks mystically, therefore he speaks properly.' Μυστήριον is the Greek for a sacrament, and all the Greek that is for it in the New testament; and when S. Paul[s] tells of a man praying in the Spirit, but so as not to be understood, he expresses it by 'speaking mysteries;' the mysterious and sacramental speaking is secret and dark. But so it is in the sacrament or covenant of circumcision. Τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἡ διαθήκη μου[t], 'this is My covenant,' and yet it was but 'the seal of the covenant,' if you believe S. Paul[u]; it was a sacrament and a consignation of it, but it is spoken of it affirmatively: and the same words are used there as in the sacrament of the eucharist; it is διαθήκη in both places.

4. And upon this account two other usual objections, pretending that this being a covenant and a testament it ought to be expressed without a figure, are dissolved. For here is a covenant and a testament and a sacrament all in one, and yet the expression of them is figurative; and the being a testament is so far from supposing all expression in it to be proper and free from figure, that itself, the very word testament, in the institution of the holy sacrament, is tropical or figurative; *est testamentum*, that is, *est signum testamenti*, 'it is,' that is, 'it signifies.' And why they should say that a testament must have in it all plain words and no figures or hard sayings, that contend that both the testaments New and Old, are very full of hard sayings, and upon that account forbid the people to read them; I confess I cannot understand. Besides this, though it be fit in temporal testaments all should be plain, yet we see all are not plain, and from thence come so many suits of law; yet there is not the same reason in spiritual or divine, and in human testaments; for in human, there is nothing but legacies and express commands, both which it is necessary that we understand plainly; but in divine testaments there are mysteries to exercise our industry and our faith, our patience and enquiry, some things for us to hope, some things for us to admire, some things to pry into, some things to act, some things for the present, some things for the future, some things pertaining to this life, some things pertaining to the life to come, some things we are to see in a glass darkly, some things reserved till the vision of God's face. And after all this, in human testaments men ought to speak plainly, because they can speak no more when they are dead: but Christ can, for "He being dead yet speaketh;" and He can by His spirit make

aliud existentia, aliud significantia.—August., lib. ii. contr. Max. c. 22. [tom. viii. col. 725 F.] Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum, sive sacrum secretum. —Bern. serm. [i.] de cœn. Dom. [col. 144 M.]

[s] 1 Cor. xiv. 2.

[t] Gen. xvii. 10.

[u] Rom. iv. 11.

the church understand as much as He please; and He will as much as is necessary: and it might be remembered that in scripture there is extant a record of Jacob's testament[v], and of Moses[x], which we may observe to be an allegory all the way. I have heard also of an Athenian that had two sons, and being asked on his death-bed to which of his two sons he would give his goods, to Leon or Pantaleon, which were the names of his two sons, he only said, δίδωμι πανταλέοντι, but whether he meant to give all πάντα to Leon, or to Pantaleon, is not yet known. And in the civil law it is noted that testaments have figurative expressions very often, and therefore decreed, *Non enim in causa testamentorum ad definitionem (strictam sive propriam[y] verborum significationem,* saith the gloss) *utique descendendum est, cum plerumque abusive loquantur, nec propriis vocabulis ac nominibus semper utantur testatores; l. 'Non aliter,' § Titius. F. 'De legat. et fidei com.'*[z] And there are in law certain measures for presumption of the testator's meaning. These therefore are trifling arrests; even a commandment may be given with a figurative expression, and yet be plain enough; such was that of Jesus, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He would send labourers into His harvest;" and that "Jesus commanded His disciples to prepare the passover;" and some others: so, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments," &c. And an article of faith may be expressed figuratively; so is that of Christ sitting at the right hand of His Father. And therefore much more may there be figurative expressions in the institution of a mystery, and yet be plain enough; *Tropica loquutio cum fit ubi fieri solet, sine labore sequitur intellectus,* said S. Austin, lib. iii. *De doctr. christ.* c. 37[a]. Certain it is the church understood this well enough for a thousand years together, and yet admitted of figures in the institution; and since these new men had the handling of it, and excluded the figurative sense, they have made it so hard, that themselves cannot understand it, nor tell one another's meaning. But it suffices as to this particular, that in scripture doctrines, and promises, and precepts and prophecies, and histories, are expressed sometimes figuratively; *Dabo tibi claves;* and *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis;* and "the dragon drew the third part of the stars with his tail;" and "Fight the good fight of faith," "Put on the armour of righteousness;" and very many more.

5. Thirdly; and indeed there is no possibility of distinguishing sacramental propositions from common and dogmatical, or from a commandment, but that these are affirmative of a nature, those of a mystery; these speak properly, they are figurative: such as this, 'Unless a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven:" the proposition is sacramental, mystical, and figurative: "Go and baptize," that's a precept, therefore the

[v] Gen. xlix.
[x] Deut. xxxiii.
[y] ['sive propriam' deest.]
[z] [Digest., lib. xxxii. § 69. tom. ii. col. 1051. fol. Par. 1576.]
[a] [tom. iii. part. i. col. 64 C.]

rather is it literal and proper. So it is in the blessed sacrament, the institution is in "Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave to His disciples, saying, Take, eat." In these also there is a precept, and in the last words, *Hoc facite,* "this do in remembrance of Me;" but the sacramental proposition or the mystical, which explicates the sacrament, is *Hoc est corpus meum;* and either this is, or there is no sacramental proposition in this whole affair to explicate the mystery, or the being a sacrament. But this is very usual in sacramental propositions. For so baptism is called regeneration, and it is called a burial by S. Paul, for "we are buried with Him in baptism;" then baptism is either *sepulchrum* or *sepultura,* the grave or the burial, but either of them is a figure, and it is so much used in sacramental and mystic propositions, that they are all so, or may be so; *ut baptismus sepulchrum, sic hoc est corpus meum,* saith S. Austin[b]. And this is also observed in Gentile rites;

——— φέρον ὅρκια πιστὰ
Ἄρνε δύω, καὶ οἶνον ἐΰφρονα,—So Homer[c].

The slain lambs and the wine were the sacrament, 'the faithful oaths,' that is, the rite and mystery of their sanction; they were oaths figuratively.

6. Fourthly; but to save the labour of more instances; S. Austin[d] hath made the observation, and himself gives in a list of particulars: *solet autem res quæ significat ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari: septem spicæ septem anni sunt; non enim dixit, septem annos significant; et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus; non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem,* 'the thing which signifies is wont to be called by that which it signifies: the seven ears of corn are seven years; he did not say they signified seven years, but are; and many like this. Hence it is said, the rock was Christ, for he said not, the rock signifies Christ; but as if the thing were that, not which it were in his own substance, but in signification.' *Pervulgatum est in scriptura ut res figurata nomen habeat figuræ,* saith Ribera[e]. That this is no unusual thing is confessed on all hands.

7. So is that of Exodus, 'the lamb is the passover;' and this does so verify S. Austin's words that in the New testament the apostles asked our Lord, "Where wilt Thou that we prepare to eat the passover?" that is, the lamb which was the remembrance of the passover, as the blessed eucharist is of the death of Christ. To this instance Bellarmine[f] speaks nothing to purpose, for he denies the lamb to signify the passover, or the passing of the angel over the houses

[b] Lib. xx. cont. Faustum Manich., c. 21. [vid. p. 152, nott. x, y, infra.]
[c] [Il. γ. 245.]
[d] In Levit. [lib. iii.] q. 57. [tom. iii. col. 516.]
[e] In Apoc., c. xiv. v. 8. [p. 445. 8vo. Antuerp. 1603.]
[f] Lib. i. euch. c. 11. sect. 'Quædam citantur.' [tom. iii. col. 515.]

of Israel, because there is no likelihood between the lamb and the passover; and to make the business up, he says the lamb was the passover. By some straining the lamb slain might signify the slaying the Egyptians, and remember their own escape at the time when they first eat the lamb; but by no straining could the lamb be the thing; especially if for the dissimilitude it could not so much as signify it, how could it be the very same to which it was so extremely unlike? But he always says something, though it be nothing to the purpose; and yet it may be remembered that the eating the lamb was as proper an instrument of remembrance of that deliverance, as the eating consecrated bread is of the passion of our blessed Lord. "But it seems the lamb is the very passover, as the very festival day is called the passover;" so he. And he says true, 'in the same manner:' but that is but by a trope or figure, for the feast is the feast of the passover; if you speak properly, it is the passover by a metonymy; and so is the lamb. And this instance is so much the more opposite, because it is the forerunner of the blessed eucharist, which succeeded that, as baptism did circumcision; and there is nothing of sense that hath been or I think can be spoken to evade the force of this instance; nor of the many other before reckoned.

8. Fifthly; and as it is usual in all sacraments, so particularly it must be here, in which there is such a heap of tropes and figurative speeches, that almost in every word there is plainly a trope. For 1) Here is the 'cup' taken for the thing contained in it. 2) 'Testament,' for the legacy given by it[g]. 3) 'This' is not *in recto*, but *in obliquo*; 'this,' that is, not this which you see, but this which you do not see; this which is under the species is My body. 4) 'My body,' but not bodily; My body without the forms and figure of My body, that is, My body, not as it is in nature, not as it is in glory, but as it is in sacrament: that is, My body sacramentally. 5) 'Drink ye,' that is also improper; for His blood is not drunk properly, for blood hath the same manner of existing in the chalice as it hath in the paten, that is, under the form of wine as it is under the form of bread; and therefore it is in the veins, not separate, say they[h], and yet is in the bread as it is in the chalice, and in both as upon the cross, that is, poured out; so Christ said expressly; for else it were so far from being His blood, that it were not so much as the sacrament of what He gave; so that the wine in the chalice is not drunk, because it is not separate from the body; and in the bread it cannot be drunk, because there it is not in the veins; or if it were, yet is made as a consistent thing by the continent, but is not potable: now that which follows from hence is, that it is not drunk at all

[g] ['for the legacy bequeathed by the testament' A.]

[h] See Brerely, Liturg. tract. iv. sect. 8. [p. 424.]—Glossa in c. [xxvii.] 'Si per negligentiam.' dist. ii. 'De consecrat,' in hæc verba, 'De sanguine,' ait, 'De sanguine, i. e. de sacramento sanguinis: sanguis enim Christi a corpore Christi separari non valet, ergo nec stillare nec fluere potest.' [col. 2094.]

properly, but figuratively: and so Mr. Brerely[i] confesses sometimes, and Jansenius[j]. There is also an impropriety in the word 'given,' for 'shall be given;' 'is poured out,' for 'shall be poured out;' in 'broken,' for then it was not broken when Christ spake it, and it cannot be properly spoken since His glorification. Salmeron[k] allows an enallage in the former, and Suarez[l] a metaphor in the latter. *Frangi cum dicitur, est metaphorica locutio.* And this is their excuse why in the Roman missal they leave out the words 'which is broken for you,' for they do what they please, they put in some words which Christ used not, and leave out something that He did use, and yet they are all the words of institution. And upon the same account there is another trope in 'eat,' and yet with a strange confidence these men wonder at us for saying the sacramental words are tropical or figurative[m], when even by their own confession[n] and proper grounds there is scarce any word in the whole institution but admits an impropriety. And then concerning the main predication, 'This is My body;' as Christ called bread His body, so He called His body bread; and both these affirmatives are destructive of Transubstantiation; for if of bread Christ affirmed, It is His body, by the rule of disparates it is figurative; and if of His body He affirmed it to be bread, it is certain also and confessed to be a figure. Now concerning this, besides that our blessed Saviour affirmed Himself to be "the bread that came down from heaven," calling Himself bread, and in the institution calling bread His body; we have the express words of Theodoret[o], τῷ μὲν σώματι τὸ τοῦ συμβόλου τέθεικεν ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ συμβόλῳ τὸ τοῦ σώματος, 'Christ gave to His body the name of the symbol, and to the symbol the name of His body;' and S. Cyprian speaks expressly to this purpose, as you may see above, § 5. *n.* 9.

9. Sixthly, the strange inconveniences and impossibilities, the scandals and errors, the fancy of the Capernaites, and the temptations to faith, arising from the literal sense of these words, have been in other cases thought sufficient by all men to expound words of scripture by tropes and allegories. The heresy of the Anthropomorphites and the Euchitæ, and the doctrine of the Chiliasts, and Origen gelding himself, proceeded from the literal sense of some texts of scripture, against which there is not the hundred part of so much presumption as I shall in the sequel make to appear to lie against this. And yet no man puts out his right eye literally, or

[i] See Brerely, Liturg. Tract. 4. sect. 8. [p. 424.]

[j] Concord. in eum locum. [p. 899.]

[k] Salmer. in 1 Cor. xi. [tom. xiv. p. 154.] Gregor. de Valent., lib. i. de Missa, c. 3. sect. 'Igitur.' [De reb. fid. controv., p. 510.]

[l] Tom. iii. disp. 47. sect. 4. § 'Exempla tertiæ,' [p. 672.] Ruard Tapper in art. xiii. [passim; p. 169 sqq.]

[m] Dico quod figura corporis Christi est ibi, sed figura corporis Christi non est ibi figura corporis Christi.—Holcot in 4. sent. quæst. 3. [prope fin. ed. 4to. Lugd. 1510.]

[n] Anselm, Lombard, Thomas, Lyran, Gorran, Cajetan, Dion. Carth., Catharinus, Salmeron, Bened. Justinian, Sa in 1 Cor. 11. et innumeri alii.

[o] Dial. i. c. 8. [tom. iv. p. 26.]

cuts off his right hand to prevent a scandal. Certain it is, there hath been much greater inconvenience by following the letter of these words of institution, than of any other in scripture: by so much as the danger of idolatry, and actual tyranny, and uncharitable damning others, and schism, are worse than any temporal inconvenience, or an error in a matter of speculation.

10. Seventhly, I argue out of S. Austin's[p] grounds thus; 1) As the fathers did eat Christ's body, so do we under a diverse sacrament and different symbols, but in all the same reality; whatsoever we eat, the same they did eat; for the difference is this only, they received Christ by faith in Him that was to come, and we by faith in Him that is come already; but they had the same real benefit, Christ as really as we, for they had salvation as well as we. But the fathers could not eat Christ's flesh in a natural manner, for it was not yet assumed: and though it were as good an argument against our eating of it naturally, that it is gone from us into heaven: yet that which I now insist upon is that it was *cibus spiritualis* which they eat under the sacrament of Manna; therefore we under the sacrament of bread and wine eating the same meat, eat only Christ in a spiritual sense, that is, our spiritual meat. And this is also true in the other sacraments of the 'rock' and the 'cloud;' "Our fathers eat of the same spiritual meat, and drank of the same spiritual drink, that is, Christ;" so he afterwards expounds it. Now if they did eat and drink Christ, that is, were by Him in sacrament and to all reality of effect nourished up to life eternal, why cannot the same spiritual meat do the same thing for us, we receiving it also in sacrament and mystery? 2) To which I add, that all they that do communicate spiritually do receive all the blessing of the sacrament, which could not be unless the mystery were only sacramental, mysterious and spiritual. Maldonate[q] speaking of something of this from the authority of S. Austin, is of opinion that if S. Austin were now alive, in very spite to the Calvinists he would have expounded that of Manna otherwise than he did: it seems he lived in a good time, when malice and the spirit of contradiction was not so much in fashion in the interpretations of the scripture.

11. Now let it be considered whether all that I have said be not abundantly sufficient to out-weigh their confidence of the literal sense of these sacramental words. They find the words spoken, they say they are literally to be understood, they bring nothing considerable for it; there is no scripture that so expounds it, there is no reason in the circumstances of the words; but there is all the reason of the world against it, (as I have and shall shew,) and such for the meanest of which very many other places of scripture are drawn from the literal sense and rest in a tropical and spiritual. Now in all such cases when we find an inconvenience press the literal expression of a

[p] Tract. xxvi. in S. Johan. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 498.]
[q] In S. Johan. vi. 49. [col. 1476.]

text, instantly we find another that is figurative, and why it is not so done in this, the interest and secular advantages which are consequent to this opinion of the church of Rome may give sufficient account. In the mean time we have reason not to admit of the literal sense of these words, not only 1) by the analogy of other sacramental expressions in both Testaments, I mean that of circumcision and the passover in the Old, and baptism as Christ discoursed it to Nicodemus in the New testament; but also 2) because the literal sense of the like words in this very article introduced the heresy of the Capernaites; and 3) because the subject and the predicate in the words of institution are diverse and disparate, and cannot possibly be spoken of each other properly. 4) The words in the natural and proper sense seem to command an unnatural thing, the eating of flesh. 5) They rush upon infinite impossibilities, they contradict sense and reason, the principles and discourses of all mankind, and of all philosophy. 6) Our blessed Saviour tells us that 'the flesh profiteth nothing,' and (as themselves pretend) even in this mystery, that 'His words were spirit and life.' 7) The literal sense cannot be explicated by themselves, nor by any body for them. 8) It is against the analogy of other scriptures. 9) It is to no purpose. 10) Upon the literal sense of the words, the church could not confute the Marcionites[r], Eutychians, Nestorians, the Aquarii. 11) It is against antiquity. 12) The whole form of words in every of the members is confessed to be figurative by the opposite party. 13) It is not pretended to be verifiable without an infinite company of miracles, all which being more than needs, and none of them visible, but contestations against art, and the notices of two or three sciences, cannot be supposed to be done by God, who does nothing superfluously. 14) It seems to contradict an article of faith, viz., of Christ's sitting in heaven in a determinate place, and being contained there till His second coming.—Upon these considerations, and upon the account of all the particular arguments which I have and shall bring against it, it is not unreasonable, neither can it seem so, that we decline the letter, and adhere to the spirit, in the sense of these words. But I have divers things more to say in this particular from the consideration of other words of the institution, and the whole nature of the thing.

§ 7. Considerations of the manner and circumstances and annexes of the institution.

1. THE blessed sacrament is the same thing now as it was in the institution of it: but Christ did not really give His natural body in the natural sense when He eat His last supper, therefore neither does He now. The first proposition is beyond all dispute certain, evident, and confessed; *Hoc facite* convinces it, 'this do;' what Christ did, His disciples are to do. I assume: Christ did not give

[r] Vide infra, sect. xii. n. 22, et n. 32, &c.; et sect. x. n. 6.

His natural body properly in the last supper, therefore neither does He now; the assumption I prove by divers arguments.

2. First, if then He gave His natural body, then it was naturally broken, and His blood was actually poured forth before the passion; for He gave τὸ σῶμα κλώμενον, τὸ ποτήριον or αἷμα ἐκχυνόμενον, His body was delivered broken, His blood was shed. Now those words were spoken either properly and naturally; and then they were not true, because His body was yet whole, His blood still in the proper channels; or else it was spoken in a figurative and sacramental sense, and so it was true (as were all the words which our blessed Saviour spake), for that which He then ministered was the sacrament of His passion.

3. Secondly, if Christ gave His body in the natural sense at the last supper, then it was either a sacrifice propitiatory, or it was not; if it was not, then it is not now, and then their dream of the mass is vanished: if it was propitiatory at the last supper, then God was reconciled to all the world, and mankind was redeemed before the passion of our blessed Saviour: which therefore would have been needless and ineffective: so fearful are the consequents of this strange doctrine.

4. Thirdly, if Christ gave His body properly in the last supper, and not only figuratively and in sacrament, then it could not be a representment or sacrament of His passion, but a real exhibition of it; but that it was a sacrament only, appears by considering that it was then alive, that the passion was future, that the thing was really to be performed upon the cross, that then He was to be delivered for the life of the world. In the last supper all this was in type and sacrament, because it was before, and the substance was to follow after.

5. Fourthly, if the natural body of Christ was in the last supper under the accidents of bread, then His body at the same time was visible and invisible in the whole substance, visible in His person, invisible under the accidents of bread: and then it would be enquired what it was which the apostles received, what benefits they could have by receiving the body naturally; or whether it be imaginable that the apostles understood it in the literal sense, when they saw His body stand by, unbroken, alive, integral, hypostatical.

6. Fifthly, if Christ's body were naturally in the sacrament, I demand whether it be as it was in the last supper, or as upon the cross, or as it is now in heaven? 1) Not as in the last supper, for then it was frangible, but not broken, but typically, by design, in figure and in sacrament, as it is evident in matter of fact. 2) Not as on the cross, for there the body was frangible and broken too, and the blood spilled; and if it were so now in the sacrament, besides that it were to make Christ's glorified body passible, and to crucify the Lord of life again, it also were not the same body which Christ hath now, for His body that He hath now is spiritual and incorruptible, and cannot be otherwise; much less can it be so and not so at the same time

properly, and yet be the same body.[s] 3) Not as in heaven, where it is neither corruptible nor broken; for then in the sacrament there were given to us Christ's glorified body; and then neither were the sacrament a remembrance of Christ's death, neither were the words of institution verified, "This is My body which is broken;" besides, in this we have Bellarmine's[s] confession, *Neque enim ore corporali sumi potest corpus Christi ut est in cœlo.* But then if it be remembered that Christ hath no other body but that which is in heaven; and that can never be otherwise than it is, and so it cannot be received otherwise properly; it unanswerably follows that if it be received in any other manner (as it must if it be at all) it must be received (not naturally or corporally) but spiritually and indeed. By a figure, or a sacramental, spiritual sense, all these difficulties are easily assoiled, but by the natural never.

7. Sixthly, at the last supper they eat the blessed eucharist, but it was not in remembrance of Christ's death, for it was future then, and therefore not then capable of being remembered, any more than a man can be said to remember what will be done to-morrow; it follows from hence that then Christ only instituted a sacrament or figurative mysterious representment of a thing that in the whole use of it was variable by *heri* and *cras,* and therefore never to be naturally verified but on the cross, by a proper and natural presence, because then it was so and never else; at that time it was future, and now it is past, and in both it is relative to His death; therefore it could not be a real exhibition of His body in a natural sense, for that as it could not be remembered then, so neither broken now; that is, nothing of it is natural, but it is wholly ritual, mysterious, and sacramental. For that this was the sacrament of His death appears in the words of institution; and by the preceptive words, "Do this in remembrance of Me;" and in the reason subjoined by S. Paul[t], ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε, κ.τ.λ., 'for so often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till He come.' Therefore when Christ said, "This is My body given," or "broken" on My part, "taken, eaten" on yours, it can be nothing else but the εἰκὼν, the sacramental image of His death; to effect which purpose it could not be necessary or useful to bring His natural body, that so the substance should become His own shadow, the natural presence be His own sacrament, or rather the image and representment of what He once suffered. His body given in the sacrament is the application and memory of His death, and no more; that as Christ in heaven represents His death in the way of intercession, so do we by our ministry: but as in heaven it is wholly a representing of His body crucified, a rememoration of His crucifixion, of His death and passion, by which He reconciled God and man: so it is in the sacrament after our manner, "This is

[s] De euch., lib. i. c. 13. sect. 1. [tom. iii. col. 525.]
[t] 1 Cor. xi. [26.]

My body given for you," that is, "This is the sacrament of My death, in which My body was given for you." For as Aquinas said, in all sciences words signify things, but it is proper to theology that things themselves signified or expressed by voices should also signify something beyond it. "This is My body," are the sacramental words, or those words by which the mystery or the thing is sacramental; it must therefore signify something beyond these words, and so they do; for they signify the death which Christ suffered in that body. It is but an imperfect conception of the mystery to say it is the sacrament of Christ's body only, or His blood; but it is *ex parte rei* a sacrament of the death of His body: and to us a participation, or an exhibition of it, as it became beneficial to us, that is, as it was crucified, as it was our sacrifice. And this is so wholly agreeable to the nature of the thing, and the order of the words, and the body of the circumstances, that it is next to that which is evident in itself, and needs no further light but the considering the words and the design of the institution: especially since it is consonant to the style of scripture in the sacrament of the passover, and very many other instances; it wholly explicates the nature of the mystery, it reconciles our duty with the secret, it is free of all inconvenience, it prejudices no right, nor hinders any real effect it hath or can have: and it makes the mystery intelligible and prudent, fit to be discoursed of, and inserted into the rituals of a wise religion.

8. Seventhly, he that receives unworthily receives no benefit to his body or to his soul by the holy sacrament, this is agreed on all sides; therefore he that receives benefit to his body, receives it by his worthy communicating, therefore the benefit reaching to the body by the holy eucharist comes to it by the soul, therefore by the action of the soul, not the action of the body; therefore by faith, not by the mouth: whereas on the contrary, if Christ's body natural were eaten in the sacrament, the benefit would come to the body by his own action, and to the soul by the body. All that eat are not made Christ's body, and all that eat not are not disintitled to the resurrection; the spirit does the work without the sacrament, and in the sacrament when 'tis done, "the flesh profiteth nothing." And this argument ought to prevail upon this account, because as is the nutriment, so is the manducation: if the nourishment be wholly spiritual, then so is the eating: but by the Roman doctrine the body of Christ does not naturally nourish, therefore neither is it eaten naturally; but it does nourish spiritually, and therefore it is eaten only spiritually. And this doctrine is also affirmed by Cajetan[u], though how they will endure it I cannot understand; *Manducatur verum Christi corpus in sacramento, sed non corporaliter sed spiritualiter; .. spiritualis manducatio quæ per animam fit ad Christi carnem in sacramento existentem pertingit,* 'the true body of Christ is eaten in the sacrament, but not corporally,

[u] Opusc., tom. ii. tract. 2. de euch. c. 5. [p. 143.]

but spiritually; the spiritual manducation which is made by the soul, reaches to the flesh of Christ in the sacrament;' which is very good protestant doctrine. And if it be absurd to say Christ's body doth nourish corporally, why it should not be as absurd to say we eat it corporally, is a secret which I have not yet been taught. As is our eating, so is the nourishing, because that is in order to this; therefore if you will suppose that natural eating of Christ's body does nourish spiritually, yet it must also nourish corporally; let it do more if it may, but it must do so much: just as the waters in baptism, although the waters are symbolical and instrumental to the purifying of the soul, yet because the waters are material and corporeal, they cleanse the body first and primarily: so it must be in this sacrament also; if Christ's body were eaten naturally, it must nourish naturally, and then pass further: but "that which is natural is first, and then that which is spiritual."

9. Eighthly, for the likeness to the argument I insert this consideration; by the doctrine of the ancient Church, wicked men do not eat the body, nor drink the blood of Christ. So Origen[v], *Si fieri potest ut qui malus adhuc perseveret edat Verbum factum carnem, cum sit Verbum et panis vivus, nequaquam scriptum fuisset, Quisquis ederit panem hunc vivet in æternum,* 'if it were possible for him that perseveres in wickedness to eat the Word made flesh, when it is the Word and the living bread, it had never been written, Whosoever shall eat this bread shall live for ever.' So S. Hilary[x], *Panis qui descendit de cœlo non nisi ab eo accipitur qui Dominum habet, et Christi membrum est,* 'the bread that came down from heaven is not taken of any but of him who hath the Lord, and is a member of Christ.' *Lambunt petram,* saith S. Cyprian[y], 'they lick the rock,' that is, eat not of the food, and drink not of the blood that issued from thence when the rock was smitten. They receive *corticem sacramenti et furfur carnis,* saith S. Bernard[z], 'the skin of the sacrament and the bran of the flesh.' But Ven. Bede[a] is plain without an allegory; *Omnis infidelis non vescitur carne Christi,* 'an unbelieving man is not fed with the flesh of Christ;' the reason of which could not be any thing but because Christ is only eaten by faith. But I reserved S. Austin[b] for the last, "So then these are no true receivers of Christ's body in that they are none of His true members, for (to omit all other allegations) they cannot be both the members of Christ and the members of an harlot; and Christ himself saying, He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me and I in him, sheweth what it is to receive Christ not only sacramentally but truly; for this is to dwell in Christ and Christ

[v] In Matt. xv. [ver. 17.—tom. iii. p. 500 A.]

[x] Lib. viii. de Trin. [vid. § 13 sqq. col. 955.]

[y] De cœna Dom. aut quicunque auctor est. [p. 42.]

[z] [In Cantic. serm. xxxiii. col. 669 B.]

[a] Super Exod. de agno pasch. [cap. 12. tom. iv. col. 104.]

[b] Lib. xxi. de civit. Dei, c. 25. [tom. vii. col. 645 sq.]

in him. For thus He spoke as if He had said, He that dwelleth not in Me nor I in Him, cannot say he eateth My flesh or drinketh My blood." In which words, if the Roman doctors will be judged by S. Austin for the sense of the church in this question, and will allow him in this point to be a good catholic, 1) he dogmatically declares that the wicked man does not eat Christ's body truly: 2) he does eat it sacramentally: 3) that to eat with effect, is to eat Christ's body truly; to which if they please to add this, that to eat it spiritually is to eat it with effect, it follows by S. Austin's doctrine that spiritually is really, and that there is no true and real body of Christ eaten in the sacrament but by the faithful receiver: or if you please receive the conclusion in the words of S. Austin[c], *Tunc erit unicuique corpus et sanguis Christi, si quod in sacramento sumitur in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur,* 'then to each receiver it becomes the body and blood of Christ, if that which is taken in the sacrament be in the very truth itself spiritually eaten, and spiritually drunk:' which words of S. Austin Bellarmine[d] upon another occasion being to answer, instead of answering grants it, and tells that this manner of speaking is very usual in S. Austin (the truest answer in all his books) but whether it be for him or against him he ought to have considered. Neither can this be put off with saying that the wicked do not truly eat Christ, that is, not to any benefit or purpose, but that this does not mean they receive him not at all. Just as we say when a man eats but a little, he does not eat: for as good never a jot, as never the better. This I say is not a sufficient escape. 1) Because S. Austin opposes sacramental receiving to the true and real, and says that the wicked only receive it sacramentally, but not the thing whose sacrament it is; so that this is not a proposition of degrees, but there is a plain opposition of one to the other. 2) It is true S. Austin does not say that the wicked do not receive Christ at all, for he says they receive him sacramentally; but he says they do not at all receive him truly, and the wicked man cannot say he does; and he proves this by unanswerable arguments out of scripture. 3) This excuse will not with any pretence be fitted with the sayings of the other fathers, nor to all the words of S. Austin in this quotation, and much less in others which I have[e] and shall remark, particularly this; that he calls that which the wicked eat, nothing but *signum corporis et sanguinis.* His words are these[f], *Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo et in quo non manet Christus, procul dubio*

[c] Serm. ii. de verb. apost. [al. serm. cxxxi. tom. v. col. 641 C.—But the words are, 'Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis Christi,' &c.—Bellarmine (see next note) had in like manner misapprehended them.]

[d] Lib. i. euch. c. 14. [leg. 13.] sect. 'Respond. apud Augustinum.' [tom. iii. col. 529.]

[e] De serm. de verb. apost. Pauli supr. [vid. not. c, supra.]

[f] Tract. xxvi. in Joh. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 501 A.] vid. etiam Bellarmin. lib. i. euch. c. 14. [leg. 13.] sect. 'Respondeo S. August.' [tom. iii. col. 529.]

nec manducat spiritaliter carnem ejus nec bibit ejus sanguinem, licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus signum[g] *corporis et sanguinis,* 'he does not eat the body and drink the blood spiritually, although carnally and visibly he presses with his teeth the sign of the body and blood:' plainly, all the wicked do but eat the sign of Christ's body, all that is to be done beyond is to eat it spiritually; there is no other eating but these two. And from S. Austin[h] it was that the schools received that famous distinction of *panis Dominus* and *panis Domini;* Judas received the bread of the Lord against the Lord, but the other apostles received the bread which was the Lord, that is, His body. But I have already spoken of the matter of this argument in the third paragraph, num. 7, which the reader may please to add to this to make it fuller.

10. Lastly, in the words of institution and consecration as they call them, the words which relate to the consecrated wine are so different in the evangelists and S. Paul respectively, as appears by comparing them together, that 1) It does not appear which words were literally spoken by our blessed Saviour; for all of them could not be so spoken as they are set down. 2) That they all regarded the sense and meaning of the mystery, not the letters and the syllables. 3) It is not possible to be certain that Christ intended the words of any one of them to be consecratory or effective of what they signify, for every one of the relators differ in the words, though all agree in the things; as the reader may observe in the beginning of the fourth paragraph, where the four forms are set by each other to be compared. 4) The church of Rome in the consecration of the chalice uses a form of words which Christ spake not at all, nor are related by S. Matthew or S. Mark or S. Luke or S. Paul, but she puts in some things and changes others; her form is this[i], *Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum,* 'for this is the chalice of My blood, of the new and eternal Testament, the mystery of faith, which shall be shed for you and for many for the remission of sins:' what is added is plain, what is altered would be very material if the words were consecratory; for they are not so likely to be operative and effective as the words of Christ recited by S. Matthew and S. Mark, 'This is My blood:' and if this had not been the ancient form used in the church of Rome long before the doctrine of Transubstantiation was thought of, it is not to be imagined that they would have refused the plainer words of scripture to have made the article more secret, the form less operative, the authority less warrantable, the words less simple and natural. But the corollary which is natural and proper from the particulars of this argument is, that the mystery was so wholly spiritual, that it was no matter by what words it were expressed, so the spirit of it were

[g] [leg. 'sacramentum.']

[h] Tract. lix. in Joh. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 663.]

[i] [Missal. p. 305. 4to. Antuerp. 1617.]

retained; and yet if it had been an historical, natural, proper sense that had been intended, it ought also in all reason to have been declared, or (much more) effected by a natural and proper and constant affirmative. But that there is nothing spoken properly, is therefore evident, because there are so many predications, and all mean the same mystery, *Hic est sanguis meus N. Testamenti;* and, *Hic calix est N. Testamentum in meo sanguine;* and *Hic est calix sanguinis mei,* in the Roman missal; all this declares it is *mysterium fidei,* and so to be taken in all senses: and those words are left in their canon, as if on purpose either to prevent the literal and natural understanding of the other words, or for the reducing the communicants to the only apprehensions of faith; it is *mysterium fidei,* not *sanguis naturalis,* 'a mystery of faith,' not 'natural blood.' For supposing that both the forms used by S. Matthew and S. Luke respectively could be proper and without a figure, and S. Matthew's *Hic est sanguis Testamenti* did signify, 'this is the divine promise' (for so Bellarmine[k] dreams that 'testament' there signifies) and that in S. Luke's words, 'This cup is the Testament,' it signifies 'the instrument of the Testament,' (for so a will or a testament is taken, either for the thing willed, or the parchment in which it is written) yet how are these or either of these affirmative of the wine being transubstantiated into blood? it says nothing of that, and so if this sense of those words does avoid a trope, it brings in a distinct proposition; if it be spoken properly, it is more distant from giving authority to their new doctrine; and if the same word have several senses, then in the sacramental proposition, as it is described by the several evangelists, there are several predicates, and therefore it is impossible that all should be proper. And yet besides this, although he thinks he may freely say any thing if he covers it with a distinction, yet the very members of this distinction conclude against his conclusion; for if testament in one place be taken for the instrument of his testament, it is a tropical locution; just as I say, my bible (meaning my book) is the word of God, that is, contains the word of God, it is a metonymy of the thing containing for that which it contains. But this was more than I needed, and therefore I am content it should pass for nothing.

§ 8. Of the arguments of the Romanists from scripture.

1. THUS I have by very many arguments taken from the words and circumstances and annexes of the institution or consecration proved that the sense of this mystery is mysterious and spiritual; that Christ's body is eaten only sacramentally by the body, but really and effectively only by faith, which is the mouth of the soul; that 'the flesh profiteth nothing,' but 'the words' which Christ spake 'are spirit and life.' And let it be considered whether, besides a pertinacious

[k] Lib. i. de euch. c. 11. sect. 'Ad tertiam dico.' [tom. iii. col. 519.]

resolution that they will understand these words as they sound in the letter, not as they are intended in the spirit, there be any thing, or indeed can be in the nature of the thing, or circumstances of it, or usefulness, or in the different forms of words, or the analogy of the other discourses of Christ, that can give colour to their literal sense; against which so much reason and scripture and arguments from antiquity do contest. This only I observe, that they bring no pretence of other scriptures to warrant this interpretation, but such which I have or shall wrest out of their hands; and which to all men's first apprehensions and at the very first sight do make against them, and which without curious notion and devices cannot pretend on their side: as appears,

First, in the tenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, verses 16, 17;

2. Out of which I have already proved[l] that Christ's body is not taken in the natural sense but in the spiritual. But when Bellarmine[m] had out of the same words forced for himself three arguments proving nothing; to save any man the labour of answering them, he adds at the end of them these words[n], *Sed tota difficultas est, an corporaliter, realiter, proprie sumatur sanguis et caro, an solum significative et spiritualiter. Quod autem corporaliter et proprie probari posset omnibus argumentis quibus supra probavimus proprie esse intelligenda verba illa institutionis, Hoc est corpus meum.* That is, after his arguments out of the first epistle to the Corinthians were ended, all the difficulty of the question still remained; and that he was fain to prove by *Hoc est corpus meum*, and the proper arguments of that; but brings nothing from the words of S. Paul in this chapter. But to make up this also he does *corradere*, 'scrape together' some things extrinsical to the words of this authority; as that 1) 'The literal sense is to be presumed unless the contrary be proved;' which is very true: but I have evidently proved the contrary concerning the words of institution; and for the words in this chapter, if the literal sense be preferred, then the bread remains after consecration, because it is called bread. 2) 'So the primitive saints expounded it;' which how true it is, I shall consider in his own place. 3) 'The apostle calling the gentiles from their sacrificed flesh proposes to them a more excellent banquet, but it were not more excellent if it were only a figure of Christ's body;' so Bellarmine; which is a fit cover for such a dish: for first, we do not say that in the sacrament we only receive the sign and figure of Christ's body, but all the real effects and benefits of it: secondly, if we had, yet it is not very much better than blasphemy to say that the apostles had not prevailed upon that account, for if the very figure and sacrament of Christ's body be better than sacrifices offered to devils, the apostle had prevailed, though this sen-

[l] Sect. v. n. 6.

[m] Lib. i. euch. c. 12. [tom. iii. col. 522 sq.]

[n] Sect. 'Sed tota difficultas.' [col. 524.]

tence were true that in the sacrament we receive only the figure. And thus I have (for all that is said against it) made it apparent that there is nothing in that place for their 'corporal presence.'

3. There is one thing more which out of scripture they urge for the corporal presence[o], viz., "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body;" and, "he shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ." Where they observe that they that eat unworthily do yet eat Christ's body, because how else could they be guilty of it, and condemned for not discerning it?

4. To this I answer many things. 1) S. Paul does not say, 'He that eateth and drinketh Christ's body and blood unworthily,' &c., but indefinitely, 'He that eateth and drinketh,' &c., yet it is probable he would have said so if it had been a proper form of speech, because by so doing it would have laid a greater load upon them. 2) Where S. Paul does not speak indefinitely, he speaks most clearly against the article in the Roman sense, for he calls it *ποτήριον Κυρίου*, 'the cup of the Lord,' and *ἄρτον τοῦτον*, 'this bread,' and, 'he that eats this bread unworthily is guilty of the body and blood of Christ.' And now these comminatory phrases are quitted from their pretence, but yet they have their proper consideration; therefore 3) 'Not discerning the Lord's body' is 'not separating it' from profane and common usages, not treating it with addresses proper to the mystery: to which phrase Justin[p] gives light in these words, *οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν*, 'we do not receive it as common bread and common drink;' but *τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν*, κ.τ.λ., but 'nourishment made eucharistical or blessed by the word of prayer;' and so it is the body and blood of the Lord. 4) It is the body of the Lord in the same sense here as in the words of institution, which I have evinced to be exegetical, sacramental, and spiritual; and by despising the sacrament of it we become guilty of the body and blood of Christ. *Reus erit corporis et sanguinis Christi qui tanti mysterii sacramentum despexerit,* saith S. Hierome[q]. And it is in this as Severianus said concerning the statues of Theodosius broken in despite by the Antiochians, *ὕλη ἄψυχος τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα φέρουσα τὴν ἑαυτῆς ὕβριν εἰς βασιλέα ἀνάγει*, 'if you abuse the king's image, the affront relates to your prince.' 5) The unworthy receiver is guilty of the body and blood of Christ, not naturally, for that cannot now be, and nothing is a greater probation of the spiritual sense of the words in this place than this which they would entice into their party, for Christ's body is glorified, and not capable of natural injury: but the evil communicant is "guilty of the body and blood of Christ," just as relapsing christians are said by the same apostles to "crucify the Lord of life

[o] 1 Cor. xi. [29, 27.]

[p] [p. 55, not. g, supra.]

[q] [Vid. Pseudo-Hieron.] in 1 Cor. xi. [tom. v. col. 998.]

again, and put Him to an open shame," which I suppose they cannot do naturally or corporally. One is as the other, that is, both are tropical or figurative.

5. These are all that they pretend from scripture, and all these are nothing to their purpose; but now besides what I have already said, I shall bring arguments from other scriptures which will not so easily be put off.

§ 9. Arguments from other scriptures, proving Christ's real presence in the sacrament to be only spiritual, not natural.

1. THE first is taken from those words of our blessed Saviour[r], "Whatsoever entereth into the mouth goeth into the belly and is cast forth into the draught," meaning that all food that is taken by the mouth hath for his share the fortune of the belly; and indeed manducation and ejection are equally deminutions of any perfect thing; and because it cannot without blasphemy be spoken that the natural body of Christ ought or can suffer ejection, neither can it suffer manducation. To this Bellarmine[s] weakly answers that these words of Christ are only true of that which is taken to nourish the body. Which saying of his 1) is not true: for if it be taken to purge the body, or to make the body sick, or to make it lean, or to minister to lust, or to chastise the body, as those who in penances have masticated aloes and other bitter gums, yet still it is cast into the draught. 2) But suppose his meaning true, yet this argument will not so be put off; because although the end of receiving the blessed sacrament is not to nourish the body, yet that it does nourish the body is affirmed by Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and others; of which I have already given an account[t]. To which I here add the plain words of Rabanus[u], *Illud* [*corpus Christi*] *in nos convertitur dum id manducamus et bibimus,* 'that body is changed into us when we eat it and drink it;' and therefore although it hath a higher purpose, yet this also cannot be avoided. 3) Either we manducate the accidents only, or else the substance of bread, or the substance of Christ's body. If we manducate only the accidents, then how do we eat Christ's body[v]? If we manducate bread, then 'tis capable of all the natural alterations, and it cannot be denied. But if we manducate Christ's body after a natural manner, what worse thing is it that it descends into the guts than that it goes into the stomach, to be cast forth than to be torn in pieces with the teeth, as I have proved[x] that it is by the Roman doctrine? Now I argue thus: if we eat Christ's natural body, we eat it either naturally or spiritually: if it be eaten only spiritually, then it is spiritually digested, and is spiritual nourishment, and puts on accidents and affections spiritual; but if the natural body be eaten naturally, then

[r] S. Matt. xv. [17.]

[s] Lib. i. euch. c. 14. sect. 'Resp. cum Algero.' [tom. iii. col. 532.]

[t] Sect. v. n. 9.

[u] [p. 135, not. n, infra.]

[v] ἡ δὲ τροφὴ, τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀπτόν.—Aristot., lib. iii. de anim. [cap. 12.]

[x] Sect. iii. n. 6.

what hinders it from affections and transmutations natural? 4) Although Algerus, and out of him Bellarmine, would have Christians stop their ears against this argument (and so would I against that doctrine of which these fearful conclusions are unavoidable consequents) yet it is disputed in the *Summa Angelica*[y], and an instance or case put which to my sense seems no inconsiderable argument to reprove the folly of this doctrine: for saith he, what if the species pass indigested into the belly from the stomach? He answers, that they were not meat if they did not nourish; and therefore it is probable as Boetius says, that the body of our Lord does not go into the draught, though the species do. And yet it is determined by the gloss on the canon law[z] that as long as the species remain uncorrupted, the holy body is there under those species; and therefore may be vomited; and consequently ejected all ways by which the species can pass unaltered: *eousque progreditur corpus quousque species*, said Harpsfield in his disputation at Oxford. If these things be put together, viz.,—The body is there so long as the species are uncorrupted; and the species may remain uncorrupted till they be cast upwards or downwards, as in case of sickness: it follows that in this case, which is a case easily contingent, by their doctrine the holy body must pass *in latrinam*. And what then? it is to be adored as a true sacrament though it come from impure places, though it be vomited; so said Vasquez[a], and it is the prevailing opinion in their church. Add to this, that if this nourishment does not descend and cleave to the guts of the priest, it is certain that God does not hear his prayers; for he is enjoined by the Roman missal published by authority of the council of Trent and the command of pope Pius the fourth, to pray, *Corpus tuum Domine quod sumpsi, et sanguis quem potavi, adhæreat visceribus meis*, 'let Thy body, O Lord, which I have taken, and the blood which I have drunk, cleave to my bowels.' It seems indeed they would have it go no further, to prevent the inconveniences of the present argument; but certain it is that if they intended it for a figurative speech, it was a bold one, and not so fitted for edification as for an objection.—But to return: this also was the argument of Origen[b], *Quod si quicquid ingreditur in os, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur, et ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei perque obsecrationem juxta id quod habet materiale in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur; . . Et hæc quidem de typico symbolicoque corpore.* He plainly distinguishes the material part from the spiritual in the sacrament, and affirms that 'according to the material part, that meat that is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, enters into the mouth, descends into the belly, and goes forth in the natural ejection; . . and this is only true of the typical and symbolical body.'

[y] [Euchar. iii. f. lxxxvii. a; fol. Argentin. 1513.]

[z] De consecrat. dist. ii. c. [xxvii.] 'Si per negligentiam.' Gloss. ibid. [col. 2094.]

[a] In iii. t. 3. d. 195. n. 46. [cap. v. p. 293.]

[b] In cap. xv. S. Mat. [ver. 17. tom. iii. p. 499 C.]

Now besides that it affirms the words of our blessed Saviour to have effect in the sacrament, he affirms that the material part, the type and symbols, are the body of Christ, that is, His body is present in a typical and symbolical manner. This is the plain and natural sense of the words of Origen. But he must not mean what he means, if he says any thing in another place that may make for the Roman opinion. And this is their way of answering objections brought from the fathers; they use to oppose words to words, and conclude they must mean their meaning, or else they contradict themselves. And this trick Bellarmine uses frequently, and especially cardinal Perron, and from them the lesser writers: and so it happens in this present argument: for other words of Origen are brought to prove he inclined to the Roman opinion. But I demand, 1) Are the words more contradictory if they be both drawn to a spiritual sense, than if they be both drawn to a natural? 2) Though we have no need to make use of it, yet it is no impossible thing that the fathers should contradict one another and themselves too, as you may see pretended violently by cardinal Perron in his answer to king James. 3) But why must all sheaves bow to their sheaf, and all words be wrested to their fancy, when there are no words any where pretended from them but with less wresting than these must suffer for them, they will be brought to speak against them or at least nothing for them? But let us see what other words Origen hath, by which we must expound these. 4) Origen says that "the christian people drinketh the blood of Christ, and the flesh of the word of God is true food;" what then; so say we too; but it is spiritual food, and we drink the blood spiritually: he says nothing against that, but very much for it, as I have in several places remarked already. 5) But how can this expound the other words? Christian people eat Christ's flesh and drink His blood; therefore when Origen says the 'material part,' the 'symbolical body' of Christ is eaten naturally and cast into the draught, he means, not the body of Christ in his material part, but the accidents of bread, the colour, the taste, the quantity, these are cast out by the belly. Verily a goodly argument; if a man could guess in what mood and figure it could conclude. 6) When a man speaks distinctly and particularly, it is certain he is easier to be understood in his particular and minute meaning than when he speaks generally: but here he distinguishes a part from a part, one sense from another, the body in one sense from the body in another, therefore these words are to expound the more general, and not they to expound these, unless the general be more particular than that that is distinguished into kinds, that is, unless the general be a particular, and the particular be a general. 7) Amalarius[c] was so amused with these words and discourse of Origen,

[c] Ep. ad Guitard. ['Amalarius Guntradus dilecto filio in disciplina Christi,' is the title of the letter in Dacher. spicileg., tom. iii. p. 381. fol. Par. 1723.]

that his understanding grew giddy, and he did not know whether the body of Christ were invisibly taken up into heaven, or kept till our death in the body, or expired at letting of blood, or exhaled in air, or spit out, or breathed forth, our Lord saying, "That which enters into the mouth, descends into the belly, and so goes forth into the draught;" the man was willing to be of the new opinion of the 'real presence,' because it began to be the mode of the age; but his folly was soberly reproved by a synod at Carisiacum[d], about the time of pope Gregory the fourth, where the difficulty of Origen's argument was better answered, and the article determined, that "the bread and wine are spiritually made the body of Christ, which being a meat of the mind and not of the belly, is not corrupted, but remaineth unto everlasting life." 8) To expound these words of the accidents of bread only, and say that they enter into the belly and go forth in the draught, is a device of them that care not what they say; for first, it makes that the *ejectamentum* or excrement of the body should consist of colour and quantity, without any substance: secondly, it makes a man to be nourished by accidents, and so not only one substance to be changed into another, but that accidents are changed into substances, which must be, if they nourish the body and pass *in latrinam;* and then beyond the device of Transubstantiation we have another production from Africa, a trans-accidenti-substantiation a μεθυφισταμενομετουσία· thirdly, it makes accidents to have all the affections of substances, as motion, substantial corruption, alteration, that is, not to be accidents but substances. For matter and form are substances, and those that integrate all physical and compound substances; but till yesterday it was never heard that accidents could.—'Yea but magnitude is a material quality, and ground or subject of the accidents.' So it is said; but it is nonsense. For besides that magnitude is not a quality, but a quantity, neither can it be properly or truly said to be material but imperfectly; because it is an affection of matter; and however, it is a contradiction to say, that it is the ground of qualities; for an accident cannot be the *fundamentum*, the 'ground or subject' of an accident; that is the formality and definition of a substance, as every young scholar hath read in Aristotle's Categories: so that to say that it is the ground of accidents, is to say that accidents are subjected in magnitude, that is, that magnitude is neither a quantity nor quality, but a substance. ἀεὶ δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ ὑφιστάμενον, 'an accident always subsists in a subject,' says Porphyry[e]. 9) This answer cannot be fitted to the words of Origen; for that which he calls the *quid materiale* or the material part in the sacrament, he calls it the 'symbolical body,' which cannot be affirmed of accidents, because there is no likeness between the accidents, the colour, the shape, the figure, the roundness, the weight, the magnitude, of the host or wafer, and Christ's

[d] [Du Pin, cent. ix. chap. 13.]

[e] [vid. Isag. cap. xv.]

body: and therefore to call the accidents a symbolical body is to call it an unsymbolical symbol, an unlike similitude, a representment without analogy: but if he means the consecrated bread, the whole action of consecration, distribution, sumption, manducation, this is the symbolical body, according to the words of S. Paul, 'He that drinks this cup and eats this bread represents the Lord's death;' it is the figure of Christ's crucified body, of His passion and our redemption. 10) It is a strange expression to call accidents a body; λευκὸν γὰρ σῶμα λέγεται, ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ τοῦ λευκοῦ οὐδέποτε κατὰ τοῦ σώματος κατηγορηθήσεται, says Aristotle[g], 'a body may be called white, but the definition or reason of the accident can never be affirmed of a body.' I conclude, that this argument out of the words of our blessed Saviour, urged also and affirmed by Origen, do prove that Christ's body is in the sacrament only to be eaten in a spiritual sense, not at all in a natural, lest that consequent be the event of it; which to affirm of Christ's glorified body in the natural and proper sense were very blasphemy.

2. The next argument from scripture is taken from Christ's departing from this world; His going from us, the ascension of His body and soul into heaven; His not being with us, His being contained in the heavens. So said our blessed Saviour[h], "Unless I go hence, the Comforter cannot come:" and "I go to prepare a place for you:" "The poor ye have always, but Me ye have not always." S. Peter affirms of Him that "the heavens must receive Him till the time of restitution of all things." Now how these things can be true of Christ according to His human nature, that is a circumscribed body, and a definite soul, is the question. And to this the answer is the same in effect which is given by the Roman doctors, and by the Ubiquitaries whom they call heretics. These men say Christ's human nature is every where actually by reason of His hypostatical union with the deity which is every where; the Romanists say no, it is not actually every where, but it may be where and is in as many places as He please; for although He be in heaven, yet so is God too, and yet God is upon earth; *eodem modo*, says Bellarmine[i], 'in the same manner' the man Christ, although He be in heaven, yet also He can be out of heaven, where He please; He can be in heaven and out of heaven. Now these two opinions are concentred in the main impossibility; that is, that Christ's body can be in more places than one: if in two, it may be in two thousand, and then it may be every where; for it is not limited, and therefore is illimited and potentially infinite. Against this so seemingly impossible at the very first sight, and relying upon a similitude and analogy that is not far from blasphemy, viz., that as God is in heaven and yet on earth, *eodem modo*, 'after the same manner,' is Christ's body; which words it cannot be easy

[g] Categor., c. 5. [al. cap. 3.]

[h] [S. John xvi. 7; xiv. 2; Matt. xxvi. 11; Acts iii. 21; Phil. iii. 20.]

[i] Lib. i. euch. c. 14. sect. 'Respondeo argumentum.' [tom. iii. col. 531.]

to excuse: against this I say (although for the reasons alleged it be unnecessary to be disproved, yet) I have these things to oppose. 1) The words of scripture, that affirm Christ to be in heaven, affirm also that He is gone from hence[k]; now if Christ's body not only could but must be every day in innumerable places on earth, it would have been said that Christ is in heaven, but not that He is not here, or that He is gone from hence. 2) *Surrexit, non est hic,* was the angel's discourse to the enquiring woman at the sepulchre, 'He is risen, He is not here:' but if they had been taught the new doctrine of the Roman schools, they would have denied the consequent; He is risen and gone from hence, but He may be here too; and this indeed might have put the angels to a distinction, but the women's ignorance rendered them secure. However S. Austin[l] is dogmatical in this article, saying, *Christum ubique totum esse tanquam Deum et in eodem*[m] *tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum,* 'Christ as God is every where, but in respect of His body He is determined to a particular residence in heaven,' viz., at the right hand of God, that is, in the best seat and in the greatest eminency. And in the thirtieth treatise of S. John[n], "It behoveth that the body of our Lord since it is raised again should be in one place alone, but the truth is spread over all." But concerning these words of S. Austin they have taken a course in all their editions[o] to corrupt the place, and instead of *oportet* have clapped in *potest,* instead of 'must be' have foisted in 'may be,' against the faith of the ancient canonists and scholastics, particularly Lombard, Gratian, Ivo Carnotensis, Algerus, Thomas, Bonaventure, Richardus, Durand, Biel, Scotus, Cassander, and divers others. To this purpose is that of S. Cyril Alex.[p], "He could not converse with His disciples in the flesh being ascended to His Father." So Cassian[q], "Jesus Christ speaking on earth cannot be in heaven but by the infinity of His godhead:" and Fulgentius[r] argues it strongly, "If the body of Christ be a true body, it must be contained in a particular place:" but this place is just so corrupted in their editions as is that of S. Austin, *potest* being substituted instead of *oportet;* but this doctrine, viz., that to be in several places is impossible to a body, and proper to God, was affirmed by the university[s] of Paris in a synod under William their bishop 1340[t], and Johannes Picus Mirandula[u] maintained in Rome itself, that it could not be by the power of God that one body should at once be in divers places.

[k] S. John xvi. [28.]

[l] Epist. ad Dardan. [ep. clxxxvii.—vid. cap. 13. tom. ii. col. 691.]

[m] [sc. 'templo.']

[n] [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 517.]

[o] [vid. not. in ed. Ben.]

[p] Lib. xi. in Joan. c. 3. [vid. c. 8. tom. iv. p. 968 fin.]

[q] Lib. iv. de incarnat. c. 1. [leg. c. 6. p. 1007.]

[r] Lib. ii. ad Thrasimundum, c. 7. [p. 95 sqq.]

[s] ['universality' B, C.]

[t] [Bulæus, Hist. univ. Paris. tom. iv. p. 266.]

[u] Apol., p. 65. [ed. 1506.—p. 131, ed. 1601.]

3. Thirdly, the scripture speaks of His going thither from hence by elevation and ascension, and of His coming from thence at His appearing, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέχεσθαι, and ἐξ οὗ σωτῆρα ἀποδεχόμεθα, the words have an antithesis; the heavens till then shall retain Him; but then He shall come from thence, which were needless if He might be here and stay there too.

4. When Christ said, "Me ye have not always," and at another time, "Lo, I am with you always to the end of the world," it is necessary that we distinguish the parts of a seeming contradiction. Christ is with us by His spirit, but Christ is not with us in body; but if His body be here too, then there is no way of substantial, real presence, in which those words can be true, 'Me ye have not always.' The Rhemists in their note upon this place[x], say, that when Christ said, "Me ye have not always," He means, 'ye have not Me in the manner of a poor man, needing relief;' that is, 'not Me so as you have the poor.' But this is a trifle; because our blessed Saviour did not receive that ministry of Mary Magdalen as a poor man, for it was a present for a prince, not a relief to necessity, but a *regalo* fit for so great a person; and therefore if He were here at all after His departure, He was capable of as noble an usage and an address fit to represent a majesty, or at least to express a love. It was also 'done for His burying,' so Christ accepted it, and that signified and plainly related to a change of His state and abode. But besides this, if this could be the interpretation of those words, then they did not at all signify Christ's leaving this world, but only His changing His circumstance of fortune, His outward dress and appendages of person; which were a strange commentary upon "Me ye have not always;" that is, I shall be with you still, but in a better condition. But S. Austin[y] hath given sentence concerning the sense of these words of Christ, *loquebatur de præsentia corporis, &c.* 'He spake of the presence of His body, Ye shall have Me according to My providence, according to majesty and invisible grace, but according to the flesh which the Word assumed, according to that which was born of the Virgin Mary, . . ye shall not have Me; therefore because He conversed with His disciples forty days, He is ascended [z] up into heaven and is not here;' if He be here in person, what need He to have sent His vicar, His holy spirit in substitution? especially since by this doctrine He is more now with His church than He was in the days of His conversation in Palestine, for then He was but in one assembly at once, now He is in thousands every day. If it be said, because although He be here yet we see Him not; this is not sufficient, for what matter is it whether we see Him or no, if we know Him to be here, if we

[x] [New Testament, Rhemes 1582.]

[y] Tract. 1. in Johan. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 634.]

[z] ['therefore . . ascended.'—Lat. sic, 'Quare? quoniam conversatus est secundum corporis præsentiam quadraginta diebus cum discipulis suis, et eis deducentibus videndo non sequendo, ascendit' &c.]

feel Him, if we eat Him, if we worship Him in presence natural and proper? There wants nothing but some accidents of colour and shape. A friend in the dark, behind a curtain, or to a blind man, is as certainly present as if he were in the light, in open conversation, or beheld with the eyes. And then also the office of the Holy Spirit would only be to supply the sight of His person, which might possibly be true if He had no greater offices and we no greater needs, and if He himself also were visible and glorious to our eyes; for if the effect of His substitution is spiritual, secret, and invisible, our eyes are still without comfort; and if the Spirit's secret effect does supply it, and makes it not necessary that we should see Him, then so does our faith do the same thing; for if we believe Him there, the want of bodily sight is supplied by the eye of faith, and the Spirit is pretended to do no more in this particular, and then His presence also will be less necessary, because supplied by our own act. Add to this, that if after Christ's ascension into heaven He still would have been upon earth in the eucharist, and received properly into our mouths, and in all that manner which these men dream; how ready it had been and easy to have comforted them who were troubled for want of His bodily presence, by telling them, 'Although I go to heaven, yet fear not to be deprived of the presence of My body, for you shall have it more than before, and much better: for I will be with you, and in you; I was with you in a state of humility and mortality, now I will be with you with a daily and mighty miracle; I before gave you promises of grace and glory, but now I will become to your bodies a seed of immortality. 'And though you will not see Me but under a veil, yet it is certain I will be there, in your churches, in your pixes, in your mouths, in your stomachs, and you shall believe and worship.' Had not this been a certain, clear, and proportionable comfort to their complaint and present necessity, if any such thing were intended? It had been so certain, so clear, so proportionable, that it is more than probable that if it had been true it had not been omitted. But that such sacred things as these may not be exposed to contempt, by such weak propositions and their trifling consequents, the case is plain, that Christ being to depart hence sent His holy spirit in substitution to supply to His Church the office of a teacher, which He on earth in person was to His disciples; when He went from hence, He was to come no more in person, and therefore He sent His substitute; and therefore to pretend Him to be here in person though under a disguise which we see through with the eye of faith, and converse with Him by presential adoration of His humanity, is in effect to undervalue the real purposes and sense of all the sayings of Christ concerning His departure hence[a], and the deputation of the Holy Spirit. But for this, because it is naturally impossible, they have recourse to the divine omnipotency; God can

[a] [Heb. ix. 24; 2 Cor. v. 6, 8; Phil. i. 23; iii. 20; Coloss. iii. 1, 2; S. John xiv. 16, and xvi. 7.]

do it, therefore He does. But of this I shall give particular account in the section of 'Reason;' as also the other arguments of scripture I shall reduce to their heads of proper matter.

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§ 10. The doctrine of Transubstantiation is against sense.

1. THAT which is one of the firmest pillars upon which all human notices, and upon which all christian religion does rely, cannot be shaken; or if it be, all science and all religion must be in danger[b]. Now besides that all our notices of things proceed from sense, and our understanding receives his proper objects by the mediation of material and sensible phantasms, and the soul in all her operations during this life is served by the ministries of the body, and the body works upon the soul only by sense; besides this, S. John[c] hath placed the whole religion of a Christian upon the certainty and evidence of sense as upon one unmoveable foundation. "That which was from the beginning,.. which we have seen with our eyes, which we have beheld, and our hands have handled, of the word of life, (and the life was made manifest, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and declare unto you eternal life, which was with the Father and was manifested to us,) that which we have seen and heard, we declare unto you." Tertullian, in his book *De anima*[d], uses this very argument against the Marcionites, *Recita Johannis testationem; Quod vidimus, inquit, quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt, de sermone vitæ: falsa utique testatio, si oculorum, et aurium, et manuum sensus natura mentitur*, 'his testimony was false, if eyes, and ears, and hands be deceived.' In nature there is not a greater argument than to have heard, and seen, and handled.

> Sed quia profunda non licet luctarier
> Ratione tecum, consulamus proxima:
> Interrogetur ipsa naturalium
> Simplex sine arte sensuum sententia[e].

And by what means can an assent be naturally produced, but by those instruments by which God conveys all notices to us, that is, by seeing and hearing? faith comes by hearing, and evidence comes by seeing; and if a man in his wits, and in his health, can be deceived in these things, how can we come to believe?

> Corpus enim per se communis deliquat esse
> Sensus: quo nisi prima fides fundata valebit,
> Haud erit occultis de rebus quo referentes
> Confirmare animi quicquam ratione queamus[f].

[b] Τούτου ζητεῖν λόγον, ἀφέντας τὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀῤῥωστία τίς ἐστι διανοίας.—Arist. phys. [viii. 3.]

Ἐπὶ τῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς φαινομένων κρειττὼν ἐφάνη τοῦ λόγου τῆς αἰτίας ἡ πεῖρα.—S. Basil. ep. xliii. [al. xxxviii. tom. iii. p. 120 B.]

[c] 1 S. Joh. i. [1—3.]

[d] [cap. xvii. p. 276 C.]

[e] Supplic. Romani Martyr. Prudent. [lin. 651. p. 1121.]

[f] Lucret., lib. i. [lin. 423.]

For if a man or an angel declares God's will to us, if we may not trust our hearing, we cannot trust him, for we know not whether indeed he says what we think he says; and if God confirms the proposition by a miracle, an ocular demonstration, we are never the nearer to the believing him, because our eyes are not to be trusted. But if feeling also may be abused, when a man is in all other capacities perfectly healthy, then he must be governed by chance, and walk in the dark, and live upon shadows, and converse with phantasms and illusions, as it happens; and then at last it will come to be doubted whether there be any such man as himself; and whether he be awake when he is awake, or not rather then only awake when he himself and all the world thinks him to have been asleep;

Oculatæ manus sunt nostræ, credunt quod vident[g].

2. Now then to apply this to the present question in the words of S. Austin[h], *Quod ergo vidistis panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant.* That which our eyes have seen, that which our hands have handled, is bread; we feel it, taste it, see it to be bread, and we hear it called bread, that very substance which is called the body of our Lord. Shall we now say our eyes are deceived, our ears hear a false sound, our taste is abused, our hands are mistaken? It is answered, nay, our senses are not mistaken[i], "for our senses in health and due circumstances cannot be abused in their proper object, but they may be deceived about that which is under the object of their senses; they are not deceived in colour, and shape, and taste, and magnitude, which are the proper objects of our senses; but they may be deceived in substances which are covered by these accidents, and so it is not the outward sense so much as the inward sense that is abused: for so Abraham, when he saw an angel in the shape of a human body, was not deceived in the shape of a man, for there was such a shape; but yet it was not a man, and therefore if he thought it was, he was abused." This is their answer, and if this will not serve the turn, nothing will; this therefore must be examined.

3. Now this, instead of taking away the insuperable difficulty, does much increase it, and confesses the things which it ought to have avoided. For 1) the accidents proper to a substance are for the manifestation and notice of the substance, not of themselves; for as the man feels, but the means by which he feels is the sensitive faculty, so that which is felt is the substance, and the means by which it is felt is the accidents: as the shape, the colour, the bigness, the motion of a man, are manifestative and declarative of a human substance: and if they represent a wrong substance, then the

[g] [Plaut. Asin., act. i. sc. 3. lin. 50.]

[h] *In Serm. apud Bed. in 1 Cor.* x. [tom. vi. col. 364.] Sed hæc verba citantur ab Algero, lib. i. de sacram. cap. 5. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. xii. part. i. p. 414.] ex Serm. de verbis Domini.

[i] *Bellarm.*, lib. i. euch. cap. 14. sect. 'Jam ad Petrum Martyrem.' [tom. iii. col. 538.]

sense is deceived by a false sign of a true substance, or a true sign of a false substance: as if an alchymist should shew me brass coloured like gold, and made ponderous, and so adulterated that it would endure the touchstone for a long while, the deception is because there is a pretence of improper accidents; true accidents indeed, but not belonging to that substance. But 2) it is true that is pretended, that it is not so much the outward sense that is abused, as the inward; that is, not so much the eye, as the man; not the sight, but the judgment: and this is it we complain of. For indeed in proper speaking, the eye or the hand is not capable of being deceived; but the man by the eye, or by the ear, or by his hand. The eye sees a colour or a figure, and the inward sense apprehends it to be the figure of such a substance, and the understanding judges it to be the thing which is properly represented by the accident: it is so, or it is not so: if it be, there is no deception; if it be not so, then there is a cozenage, there is no lie till it comes to a proposition either explicit, or implicit: a lie is not in the senses, but when a man by the ministry of the senses is led into the apprehension of a wrong object or the belief of a false proposition, then he is made to 'believe a lie:' and this is our case, when accidents proper to one substance are made the cover of another to which they are not naturally communicable. And in the case of the holy sacrament, the matter, if it were as is pretended, were intolerable: for in the cases wherein a man is commonly deceived, it is his own fault by passing judgment too soon; as if he should judge glass to be crystal, because it looks like it; this is not any deception in the senses, nor any injury to the man, because he ought to consider more things than the colour to make his judgment whether it be glass, or crystal, or diamond, or ice; the hardness, the weight, and other things are to be ingredients in the sentence. And if any two things had all the same accidents, then although the senses were not deceived, yet the man would certainly and inculpably mistake. If therefore in the eucharist (as is pretended) all the accidents of bread remain, then all men must necessarily be deceived; if only one or two did remain, one sense would help the other, and all together would rightly inform the understanding. But when all the accidents remain, they cannot but represent that substance to which those accidents are proper; and then the holy sacrament would be a constant, irresistible deception of all the world, in that in which all men's notices are most evident and most relied upon, I mean their senses. And then the question will not be whether our senses can be deceived or no, but whether or no it can stand with the justice and goodness of God to be angry with us for believing our senses, since Himself hath so ordered it that we cannot avoid being deceived; there being in this case as much reason to believe a lie as to believe a truth, if things were so as they pretend. The result of which is this: that as no one sense can be deceived about his proper object; but that a man may, about the substance lying under those accidents

which are the object proper to that sense, because he gives sentence according to that representment otherwise than he ought, and he ought to have considered other accidents proper to other senses, in making the judgment; as the birds that took the picture of grapes for very grapes; and he that took the picture of a curtain for a very curtain, and desired the painter to draw it aside; they made judgment of the grapes and the curtain only by colour and figure, but ought to have considered the weight, the taste, the touch, and the smell: so on the other side if all the senses concur, then not only is it true that the senses cannot be deceived about that object which is their own, but neither ought the man to be deceived about that substance which lies under those accidents, because their ministry is all that natural instrument of conveying notice to a man's understanding which God hath appointed. 3) Just upon this account it is that S. John's argument had been just nothing in behalf of the whole religion: for that God was incarnate, that Jesus Christ did such miracles, that He was crucified, that He rose again and ascended into heaven, that He preached these sermons, that He gave such commandments, he was made to believe by sounds, by shapes, by figures, by motions, by likenesses, and appearances of all the proper accidents: and his senses could not be deceived about the accidents which were the proper objects of the senses; but if they might be deceived about the substance under these accidents, of what truth or substance could he be ascertained by their ministry? for he indeed saw the shape of a human body; but it might so be, that not the body of a man, but an angelical substance might lie under it; and so the article of the assumption of human nature is made uncertain. And upon the same account so are all the other articles of our faith which relied upon the verity of His body and nature: all which if they are not sufficiently signified by their proper accidents, could not be ever the more believed for being seen with the eyes, and heard with the ears, and handled with our hands; but if they were sufficiently declared by their proper accidents, then the understanding can no more be deceived in the substances lying under the accidents, than the senses can in the accidents themselves.

4. To the same purpose it was that the apostles were answered concerning the article of the truth of Christ's resurrection. For when the apostles were affrighted at His sudden appearing, and thought it had been a spirit, Christ called them to feel His hands, and to shew that it was He, "for a spirit hath no flesh and bones as ye see Me have[k];" plainly meaning that the accidents of a body were not communicable to a spirit; but how easily might they have been deceived if it had pleased God to invest other substances with new and stranger accidents? For though a spirit hath not flesh and

[k] Luc. xxiv. 39.—Quod videtur corpus est, quod palpatur corpus est.—S. Ambros. in S. Luc. [lib. x. tom. i. col. 1540 E.]

bones, they may represent to the eyes and hands the accidents of flesh and bones: and if it could in the matter of faith stand with the goodness and wisdom of God to suffer it, what certainty could there be of any article of our religion relating to Christ's humanity, or any proposition proved by miracles? To this instance the man that must answer all, I mean Bellarmine[1], ventures something; saying, it was a good argument of our blessed Saviour, 'Handle and see that I am no spirit: that which is handled and seen is no spirit;' but it is no good argument to say, 'This is not seen, not handled, therefore it is no body:' and therefore the body of Christ may be naturally in the sacrament, though it is not seen nor handled. To this I reply,

First, that suppose it were true what he said, yet it would also follow by his own words. 'This is seen bread, and is handled, so therefore it is bread.' *Hoc enim affirmative colligitur*, this is the affirmative consequent made by our blessed Lord, and here confessed to be certain: it being the same collection, 'It is I, for by feeling and seeing you shall believe it to be so;' and, 'It is bread, for by feeling, and seeing, and tasting, and smelling it you shall perceive it to be so.' To which let this be added, that in scripture it is as plainly affirmed to be bread as it is called Christ's body; now then, because it cannot be both in the proper and natural sense, but one of them must be figurative and tropical; since both of the appellatives are equally affirmed, is it not notorious that in this case we ought to give judgment on that side which we are prompted to by common sense? If Christ had said only, 'This is My body,' and no apostle had told us also that is bread; we had reason to suspect our senses to be deceived, if it were possible they should be: but when it is equally affirmed to be bread as to be our Lord's body, and but one of them can be naturally true and in the letter, shall the testimony of all our senses be absolutely of no use in casting the balance? The two affirmatives are equal; one must be expounded tropically, which will you choose? Is there in the world any thing more certain and expedite than that what you see, and feel, and taste natural and proper, should be judged to be that which you see, and feel, and taste naturally and properly, and therefore that the other be expounded tropically? Since you must expound one of the words tropically, I think it is not hard to determine whether you ought to do it against your sense, or with it. But it is also remarkable that our blessed Lord did not only by feeling and seeing prove it to be a body: but by proving it was His body, He proved it was Himself; that is, 'By these accidents representing My person ye are not led into an error of the person any more than of the kind of substance; see My hands and My feet,' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγώ εἰμι, 'that it is even I myself.' This I noted, lest a silly escape be made by pretending these accidents only proved Christ to be no spirit, but a body; and so the accidents of

[1] Lib. i. de euch. cap. 14. sect. 'Resp. ad Calvinum.' [tom. iii. col. 538.]

bread declare a latent body, meaning the body of Christ; for as the accidents of a body declare the substance of a body, so the particular accidents of this kind declare this kind, of this person declare this person. For so our blessed Saviour proved it to be Himself in particular; and if it were not so, the deceit would pass from one thing to another; and although it had not been a spirit, yet it might be 'John the baptist risen from the dead,' or Moses, or Elias, and not Jesus their dear Lord. Besides, if this had been all that Jesus had intended, only to prove He was no *spectrum* but a body, He had not done what was intended. For put case it had been a spirit, and had assumed a body, as Bellarmine in the very next paragraph forgetting himself, or else being entangled in the wildernesses of an inconsistent discourse, affirms that in scriptures the Israelites did sometimes see; and then they were not deceived in touching or seeing a body; for there was a body assumed, and so it seemed to Abraham and Lot; but then suppose Jesus Christ had done so, and had been indeed a spirit in an assumed body, had not the apostles been deceived by their feeling and seeing, as well as the Israelites were in thinking those angels to be men that came to them in human shapes? how had Christ's arguments been pertinent and material, how had He proved that He was no spirit by shewing a body which might be the case of a spirit, but that it is not consistent with the wisdom and goodness of God to suffer any illusion in any matter of sense relating to an article of faith?

5. Secondly, it was the case of the christian church once, not only to rely upon the evidence of sense for an introduction to the religion, but also to need and use this argument in confirmation of an article of the creed. For the Valentinians and the Marcionites thought Christ's body to be fantastical, and so denied the article of the incarnation: and if arguments from sense were not enough to confute them, viz., that the apostles did see and feel a body, flesh and blood and bones, how could they convince these misbelievers? For whatsoever answer can be brought against the reality of bread in the eucharist, all that may be answered in behalf of the Marcionites; for if you urge to them all those places of scripture which affirm Christ to have a body; they answer, it was in scripture called a body because it seemed to be so; which is the answer Bellarmine gives to all those places of scripture which call it bread after consecration. And if you object that if it be not what it seems, then the senses are deceived; they will answer[m] (a Jesuit being by and prompting them) the senses were not deceived, because they only saw colour, shape, figure, and the other accidents, but the inward sense and understanding; that is, the man was deceived when he thought it to be the body of a man, for under those accidents and appearances there was an angel, or a divinity, but no man: and now upon the

[m] [Bellarm.] lib. i. de euch., c. 14. sect. 'Respondent nonnulli.' [tom. iii. col. 546.]

grounds of Transubstantiation how can they be confuted, I would fain know.

6. But Tertullian[n] disputing against them, uses the argument of sense, as the only instrument of concluding against them infallibly: *Non licet nobis in dubium sensus devocare, &c.*, 'it is not lawful to doubt of our senses, lest the same doubt be made concerning Christ; lest peradventure it should be said He was deceived when He said, I saw Satan like lightning fall from heaven; or when He heard the voice of His Father testifying concerning Him; or lest He should be deceived when He touched Peter's wife's mother by the hand; or that He smelt another breath of ointment, and not what was offered to His burial,' *alium postea vini saporem quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit,* 'or tasted another taste of wine which He consecrated to the memory of His blood.' And if the catholic Christians had believed the substantial, natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, and consequently disbelieved the testimony of four senses, as the church of Rome at this day does, seeing, smelling, tasting, feeling, it had been impudence in them to have reproved Marcion by the testimony of two senses concerning the verity of Christ's body. And supposing that our eyes could be deceived, and our taste, and our smelling, yet our touch cannot: for supposing the organs equally disposed, yet touch is the guardian of truth, and his nearest natural instrument; all sensation is by touch, but the other senses are more capable of being deceived; because though they finally operate by touch variously affected, yet their objects are further removed from the organ, and therefore many intermedial things may intervene, and possibly hinder the operation of the sense; that is, bring more diseases and disturbances to the action: but in touch the object and the instrument join close together, and therefore there can be no impediment if the instrument be sound, and the object proper. And yet no sense can be deceived in that which it always perceives alike; "The touch can never be deceived[o];" and therefore a testimony from it, and three senses more, cannot possibly be refused: and therefore it were strange if all the Christians for above sixteen hundred years together should be deceived, as if the eucharist were a perpetual illusion, and a riddle to the senses for so many ages together. And indeed the fault in this case could not be in the senses; and therefore Tertullian[p] and S. Austin[q] dispute wittily, and substantially, that the senses could never be deceived, but the understanding ought to assent to what they relate to it, or represent: for if any man thinks the staff is crooked that is set half way in the water, it is the fault of his judgment, not of his sense, for the air and the water being several mediums, the eye ought to see otherwise in air, otherwise in water;

[n] Lib. de anima, cap. xvii. [p. 276 B.]

[o] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ αἴσθησις τῶν ἰδίων ἀεὶ ἀληθὴς.—Aristot. de anima, [lib. iii. c. 3.]

[p] Lib. de anima, c. xvii. &c. [p. 275.]

[q] S. Austin. de vera religione, c. xxxiii. [tom. i. col. 769 F.]

but the understanding must not conclude falsely from these true premises which the eye ministers; for the thicker medium makes a fraction of the species by incrassation and a shadow: and when a man in the yellow jaundice thinks every thing yellow, it is not the fault of his eye, but of his understanding; for the eye does his office right, for it perceives just as is represented to it, the species are brought yellow; but the fault is in the understanding, not perceiving that the species are stained near the eye, not further off: when a man in a fever thinks every thing bitter, his taste is not deceived, but judges rightly; for as a man that chews bread and aloes together, tastes not false, if he tastes bitterness; so it is in the sick man's case; the juice of his meat is mingled with choler, and the taste is acute, and exact by perceiving it such as it is so mingled. The purpose of which discourse is this, that no notices are more evident and more certain than the notices of sense; but if we conclude contrary to the true dictate of senses, the fault is in the understanding, collecting false conclusions from right premises[r]. It follows therefore that in the matter of the eucharist we ought to judge that which our senses tell us, for whatsoever they say is true: for no deceit can come by them, but the deceit is when we believe something besides or against what they tell us; especially when the organ is perfect, and the object proper, and the medium regular, and all things perfect, and the same always and to all men. For it is observable that in this case the senses are competent judges of the natural being of what they see, and taste, and smell, and feel; and according to that all the men in the world can swear that what they see is bread and wine; but it is not their office to tell us what they become by the institution of our Saviour; for that we are to learn by faith, that what is bread and wine in nature is by God's ordinance the sacrament of the body and blood of the Saviour of the world; but one cannot contradict another; and therefore they must be reconciled: both say true, that which faith teaches is certain, and that which the senses of all men teach always, that also is certain and evident; for as the rule of the school says excellently, "Grace never destroys nature but perfects it[s]," and so it is in the consecration of bread and wine; in which although we are more to regard their signification than their matter, their holy employment than their natural usage, what they are by grace rather than what they are by nature, that they are sacramental rather than that they are nutritive, that they are consecrated and exalted by religion rather than that they are mean and low in their natural beings, what they are to the spirit and understanding rather than what they are to the sense; yet this also is as true and as evident as the other: and therefore though not so apt for our meditation, yet as certain as that which is.

[r] Αἱ μὲν ἀληθεῖς ἀεὶ, αἱ δὲ φαντασίαι γίνονται αἱ πλείους ψευδεῖς.—Arist., lib. iii. de anim. [cap. 3.] Διανοεῖσθαι δ' ἐνδέχεται καὶ ψευδῶς.—Id. [ibid.]

[s] Aquin. part. i. q. 1. [a. 8. ad. 2.]

7. Thirdly, though it be a hard thing to be put to prove that bread is bread, and that wine is wine; yet if the arguments and notices of sense may not pass for sufficient, an impudent person may without possibility of being confuted, outface any man, that an oyster is a rat, and that a candle is a pig of lead. And so might the Egyptian soothsayers have been too hard for Moses: for when they changed rods into serpents, they had some colour to tell Pharaoh they were serpents as well as the rod of Moses; but if they had failed to turn the water into blood, they needed not to have been troubled, if they could have borne down Pharaoh that though it looked like water, and tasted like water, yet by their enchantment they had made it verily to be blood: and upon this ground of having different substances, unproper and disproportioned accidents, what hinders them but they might have said so? and if they had, how should they have been confuted? But this manner of proceeding would be sufficient to evacuate all reason, and all science, and all notices of things; and we may as well conclude snow to be black, and fire cold, and two and two to make five and twenty.

8. But it is said, although the body of Christ be invested with unproper accidents, yet sometimes Christ hath appeared in His own shape; and blood and flesh hath been pulled out of the mouths of the communicants; and Plegilus the priest saw an angel shewing Christ to him in form of a child upon the altar, whom first he took in his arms and kissed, but did eat Him up presently in His other shape, in the shape of a wafer. *Speciosa certe pax nebulonis, ut qui oris præbuerat basium, dentium inferret exitium,* said Berengarius[t], 'it was but a Judas kiss to kiss with the lip, and bite with the teeth.' But if such stuff as this may go for argument, we may be cloyed with them in those unanswerable authors, Simeon Metaphrastes for the Greeks, and Jacobus de Voragine for the Latin, who make it a trade to lie for God and for the interest of the catholic cause. But however, I shall tell a piece of a true story. In the time of Soter pope of Rome[u], there was an impostor called Mark; εἰδωλοποιὸς, that was his appellative: and he ποτήρια οἴνῳ κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτείνων τὸν λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· 'pretending to make the chalice of wine and water eucharistical, saying long prayers over it, made it look red or purple, that it might be thought that grace, which is above all things, does drop the blood into the chalice by invocation.' Such as these have been often done by human artifice or by operation of the devil, said Alexander of Ales[x]. If such things as these were done regularly, it were pretence enough to say it was flesh and blood that is in the eucharist; but when nothing of

[t] Guil. Malmesbur. de gestis regum Anglorum, lib. iii. [p. 114.]

[u] Irenæ., lib. i. c. 9. [al. c. xiii. § 2. p. 60.]

[x] Sum. theol., part. iv. q. 11. memb. 2. art. 4. sect. 3. [p. 410.]

this is done by God, but heretics and knaves, jugglers and impostors, hoping to change the sacrament into a charm by abusing the spiritual sense into a gross and carnal, against the authority of scripture and the church, reason or religion, have made pretences of those things, and still the holy sacrament in all the times of ministration hath the form and all the perceptibilities of bread and wine: as we may believe those impostors did more rely upon the pretences of sense than of other arguments, and distrusting them did fly to these as the greater probation: so we rely upon that way of probation which they would have counterfeited, but which indeed Christ in His institution hath still left in the nature of the symbols, viz., that it is that which it seems to be, and that the other superinduced predicate of the body of Christ is to be understood only in that sense which may still consist with that substance whose proper and natural accidents remain, and are perceived by the mouth and hands and eyes of all men. To which this may be added, that by the doctrine of the late Roman schools all those pretences of real appearances of Christ's body or blood must be necessarily concluded to be impostures, or airy phantasms, and illusions; because themselves teach that Christ's body is so in the sacrament, that Christ's own eyes cannot see His own body in the sacrament: and in that manner by which it is there, it cannot be made visible; no not by the absolute power of God: nay, it can be neither seen, nor touched, nor tasted, nor felt, nor imagined. It is the doctrine of Suarez in iii. Tho. disp. 53. § 3[y]; and disp. 52. § 1[z]; and of Vasquez in iii. t. 3. disp. 191. n. 22[a]. Which besides that it reproves the whole article by making it incredible and impossible, it doth also infinitely convince all these apparitions (if ever there were any) of deceit and fond illusion.

I had no more to say in this particular, but that the Roman doctors pretend certain words out of S. Cyril's fourth Mystagogic Catechism[b] against the doctrine of this paragraph: *Pro certissimo habeas, &c.* 'Be sure of this, that this bread which is seen of us is not bread, although the taste perceives it to be bread, but the body of Christ; for under the species of bread the body is given to thee, under the species of wine the blood is given to thee.' Here, first, if we will trust S. Cyril's words, at least in Bellarmine's and Brerely's sense, and understand of them before you will believe your own eyes, you may: for S. Cyril bids you not believe your sense: for taste and sight tells you it is bread, but it is not. But here is no harm done; for secondly, himself plainly explains his meaning in his next Catechism[c]; "Think not that you taste bread and wine," saith he; no, what then? ἀλλὰ ἀντίτυπα καὶ σώματος[d] καὶ αἵματος, 'but the antitypes of the body and blood:' and in this very place[e] he calls bread τύπος,

[y] [p. 802 sq.]
[z] [p. 784.]
[a] [cap. iii. p. 259.]
[b] [capp. vi. et ix. p. 321 sq.]
[c] [cap. xx. p. 331.]
[d] [leg. ἀντιτύπου σώματος.]
[e] [Catech. mystag. iv. cap. 3. p. 320.]

'a type;' ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου δίδοταί σοι τὸ σῶμα, and therefore it is very ill rendered by the Roman priests by species, which signifies 'accidental forms;' for τύπος signifies no such thing, but εἶδος, which is not S. Cyril's word. Thirdly, he says it is not bread, though the taste feel it so; that is, it is not mere bread: which is an usual expression among the fathers. *Non est panis communis*, says Irenæus[f]; οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, says Justin Martyr[g]; just as S. Chrysostom[h] says of baptismal water, "it is not common water;" and as S. Cyril himself says of the sacramental bread, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, 'it is not mere bread,' ἀλλὰ σῶμα Κυρίου, 'but the Lord's body;' for if it were not that, in some sense or other, it were still mere bread, but that it is not. But this manner of speaking is not unusual in the holy scriptures, that restrained and modificated negatives be propounded in simple and absolute forms. "I have given them statutes which are not good," Ezek. xx. 25. "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," Hos. vi. 6. "They have not rejected thee, but Me," 1 Sam. viii. 7. "It is not you that speak, but the spirit of My Father;"—"I came not to send peace, but a sword," S. Matt. x. 20, and 34. "He that believeth on Me, believeth not on Me but on Him that sent Me." And, "If I bear witness of Myself, My witness is not true," S. John v. 31, which is expressly confronted by S. John viii. 14, "Though I bear record of Myself, yet My record is true;" which shews manifestly that the simple and absolute negative in the former place must in his signification be restrained. So S. Paul speaks usually; "Henceforth I know no man according to the flesh," 2 Cor. v. 16. "We have no strife against flesh and blood," Ephes. vi. 12. And in the ancient doctors nothing more ordinary than to express limited senses by unlimited words; which is so known that I should lose my time and abuse the reader's patience if I should heap up instances. So Irenæus; "He that hath received the Spirit is no more flesh and blood, but spirit." And Epiphanius affirms the same of the flesh of a temperate man, "It is not flesh, but is changed into spirit:" so we say of a drunken man, and a furious person, 'He is not a man, but a beast.' And they speak thus particularly in the matter of the holy sacrament, as appears in the instances above reckoned and in others respersed over this treatise.—But to return to the present objection, it is observable that S. Cyril does not say 'it is not bread, though the sense suppose it to be so,' for that would have supposed the taste to have been deceived, which he affirms not, and if he had we could not have believed him; but he says, "though the sense perceive it to be bread;" so that it is still bread, else the taste would not perceive it to be so; but "it is more," and the sense does not perceive it, for it is "the body of our Lord." Here then is his own answer, plainly opposed to the objection: he says, "it is not bread,"

[f] Lib. iv. contr. hæres., c. 34. [al. cap. 18. p. 251.]

[g] [p. 55, not. g, supra.]

[h] Ps. xxii. hom. 16. [p. 150, nott. n, o, inf.]

that is, "it is not mere bread;" and so say we: he says that "it is the body of our Lord," ἀντίτυπον, 'the antitype' of the Lord's body, and so say we; he says, "the sense perceives it to be bread;" but it is more than the sense perceives; so he implies, and so we affirm; and yet we may trust our sense for all that it tells us, and our understanding too, for all it learns besides. The like to this are the words of S. Chrysostom[i], where he says, "We cannot be deceived by His words, but our sense is often deceived; look not at what is before us, but observe Christ's words: nothing sensible is given to us, but things insensible, by things sensible," &c. This, and many higher things than this, are in S. Chrysostom, not only relating to this but to the other sacrament also. "Think not thou receivest the body from a man, but fire from the tongue of a seraphim;" that for the eucharist: and for baptism this, "The priest baptizes thee not, but God holds thy head." In the same sense that these admit, in the same sense we may understand his other words; they are tragical and high, but may have a sober sense; but literally they sound a contradiction; that nothing sensible should be given us in the sacrament, and yet that nothing insensible should be given but what is conveyed by things sensible. But it is not worth the while to stay here: only this: the words of S. Chrysostom are good counsel, and such as we follow; for in this case we do not finally rely upon sense, or resolve all into it; but we trust it only for so much as it ought to be trusted for; but we do not finally rest upon it, but upon faith, and 'look not on the things proposed,' but attend to 'the words of Christ,' and though we see it to be bread, we also believe it to be His body in that sense which he intended.

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§ 11. The doctrine of Transubstantiation is wholly without and against reason.

1. When we discourse of mysteries of faith and articles of religion, it is certain that the greatest reason in the world, to which all other reasons must yield, is this, 'God hath said it, therefore it is true.' Now if God had expressly said, 'This which seems to be bread is My body, in the natural sense,' or to that purpose, there had been no more to be said in the affair; all reasons against it had been but sophisms. When Christ hath said, "This is My body," no man that pretends to christianity doubts of the truth of these words, all men submitting their understanding to "the obedience of faith:" but since Christ did not affirm that He spake it in the natural sense, but there are not only in scripture many prejudices, but in common sense much evidence against it, if reason also protests against the article, it is the voice of God, and to be heard in this question; for,

Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dicit[k].

[i] lxxxiii. homil. upon S. Matt. [al. lxxxii. § 4. tom. vii. p. 787 D.]
[k] Juv. [Sat. xiv. 321.]

And this the rather, because there are so many ways to verify the words of Christ without this strange and new doctrine of Transubstantiation, that in vain will the words of Christ be pretended against reason, whereas the words of Christ may be many ways verified, if Transubstantiation be condemned: as 1) if Picus Mirandula's proposition be true, which in Rome he offered to dispute publicly, that *Paneitas possit suppositare corpus Domini*[l], which I suppose if it be expounded in sensible terms means, that it may be bread and Christ's body too; or 2) if Luther's and the ancient schoolmen's way be true, that Christ's body be present together with the bread; in that sense Christ's words might be true, though no Transubstantiation; and this is the sense which is followed by the Greek church. 3) If Boquinus'[m] way be true, that between the bread and Christ's body there were a communication of proprieties, as there is between the deity and humanity of our blessed Saviour; then as we say, 'God gave Himself for us,' and the blessed Virgin is θεοτόκος, 'the mother of God,' and 'God suffered' and 'rose again,' meaning that God did it according to His assumed humanity, so we may say, 'this is Christ's body,' by the communication of the idioms or proprieties to the bread with which it is united. 4) If our way be admitted, that Christ is there after a REAL, SPIRITUAL manner, the words of Christ are true, without any need of admitting Transubstantiation. 5) I could instance in the way of Johannes Langus in his annotations upon the second Apology of Justin Martyr[n], *Hoc est corpus meum*, that is, 'My body is this,' that is, 'is nourishment spiritual, as this is natural.' 6) The way of Joannes Campanus[o] would afford me a sixth instance, *Hoc est corpus meum*, that is, *meum* as it is *mea creatura*. 7) Johannes à Lasco, Bucer, and the Socinians, refer *hoc* to the whole ministry, and mean that to be representative of Christ's body. 8) If Rupertus the abbat's way were admitted, which was confuted by Algerus and is almost like that of Boquinus, that between Christ's body and the consecrate symbols there was an hypostatical union, then both substances would remain, and yet it were a true proposition to affirm of the whole *hypostasis*, 'this is the body of Christ.' Many more I could reckon; all which or any of which if it were admitted, the words of Christ stand true and uncontradicted: and therefore it is a huge folly to quarrel at them that admit not Transubstantiation, and to say they deny the words of Christ.

2. And therefore it must not now be said, reason is not to be heard against an article of faith; for that this is an article of faith cannot nakedly be inferred from the words of Christ, which are capable of so many meanings: therefore reason in this case is to be heard, by them that will 'give a reason of their faith,' as it is

[l] [vid. Apol. de euch., p. 121 sqq.]

[m] [De cœn. Dom., part. i. p. 39 sqq. 8vo. Basil. 1561.]

[n] [p. 182.—fol. Basil. 1565.]

[o] [A writer mentioned by Luther in his 'Kurtz Bekentniss vom heiligen Sacrament,' A.D. 1544.—No page.]

commanded in scripture. Much less is that to be admitted which Fisher, or Flued the Jesuit, was bold to say to king James, that because Transubstantiation seems so much against reason, therefore it is to be admitted, as if faith were more faith for being against reason. Against this for the present I shall oppose the excellent words of Austin, ep. vii.[p] *Si manifestissimæ certæque rationi velut scripturarum sanctarum objicitur auctoritas, non intelligit qui hoc facit, et non scripturarum illarum sensum ad quem penetrare non potuit, sed suum potius objicit veritati; nec quod in eis, sed quod in seipso velut pro eis invenit, opponit,* 'he that opposes the authority of the holy scriptures against manifest and certain reason, does neither understand himself nor the scripture.' Indeed when God hath plainly declared the particular, the more it seems against my reasons, the greater is my obedience in submitting; but that is because my reasons are but sophisms, since truth itself hath declared plainly against them; but if God hath not plainly declared against that which I call reason, my reason must not be contested by a pretence of faith, but upon some other account; *Ratio cum ratione concertet.*

3. Secondly, but this is such a fine device that it can, if it be admitted, warrant any literal interpretation against all the pretences of the world. For when Christ said, 'If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out,' here are the plain words of Christ; and 'Some make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven;' nothing plainer in the grammatical sense: and why do we not do it? because it is an unnatural thing to mangle our body for a spiritual cause, which may be supplied by other more gentle instruments.—"Yea, but reason is not to be heard against the plain words of Christ, and the greater our reason is against it, the greater excellency in your obedience; that as 'Abraham against hope believed in hope,' so we against reason may believe in the greatest reason, the divine revelation: and what can be spoken against this?"

4. Thirdly, Stapleton[q] confuting Luther's opinion of consubstantiation pretends against it many absurdities drawn from reason; and yet it would have been ill taken, if it should have been answered that the doctrine ought the rather to be believed, because it is so unreasonable; which answer is something like our new preachers' discourse; who pretend that therefore they are 'spiritual men' because they have no learning, they are 'to confound the wise' because they are 'the weak things of the world,' and that they are to be heard the rather because there is the less reason they should, so crying stinking fish that men may buy it the more greedily. But I will proceed to the particulars of reason in this article; being contented with this, that if the adverse party shall refuse this way of arguing, they may be reproved by saying, they refuse to hear reason, and it will not be

[p] [al. ep. cxliii. tom. ii. col. 466 D.]

[q] Prompt. cath., fer. iii. hebd. sanct. sect. 3. in hæc verba, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' [tom. iv. p. 800 sq.]

easy for them in despite of reason to pretend faith, for ἄτοποι, and μὴ ἔχοντες πίστιν, 'unreasonable men' and 'they that have not faith,' are equivalent in S. Paul's[r] expression.

5. First, I shall lay this prejudice in the article as relating to the discourses of reason; that in the words of institution there is nothing that can be pretended to prove the conversion of the substance of bread into the body of Christ, but the same will infer the conversion of the whole into the whole, and therefore of the accidents of the bread into the accidents of the body. And in those little pretences of philosophy which these men sometimes make to cozen fools into a belief of the possibility, they pretend to no instance but to such conversions in which if the substance is changed, so also are the accidents: sometimes the accident is changed in the same remaining substance; but if the substance be changed, the accidents never remain the same individually; or in kind, unless they be symbolical, that is, are common to both, as in the change of elements, of air into fire, of water into earth. Thus when Christ changed water into wine, the substances being changed, the accidents also were altered, and the wine did not retain the colour and taste of water; for then though it had been the stranger miracle that wine should be wine, and yet look and taste like water, yet it would have obtained but little advantage to His doctrine and person if He should have offered to prove His mission by such a miracle. For if Christ had said to the guests, 'To prove that I am come from God, I will change this water into wine,' well might this prove His mission: but if while the guests were wondering at this, He should proceed and say, 'Wonder ye not at this, for I will do a stranger thing than it, for this water shall be changed into wine, and yet I will so order it, that it shall look like water, and taste like it, so that you shall not know one from the other,' certainly this would have made the whole matter very ridiculous. And indeed it is a strange device of these men to suppose God to work so many prodigious miracles as must be in Transubstantiation, if it were at all, and yet that none of these should be seen; for to what purpose is a miracle that cannot be perceived? It can prove nothing, nor do any thing, when itself is not known whether it be or no. When bread is turned into flesh and wine into blood in the nourishment of our bodies (which I have seen urged for the credibility of Transubstantiation) the bread as it changes his nature changes his accidents too, and is flesh in colour, and shape, and dimensions, and weight, and operation, as well as it is in substance. Now let them rub their foreheads hard and tell us, it is so in the holy sacrament. For if it be not so, then no instance of the change of natural substances from one form to another can be pertinent: for 1) though it be no more than is done in every operation of a body, yet it is always with change of their proper accidents; and then 2) it can with no force of the words of the institution be pretended that one ought to be or can be with-

[r] 2 Thess. [iii. 2.]

out the other. For he that says this is the body of a man, says that it hath the substance of a human body, and all his consequents, that is, the accidents; and he that says this is the body of Alexander, says, besides the substance, that it hath all the individuating conditions, which are the particular accidents; and therefore Christ affirming this to be His body, did as much affirm the change of accidents as the change of substance: because that change is naturally and essentially consequent to this. Now if they say they therefore do not believe the accidents of bread to be changed, because they see them remain; I might reply, why will they believe their sense against faith? since there may be evidence, but here is certainty, and it cannot be deceived though our eyes can: and it is certain, that Christ affirmed it without distinction of one part from another, of substance from his usual accidents. 'This is My body;' *hoc, hic, nunc,* and *sic.* Now if they think their eyes may be credited for all the words of our blessed Saviour, why shall not their reason also? or is it nothing so certain to the understanding, as any thing is to the eye? If therefore it be unreasonable to say that the accidents of bread are changed against our sense, so it will be unreasonable to say that the substance is changed against our reason. Not but that God can and does often change one substance into another, and it is done in every natural production of a substantial form; but that we say it is unreasonable that this should be changed into flesh (not to flesh simply, for so it is when we eat it; nor into Christ's flesh simply, for so it might have been if He had, as it is probable He did, eaten the sacrament Himself, but) into that body of Christ which is in heaven, He remaining there, and being whole, and impassible, and unfrangible, this we say is unreasonable and impossible: and that's now to be proved.

6. Secondly, in this question when our adversaries are to cozen any of the people, they tell them the protestants deny God's omnipotency, for so they are pleased to call our denying their dreams. And this device of theirs to escape is older than their doctrine of Transubstantiation, for it was the trick of the Manichees[s], the Eutychians, the Apollinarists, the Arians, when they were confuted by the arguments of the catholics, to fly to God's omnipotency; ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξειργόμενοι λογισμῶν καταφεύγουσι ἐπὶ τὸ δυνατὸν εἶναι θεῷ, says Nazianzen[t], and it was very usually by the fathers called the 'sanctuary of heretics:' *potentia* (*inquiunt*) *ei hæc est ut falsa sint vera: mendacis est ut falsum dicat verum, quod Deo non competit,* saith S. Austin[u]. They pretend it to belong to God's power to verify their

[s] ['Monarchians' A.]

[t] Orat. 51. [al. ep. ci. tom. ii. p. 90 D.] Theodoret. dial. ἄτρεπτ. [tom. iv. init.] Tertull. contr. Praxeam, c. 10. [p. 505 C.]

[u] 79. [leg. 97.] vet. et nov. testam. [tom. iii. part. 2. append.—'Sed potentiæ (inquiunt) Dei hoc subest, ut falsa faciat vera. Immo potentia Dei hæc est, unde et omni laude dignus est, quia verum apud illum verum est, et falsum falsum est. Nam istud mendacis est,' &c.]

doctrine, that is, to make falsehood truth; that is not power, but a lie, which cannot be in God. And this was older[v] than the Arians, it was the trick of the old tragedians; so Plato[w] told them, ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἴροντες· which Cicero[x] rendering, says, *cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum*, 'when you cannot bring your argument about, you fly to the power of God.' But when we say this is impossible to be done, either we mean it naturally or ordinarily impossible, that is, such a thing which cannot without a miracle be done; as a child cannot with his hands break a giant's arm, or a man cannot eat a millstone, or with his finger touch the moon. Now in matters of religion, although to shew a thing to be thus impossible is not enough to prove it was not at all, if God said it was; for although to man it be impossible, yet to God all things are possible; yet when the question is of the sense of the words of scripture, which are capable of various interpretations, he that brings an argument *ab impossibili* against any one interpretation, shewing that it infers such an ordinary impossibility as cannot be done without a miracle, hath sufficiently concluded (not against the words, for nothing ought to prejudice them, but) against such an interpretation as infers that impossibility. Thus when in scripture we find it recorded that Christ was born of a virgin, to say this is impossible is no argument against it, because although it be naturally impossible (which I think is demonstrable against the Arabian physicians) yet to Him that said it it is also possible to do it. But then if from hence any man shall obtrude as an article of faith, that the blessed Virgin mother was so a virgin that her holy Son came into the world without any aperture of His mother's womb, I doubt not but an argument *ab impossibili* is a sufficient conviction of the falsehood of it, though this impossibility be only an ordinary and natural; because the words of scripture affirming Christ to be born of a virgin, say only that He was not begotten by natural generation, not that His egression from His mother's womb made a 'penetration of dimensions.' To instance once more: the words of scripture are plain, that Christ is man, that Christ is God; here are two natures and yet but one Christ; no impossibility ought to be pretended against these plain words, but they must be sophisms, because they dispute against truth itself. But now if a Monothelite shall say that by this unity of nature God hath taught an unity of wills in Christ, and that He had but one will because He is but one person; I do not doubt but an argument from an ordinary and natural impossibility will be sufficient to convince him of his heresy; and in this case the Monothelite hath no reason to say that the orthodox Christian denies God's omnipotency, and says that God cannot unite the will of Christ's humanity to the will of His

[v] ['an older' A.]

[w] In Cratylo. [§ 90. tom. iv. p. 296.]

[x] De natur. deor., lib. i. [cap. 20, al. 53.]

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divinity. And this is true in every thing which is not declared minutely, and in his particular sense. There is ordinarily no greater argument in the world, and none better is commonly used nor any better required, than to reduce the opinion to an impossibility; for if this be not true without a miracle, you must prove your extraordinary, and demonstrate your miracle; which will be found to be a new impossibility. A sense that cannot be true without a miracle to make it so, it is a miracle if it be true; and therefore let the literal sense in any place be presumed, and have the advantage of the first offer or presumption; yet if it be ordinarily impossible to be so, and without a miracle cannot be so, and the miracle no where affirmed, then to affirm the literal sense is the hugest folly that can be in the interpretation of any scriptures.

7. But there is an impossibility which is absolute, which God cannot do, therefore because He is almighty, for to do them were impotency and want of power; as God cannot lie, He cannot be deceived, He cannot be mocked, He cannot die, He cannot deny himself, nor do unjustly. And I remember that Dionysius brings in by way of scorn Elymas the sorcerer finding fault with S. Paul for saying God could not deny himself, as if the saying so were denying God's omnipotency; so Elymas objected; as is to be seen in the book *De divin. nom.*, c. viii.[y] And by the consent of all the world it is agreed upon this expression, that 'God cannot reconcile contradictions;' that is, it is no part of the divine omnipotency to make the same proposition true and false at the same time, in the same respect; it is absolutely impossible that the same thing should be and not be at the same time, that the same thing so constituted in his own formality should lose the formality or essential affirmative, and yet remain the same thing. For it is absolutely the first truth that can be affirmed in metaphysical notices, 'Nothing can be and not be.' This is it in which all men and all sciences and all religions are agreed upon as a prime truth in all senses, and without distinctions. For if any thing could be and not be at the same time, then there would be something whose being were not to be. Nay, Dominicus à Soto[z] affirms expressly that not only those things cannot be done by God which intrinsically, formally, and expressly infer two contradictories, but those also which the understanding at the first proposal does by his natural light dissent from, and can by no means admit; because that which is so repugnant to the understanding, naturally does *sua natura repugnare*, 'is impossible in the nature of things;' and therefore when it is said in S. Luke, 'nothing is impossible with God,' it is meant, nothing is impossible but that which naturally repugns to the understanding.

Now to apply this to the present question. Our adversaries do not deny but that in the doctrine of Transubstantiation there are a

[y] [p. 243.] [z] Quæst. in phys., lib. iii. q. 4. [fol. 57 a.—fol. Salamant. 1551.]

great many impossibilities, which are such naturally and ordinarily: but by divine power they can be done; but that they are done they have no warrant but the plain literal sense of the words of *Hoc est corpus meum:* now this is so far from proving that God does work perpetual miracles to verify their sense of it, that the working of miracles ought to prove that to be the sense of it. Now the probation of a proposition by miracles, is an open thing, clear as thunder, and being a matter of sense, and consequently more known than the thing which they intend to prove, ought not to be proved by that which is the thing in question. And therefore to say that God will work a miracle rather than His words should be false, is certain, but impertinent; for concerning the words themselves there is no question, and therefore now no more need of miracles to confirm them; concerning the meaning of them is the question: they say this is the meaning.

Quest. How do you prove it, since there are so many impossibilities in it naturally and ordinarily?

Answ. Because God said it, therefore it is true.

Resp. Yea, that God said the words we doubt not, but that His words are to be understood in your sense, that I doubt; because if I believe your sense, I must admit many things ordinarily impossible.

Ans. Yea, but nothing is impossible to God.

Resp. True, nothing that can be done exceeds His power; but supposing this absolutely possible, yet how does it appear that God will do a miracle to verify your sense, which otherwise cannot be true, when without a miracle the words may be true in many other senses? *Jam dic, Posthume:* for it is hard that men by a continual effort and violence should maintain a proposition against reason and his unquestionable maxims, thinking it sufficient to oppose against it God's omnipotency; as if the crying out 'a miracle' were a sufficient guard against all absurdity in the world; as if the wisdom of God did arm His power against His truth, and that it were a fineness of spirit to be able to believe the two parts of a contradiction, and all upon confidence of a miracle which they cannot prove. And indeed it were something strange, that thousands and thousands of times, every day for above fifteen hundred years together, the same thing should be done, and yet this should be called a miracle, that is, a daily extraordinary: for by this time it would pass into nature and a rule, and so become a supernatural natural event, an extraregular rule, an extraordinary ordinary, a perpetual wonder, that is, a wonder and no wonder. And therefore I may infer the proper corollaries of this argument in the words of Scotus[a], whose opinion it was pity it could be overborne by tyranny; 1) "That the truth of the eucharist may be saved without Transubstantiation;" and this I have already proved. 2) "The substance of bread under the accidents is more a nourishment than the accidents themselves, and therefore more repre-

[a] Sent. iv. dist. 11. q. 3. tit. b. [p. 605 sq.]

sents Christ's body in the formality of spiritual nourishment." And indeed, that I may add some weight to these words of Scotus, which are very true and very reasonable: first, it cannot be told why bread should be chosen for the symbol of the body but because of his nourishing faculty, and that the accidents should nourish without substance is like feeding a man with music, and quenching his thirst with a diagram: secondly, it is fantastical and mathematical bread, not natural, which by the doctrine of Transubstantiation is represented on the table, and therefore unfit to nourish or to typify that which can: thirdly, painted bread might as well be symbolical as the real, if the real bread become no bread; for then that which remains is nothing but the accidents, as colour and dimensions, &c.—But Scotus proceeds. 3) "That understanding of the words of institution, that the substance of bread is not there, seems harder to be maintained, and to it more inconveniences are consequent, than by putting the substance of bread to be there." 4) "Lastly, it is a wonder why in one article which is not a principal article of faith, such a sense should be affirmed, for which faith is exposed to the contempt of all that follow reason:" and all this is because in Transubstantiation there are many natural and ordinary impossibilities. *In hac conversione sunt plura difficilia quam in creatione*, said Aquinas[b], 'there are more difficulties in this conversion of the sacrament than in the whole creation.'

9. But then because we are speaking concerning what may be done by God, it ought to be considered that it is rash and impudent to say that the body of Christ cannot by the power of God (who can do all things) be really in the sacrament without the natural conversion of bread into Him. "God can make that the body of Christ should be *de novo* in the sacrament of the altar, without any change of itself, and without the change of any thing into itself, yet some change being made about the bread, or something else;" they are the words of Durand[c]. Cannot God in any sense make this proposition true, 'This bread is the body of Christ,' or, 'This is bread and Christ's body too?' If they say He cannot, then it is a clear case who it is that denies God's omnipotency: if God can, then how will they be able from the words of scripture to prove Transubstantiation? This also would be considered.

10. But now concerning impossibilities, if it absolutely can be evinced that this doctrine of Transubstantiation does affirm contradictions, then it is not only an intolerable prejudice against the doctrine, as is the ordinary and natural impossibility; but it will be absolutely impossible to be true, and it derogates from God to affirm such a proposition in religion, and much more to adopt it into the body of faith. And therefore when S. Paul had quoted that place of scripture, "He hath put all things under Him," he adds, "It is

[b] iii. q. 75. art. 2. [leg. art. 8.] 'ad. 3.'
[c] Sent. iv. dist. 11. q. 1. [p. 714.]

evident that He is excepted who did put all things under Him;" for if this had not been so understood, then He should have been under Himself, and He that gave the power should be lessened, and be inferior to Him that received it; which because they infer impossibilities, like those which are consequent to Transubstantiation, S. Paul makes no more of it but to say, "The contrary is manifest," against the unlimited literal sense of the words. Now for the eviction of this, these two mediums are to be taken: the one, that this doctrine affirms that of the essence or existence of a thing which is contrary to the essence or existence of it, and yet that the same thing remains; that is, that the essence remains without the essence, that is, without itself: the other, that this doctrine makes a thing to be and not to be at the same time: I shall use them both but promiscuously, because they are reducible to one.

11. The doctrine of Transubstantiation is against the nature and essence of a body. Bellarmine[d] seems afraid of this; for immediately before he goes about to prevaricate about the being of a body in many places at once, he says that if the essence of things were evidently and particularly known, then we might know what does, and what does not imply a contradiction; but *id non satis constat*, 'there is no certainty of that;' by that pretended uncertainty making way as he hopes to escape from all the pressure of contradictions that lie upon the prodigious philosophy of this article: but we shall make a shift so far to understand the essence of a body, as to evince this doctrine to be full of contradictions.

12. First, for Christ's body, His natural body is changed into a spiritual body, and it is not now a natural body, but a spiritual; and therefore cannot be now in the sacrament after a natural manner, because it is so no where, and therefore not there; "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." And therefore though this spirituality be not a change of one substance into another, yet it is so a change of the same substance, that it hath lost all those accidents which were not perfective nor constitutive, but imperfect and separable from the body; and therefore in no sense of nature can it be manducated. And here is the first contradiction. The body of Christ is in the sacrament: the same body is in heaven: in heaven it cannot be broken naturally; in the sacrament they say it is broken naturally and properly; therefore the same body is and is not, it can and it cannot be broken. To this they answer, that this is broken under the species of bread, not in itself; well, is it broken or is it not broken? let it be broken under what it will, if it be broken, the thing is granted. For if being broken under the species, it be meant that the species be broken alone, and not the body of Christ, then they take away in one hand what they reach forth with the other: This being a better argument, 'The species only are broken, the

[d] Lib. iii. euch., c. 2. sect. ult. [tom. iii. col. 662.]

species are not Christ's body, therefore Christ's body is not broken,' better I say than this, 'The body of Christ is under the species, the species alone are broken, therefore the body of Christ is broken.' For how can the breaking of species or accidents infer the breaking of Christ's body, unless the accidents be Christ's body, or inseparable from it? or rather, how can the breaking of the accidents infer the breaking of Christ's body when it cannot be broken? To this I desire a clear and intelligible answer. Add to this, how can species, that is, accidents, be broken, but when a substance is broken? for an accident properly, such as smell, colour, taste, hath of itself no solid and consistent, nor indeed any fluid parts, nothing whereby it can be broken, and have a part divided from a part; but as the substance in which the accident is subjected becomes divided, so do the inherent accidents, but no otherwise; and if this can not be admitted, men cannot know what one another say or mean, they can have no notices of things or regular propositions.

13. Secondly, but I demand, when we speak of a body, what we mean by it; for in all discourses and entercourses of mankind by words we must agree concerning each other's meaning: when we speak of a body, of a substance, of an accident, what does mankind agree to mean by these words?

All the philosophers and all the wise men in the world, when they divide a substance from an accident, mean by a substance that which can subsist in itself without a subject of inherence; but an accident is, that whose very essence is to be in another[e].

When they speak of a body and separate it from a spirit, they mean that a spirit is that which hath no material, divisible parts, physically; that which hath nothing of that which makes a body, that is, extension, limitation by lines, and superficies, and material measures. The very first notion and conception of things teaches all men that what is circumscribed and measured by his proper place is there and no where else, for if it could be there and be in another place, it were two and not one. A finite spirit can be but in one place, but it is there without circumscription; that is, it hath no parts measured by the parts of a place, but is there after another manner than a body, that is, it is in every part of his definition or spiritual location. So it is said, a soul is in the whole body; not that a part of it is in the hand, and a part of it in the eye, but it is whole in the whole, and whole in every part; and it is true that it is so, if it be wholly immaterial: because that which is spiritual and immaterial cannot have material parts. But when we speak of a body, all the world means that which hath a finite quantity, and is determined to one place. This was the philosophy of all the world, taught in all the schools of the Christians and heathens, even of all mankind, till the

[e] Aristot., lib. i. posterior. [cap. 6.] et lib. ii. [cap. 10.]—Metaph., lib. vi. [cap. 4.]—Idem significatur per ipsum nomen συμβεβηκὸς, quod abit cum substantia; ἐνδεχόμενον, receptum scilicet in subjecto; accidens, quod accidit.

doctrine of Transubstantiation was to be nursed and maintained, and even after it was born it could not be forgotten by them who were bound to keep it. And I appeal to any man of the Roman persuasion if they can shew me any ancient philosopher, Greek, or Roman, or Christian of any nation, who did not believe it to be essential to the being of a body to be in one place: and Amphitruo[f] in the old comedy had reason to be angry with Sosia upon this point;

> Tun' id dicere audes, quod nemo unquam homo antehac
> Vidit, nec potest fieri, tempore uno
> Homo idem duobus locis ut simul sit?

And therefore to make the body of Christ to be in a thousand places at once and yet to be but one body, to be in heaven and to be upon so many altars, to be on the altar in so many round wafers, is to make a body to be a spirit, and to make a finite to be infinite; for nothing can be so but an infinite spirit.

14. Neither will it be sufficient to fly here to God's omnipotency: for God can indeed make a body to be a spirit, but can it consist with the divine being to make an infinite substance? can there possibly be two categorematical, that is, positive substantial infinites? or can it be that a finite should, remaining finite, yet not be finite, but indefinite and in innumerable places at once[g]? God can new create the body, and change it into a spirit; but can a body, remaining a body, be at the same time a spirit? or can it be a body, and yet not be in a place? is it not determined so that remaining in a place it cannot be out of it? If these things could be otherwise, then the same thing at the same time could be a body and a spirit, limited and unlimited, wholly in a place and wholly out of it, finite and infinite, a body and yet no body, one and yet many, the same and not the same, that is, it should not be itself. Now although God can change any thing from being the thing it is to become another thing, yet is it not a contradiction to say it should be the same it is, and yet not the same? These are the essential, immediate consequents of supposing a body remaining a body, whose essence it is to be finite and determined in one place, can yet so remaining be in a thousand places.

Thirdly, the Socinians teach that our bodies at the resurrection shall be (as they say Christ's body now is) changed substantially. For corruptible and incorruptible, mortal and immortal, natural and spiritual, are substantial differences: and now our bodies being natural, corruptible, and mortal, differ substantially from bodies spiritual, immortal and incorruptible, as they shall be hereafter, and as the body of our Lord now is. Now I am sure the church of Rome

[f] Plaut. Amphitr., act. ii. [sc. i. 16.]

[g] "Ὅπερ σώματι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπάρχειν.—Plotin. l. de anim. apud Euseb. præpar. evang., lib. xv. [p. 828 C.]

allows not of this doctrine *in these*[h], neither have they reason for it; but do not they admit that *in hypothesi* which they deny *in thesi?* For is it not a perfect change of substance, that a body from finite is changed to be at least potentially infinite, from being determined in one place to be indefinite and indeterminable? To lose all his essential proprieties must needs infer a substantial change[i]; and that it is of the essence of a body to be in one place, at least an essential propriety, they will not, I suppose be so impudent as to deny, since they fly to the divine omnipotency, and a perpetual miracle, to make it be otherwise: which is a plain demonstration that naturally it is so; this therefore they are to answer if they can.

15. But let us see what christian philosophy teaches us in this particular. S. Austin is a good probable doctor, and may be trusted for a proposition in natural philosophy. These are his conclusions in this article, *Corpora quæ non possunt esse nisi in loco*[k], 'bodies cannot be but in their place.' *Angustias omnipotentiæ*[l] *corpora patiuntur, nec ubique esse possunt, nec semper; divinitas autem ubique præsto est*[m], 'the divinity is present every where, but not bodies, they are not omnipotent:' meaning, it is a propriety of God to be in many places, an effect of His omnipotence. But more plainly yet, *Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt, et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt*[n], 'if you take from bodies the spaces of place, they will be no where, and if they be no where, they will not be at all:' and to apply this to the present question, he affirms[o], *Christus*[p] *homo secundum corpus in loco est, et de loco migrat, et cum ad alium locum venerit, in eo loco unde venit non est*[q], 'Christ as man according to the body is in a place and goes from a place, and when He comes to another place is not in the place from whence He came.' For besides that so to do is of the verity of Christ's body, that it should have the same affections with ours, according as it is insisted upon in divers places of the scripture, particularly S. Luke xxiv. 39; it is also in the same place, and in the story, apparent, that the case was not altered after the resurrection, but Christ moved finitely by dimensions, and change of places. So Theodoret[r], *Dominicum corpus incorruptibile resurrexit et impatibile et immortale, et divina gloria glorificatum est, et a cœlestibus adoratur potestatibus; corpus tamen est, priorem habens circumscriptionem,* 'Christ's body even after the resurrection is circumscribed as it was before.' And therefore "as it

[h] [Whether these words are intended for English or Latin, the reader will judge.]

[i] Quomodo erit sol splendore privatus? vel quomodo erit splendor, nisi sol sit a quo defluat? Ignis vero quomodo erit calore carens? vel calor unde manabit nisi ab igne?—Cyril. Alex., lib. i. in i. c. Joan. [tom. iv. p. 12.]

[k] Serm. Dom. in monte, c. 9. [al. lib. ii. c. 5.—tom. iii. part. 2. col. 207 B.]

[l] ['omnia pene,' edd.]

[m] In ps. lxxxvi. [tom. iv. col. 920 B.]

[n] Ep. lvii. [al. clxxxvii. cap. 6.—tom. ii. col. 683 F.]

[o] Tract. xxxi. in Joan. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 524 A.]

[p] ['Christus' decst.]

[q] [leg. 'erit.']

[r] Dial. ii. [tom. iv. p. 122.]

is impious to deny God[s] to be invisible, so it is profane not to believe and profess the Son of God in His assumed humanity[t] to be visible, corporeal, and local after the resurrection;" it is the saying of S. Austin[u].

16. And I would fain know how it will be answered that they attribute to the body of Christ, which is His own creature, the incommunicable attribute of ubiquity, either actually or potentially. For let them say; is it not an attribute of God[x] to be unlimited and to be undefined by places? S. Austin says it, and it is affirmed by natural reason, and all the world attributes this to God as a propriety of His own. If it be not His own, then all the world hath been always deceived till this new generation arose: if it be, let them fear the horrid consequent of giving that to a creature which is the glory of the Creator. And if they think to escape by saying that they do not attribute to it actual ubiquity but potential, that is, that though He be not, yet He may be every where; let it be considered, if the argument of the fathers was good by which they proved the divinity of the Holy Ghost,—This is every where, therefore this is God; is it not also as good to say, this may be every where, therefore this may be God? And then it will be altogether as bad as any thing can be imagined, for it makes the incommunicable attribute of God to be communicable to a creature; and not only so, but it is worse, for it makes that an actual creature may be a potential god, that is, that there can be a god which is not eternally a god, that is not a pure act, a god that is not yet, but that shall have a beginning in time.

17. Fourthly, there was not in all school divinity, nor in the old philosophy, nor in nature, any more than three natural proper ways of being in a place, *circumscriptive, definitive, repletive.* The body of Christ is not in the sacrament circumscriptively, because there He could be but in one altar, in one wafer: it is not there definitively for the same reason, because to be definitely in a place is to be in it so as to be there, and no where else; and both these are affirmed by their own Turrecremata[y]: it remains that it must be *repletive* in many places, which we use to attribute to God only, and it is that manner of being in a place by which God is distinguished from His creatures. But now a fourth word must be invented, and that is *sacramentaliter*, Christ's body is sacramentally in more places than one: which is very true, that is, the sacrament of Christ's body is; and so is His body figuratively, tropically, representatively in being, and really in effect and blessing; but this is not a natural, real being in a place, but a relation to a person; the other three are all the manners of location which the soul of man could yet ever apprehend.

[s] [lat. 'Dei filium.']

[t] [lat. 'humility,' B, C.]

[u] Lib. de essent. divinit. [tom. viii. append. col. 72 B.]

[x] Ἐγὼ δ' ὁ θεοῦ ἐστὶν ἔργον, εἰμὶ παντα χοῦ.
[Philem. apud] Stob., tit. iii. [al. Eclog. phys., lib. i. cap. 3. num. 31.]

[y] Super Decret. 3. part. 'De consecrat.' dist. ii. cap. 'Quid sit.' [sc. cap. lxxiii. col. 2125.]

18. Fifthly, it is essential to a body to have *partem extra partem*, 'one part without the other,' answering to the parts of his place; for so the eyes stand separate from the hands, and the ears from the feet, and the head from the belly. But in Transubstantiation the whole body is in a point, in a *minimum naturale*, in the least imaginable crumb of consecrated bread: how then shall nose and eyes, and head and hands, be distinct, unless the mutiny of the members be reconciled, and all parties pleased, because the feet shall be the eyes, and the leg shall be the head, and possess each other's dimension and proper cells of dwelling. *Quod ego non credo*, said an ancient gloss[z]. I will not insist upon the unworthy questions which this carnal doctrine introduces, viz., whether Christ's whole body be so there that the prepuce is not wanting; Suarez[a] supposing that as probable, others denying it, but disputing it fiercely; neither will I make scrutiny concerning eating Christ's bones, guts, hair, and nails; nor suppose the Roman priests to be such καρχαρόδοντες, and to have such saws in their mouths: these are appendages of their persuasion, but to be abominated by all christian and modest persons, who use to eat not the bodies but the flesh of beasts, and not to devour, but to worship the body of Christ in the exaltation, and more in the union with His divinity. But that which I now insist upon is, that in a body there cannot be indistinction of parts, but each must possess his own portion of place; and if it does not, a body cannot be a body, nor distinguished from a spirit.

19. Sixthly, when a body is broken into half, one half is separate from another and remains divided; but in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the wafer which they say is Christ's whole body, if it be broken, is broken into two whole ones, not into the halves of one; and so there shall be two bodies, if each half make one, and yet those two bodies are but one and not two. Add to this, if each wafer be Christ's body whole, and the fraction of it makes that every part is whole Christ; then every communicant can consecrate as well as the priest, for at his breaking the host in his mouth, why the body should not also become whole to each part in the mouth as well as to each part in the hand, is one of the unintelligible secrets of this mystery.

20. Aquinas says that "The body of Christ is not in the sacrament in the manner of a body, but of a substance, and so is whole in the whole:" well, suppose that for a while; yet 1) Those substances which are 'whole in the whole,' are by his own doctrine neither divisible nor multiplicable, and how then can Christ's body be supposed to be multiplicable[b] (for there are no other words to

[z] In decret. de concil. [leg. 'De consecr.'] dist. ii. [cap. lxxviii.] 'Ubi pars,' in glossa. [col. 2129.]

[a] In Thom., tom. iii. disp. 51. [§ 3. p. 769.]

[b] Corpus Christi est multiplicatum ad omne punctum hostiæ.—Tho. Waldens., tom. ii. c. 55. [p. 94.] Multiplicatio corporis Christi facta est substantialiter ad omne punctum hostiæ.—Id.

express my meaning, though no words can speak sense according to their doctrine, words not signifying here as every where else, and among them as they did always in all mankind) how can it, I say, be multiplied by the breaking of the wafer or bread upon the account of the likeness of it to a substance that cannot be broken, or if it could, yet were not multipliable? But 2) If Christ's body be there according to the manner of a substance, not of a body, I demand according to the nature of what substance, whether of a material or an immaterial? If according to the nature of a material substance, then it is commensurate by the dimensions of quantity, which he is now endeavouring to avoid: if according to the nature of an immaterial substance, then it is not a body but a spirit; or else the body may have the being of a spirit whilst it remains a body, that is, be a body and not a body at the same time. But 3) to say that a body is there not according to the nature of a body but of a substance, is not sense, for besides that by this answer it is a body without the nature of a body, it says that it is also there determined by a manner, and yet that manner is so far from determining it that it makes it yet more undetermined and general than it was: for 'substance' is the highest genus in that category, and *corpus* or 'body' is under it, and made more special by a superadded difference. To say therefore that a body is there after the manner of a substance, is to say that by being specificated, limited, and determined, it becomes not a species but a genus, that is, more unlimited by limitations, more generical by his specification, more universal by being made more particular: so impossible is it for wise men to make sense of this business. 4) But besides all this, to be in a place after the manner of a substance is not to be in a place at all, for *substantia* hath in it no relation to a place till it be specificated to a body or a spirit; for *substantia dicit solum formalitatem substandi accidentibus et subsistendi per se*, but the capacity of, or relation to a place is by the specification of it by some substantial difference. 5) Lastly, to explicate the being in a place in the manner of a substance, by being whole in the whole and whole in every part, is to say that every substance is so; which is notoriously false, for corporal substances are not so; whether spiritual be, is a question not proper for this place.

21. Aquinas[c] hath yet another device to make all whole, saying that one body cannot be in divers places *localiter* but *sacramentaliter*, not locally but sacramentally. But first I wish the words were sense, and that I could tell the meaning of being in a place locally and not locally, unless a thing can be in a place and not in a place, that is, so to be in that it is also out: but so long as it is a distinction it is no matter, it will amuse and make way to escape, if it will do nothing else. But if by being sacramentally in many places is meant

[c] In iv. sent. d. 44. q. 2. [art. 2. q. 3.]

figuratively (as before I explicated it) then I grant Aquinas's affirmative; Christ's body is in many places sacramentally, that is, it is represented upon all the holy tables or altars in the christian church. But if by sacramentally he means naturally and properly, then he contradicts himself, for that is it he must mean by *localiter* if he means any thing at all. But it matters not what he means, for it is sufficient to me that he only says it and proves it not; and that it is not sense; and lastly, that Bellarmine[d] confutes it as not being home enough to his purpose, but a direct destruction of the fancy of Transubstantiation; *Si non possit esse unum corpus localiter in duobus locis, quia divideretur a seipso, profecto nec esse possit sacramentaliter eadem ratione.* I might make advantage of this contestation between two so great patrons of Transubstantiation, if I did need it: for Aquinas says that a body cannot be in two places at once locally, Bellarmine says then neither can it sacramentally; it were easy then to infer that therefore it is in two places no way in the world. But I shall not need this.

22. Seventhly, for there is a new heap of impossibilities if we should reckon that which follows from the multiplication of totalities; I mean of the body of Christ, which is one continual substance, one in itself and divided from every thing else, as all unity is; and yet every wafer consecrated is the whole body of Christ, and yet that body is but one, and the wafers which are not one, are every one of them Christ's body. And how is it possible that Christ's body should be in heaven, and between it and us are many other bodies interposed, and His body is in none of the intermedials, and that His body should be also here, and yet not joined to that either by continuity or contiguity, and the same body should be a thousand miles off, and ten thousand bodies between them, and yet all this be but one: that is, How can it be two and yet be one? For how shall any man reckon two? How can he know that two glasses of wine are not one? We see them in two places, their continuity divided, there is an intermedial distance and other bodies interposed, and therefore we silly men usually say they are two: but it is strange to see, a man may be confident and yet without reason when he hath not wit enough to tell two; but then there is not in nature any way for a man to tell two, if this principle be taken from us.

It will also be an infinite, impossible contradiction which follows the being of a body in two places at once; upon this account: for it will infer that the same body is at the same time, in the same respect, in order to the same place, both actually and potentially, that is, possessed and not possessed of it, and may go to that place where it is already. For suppose a body at St. Omer's, and the same body at the same time at Douay, then that body which is actually at St. Omer's

[d] Lib. iii. euch. c. 3. sect. 'Quidam tamen.'—Ibid. sect. 'Adde quod.' [tom. iii. col. 668 sq.]

may yet at the same time be going from Douay thither, and then he is at the same time there and not there, at his journey's end and yet on the way thither; that is, in disposition and tendency to that place where he is already actually, and whither he is arrived before he set out and began his journey; and goes away from Douay before he leaves it.

Add to this, that to be in two places at once makes the same thing which is contained in diverse places to be contained in none. For as to be in a place like a body, is to be contained in that place; so to be contained in that place is to be terminated or bounded by that place; but whatsoever is bounded by a thing is not without or beyond that bounds: it follows therefore that if a body can be entirely without or beyond that place in which it is contained, that is, without the bounds, then it is bounded and not bounded, it is contained and not contained; that is, it is contained by diverse, and it is contained by none.

23. But how can any thing be divided from itself wholly? for either it must be where it is not, or else it must be two: the wit of man cannot devise a shift to make this seem possible. But Bellarmine can[f]; for he says there is a double indivision or unity or being, an intrinsical and an extrinsical, a local and an essential: now of these, one can be without the other: and though a body have but one unity essential, because it can be but one body, yet it may have more extrinsical or local beings. This is the full sense of his device, if at least there be any sense in it. 1) But besides that this distinction is no where taught in any philosophy, a child of his own stillborn, not offered to be proved or made credible; it is, if it be brought into open view from without the curtains of a formal distinction, just as if he had said, 'Whereas you object that one thing can be but in one place, for whatsoever is in two places is two bodies; you are deceived; for it is true that one body can be but one, but yet it may be two in respect of place; that is, it is but one in nature, but it may be in two places; and so you are confuted.' But then if I should reply, 'This answer is but to deny the conclusion, and affirms the thing in question;' there were no more to be said: for that one thing in nature cannot have two adequate places at the same time, was the conclusion of my argument; and the answer is, it can have two, and this is all is said. 2) But then I would fain know what warrant there is for the real distinction of *esse essentiale* and *esse locale* of bodies, as if they were two distinct separable beings; whereas quantity is inseparable from bodies[g], and measure from continual quantities, and to be in a place is nothing but to have his quantity measured. 3) To be in a place is the termination or limit of a quantitative body, and makes it not to be infinite: and if this

[f] Euch., lib. iii. c. 3. sect. 'Sed hæc ratio,' et c. 4. sect. 'Sed media via.' [tom. iii. col. 669.]

[g] Substantias enim facis, quibus loca assignas.—Tertul. c. 41. contr. Hermog. [p. 248 B.]

can be separated by a distinction from a finite body, then something is said; but if a finite body must be finite and not infinite, then to be determined by a place, the proper determination or definition of a quantitative body, is not separable from it. 4) If any man should say that one person cannot be together in two several times no more than in two several places, this distinction would fetch him in to be of two times together; for there is a double indivision, one in respect of essence, the other in respect of duration, that intrinsical, this extrinsical; though one man or body hath but one being or essence intrinsical and essential, yet he may have more extrinsical, accidental and temporary. And really the case, as to this distinction, is all one, and so it is to the argument too: for as two times cannot be together because of their successive nature, so neither can two places be adapted at once to one body, because of their continual and united nature; unity and quantity continual being as essential to quantitative bodies as succession is to them who are measured by time. 5) If one body may possess and fill two places circumscriptively, that it is commensurate to both of them, or to as many more as it shall chance to be in, then suppose a body of five foot long is in a place at Rome, at Valladolid, at Paris, and at London, in each of these places it must fill a space of five foot long, because it is always commensurate to his place: it will follow, that a body but of five foot long shall fill up the room of twenty foot; which whether it implies not a contradiction that the same body should be but five foot long, and yet at the same time be twenty foot long of the same measure, let all the geometricians judge. This is such a device, that as one said of the witty drunkenness and arts of the Symposiac among the Greeks, that amongst them a dunce could not be drunk; so in this device a man had need be very cunning to speak such nonsense, and make himself believe those things which are against the conceptions of all men in the world, till this new doctrine turned their brains and make new propositions and new affirmatives out of old impossibilities. But these people in all this affair deal with mankind as if they were beasts, and not reasonable creatures; or as if all their disciples were babies, or fools, and that to them it is lawful to say anything, and having no understanding of their own they are to efform them as they please.

But to this objection it is answered, that it may have a double sense, That a body of five foot long may fill the space of five foot; one, so as the magnitude of such a body should be commensurate to that place, and so a body of five foot cannot fill up the spaces of twenty foot; but another way is, so as the magnitude of the body should not be commensurate but only to the space of five foot, but yet the same magnitude may be twice or thrice put to such a space, and this may be done. This is Bellarmine's answer[h]: that is, if you consider a body of five foot long, so as it can but fill five foot space,

[h] Euch., lib. iii. c. 4. sect. 'Respondeo, dupliciter potest intelligi,' &c. [tom. iii. col. 673.]

in that sense it cannot fill twenty, but if you consider it so as it is commensurate to a space, that is, twenty foot, so it cannot be, being but of five foot long. That this is the sense of his answer, I appeal to all men that can understand common sense. But though it be but of five foot long, yet it may be placed twice or thrice in a space of five foot long, and what then? Then it fills still but a place of five foot long. True, in one place, but if it fills five foot at Rome, and at the same time five foot at Valladolid, and five foot at Paris, and five foot at London, I pray are not four times five twenty? As although the sun have but force to drink up five measures of water in Egypt, and at the same time as much in Arabia, and as much in Ethiopia, and as much in Greece, he at the same time drinks up twenty measures, though his whole force in one place be but to drink five, and yet still it is but one sun. But besides all this, that the same body be put twice or thrice into a space of five foot at the same time, is that unreasonable thing which all the natural and congenite notices of men cry down, and therefore ought not to be said confidently, in a distinction without proof, as if the putting it into a nonsense distinction could oblige all the world to believe it.

24. Eighthly, But I proceed: Valentia[i] affirms that the fathers prove the divinity of the Holy Ghost by His ubiquity; and it is certain they do so, as appears in S. Athanasius[k], S. Basil[l], S. Ambrose[m], Didymus of Alexandria[n], S. Cyril of Alexandria[o], S. Austin[p]; and divers others. And yet these men affirm that a body may be in many places, and therefore may be in all, and that it is potentially infinite: is it not evident that they take from the fathers the force of the argument, because ubiquity is communicable to something that is not God; or if it be not, why do they give it to a creature? That which can be in many places can be in all places; for all the reason that forbids it to be in two thousand forbids it to be in two; and if those cannot determine it to one place, it cannot be determined at all; I mean the nature of a body, his determination to places, his circumscription, continuity, unity, quantity, dimensions. Nay, that which is not determined by place, by continuity, nor by his nature, but may be any where, is in his own nature uncircumscribed and indefinite, which is that attribute of God upon which His omnipresence does rely. And that Christ's body is not every where actually, as is the Holy Ghost, it says nothing against this; because He being a voluntary agent, can restrain the measure of His presence, as God himself does the many manners of His presence. However, that nature is infinite that can be every where, and therefore if it can be communi-

[i] De vera Christi præsentia, lib. i. c. 12. [De reb. fid. controv., p. 241.]

[k] Cont. Arium disp. inter opera S. Athanas. [§ 39. tom. ii. col. 226.]

[l] De Spir. S., lib. i. c. 22. [tom. iii. p. 46.]

[m] Ibid., lib. i. c. 7. [tom. ii. col. 617.]

[n] Ibid., lib. i. [§ 6.—Bibl. vett. patr. Galland., tom. vi. p. 265.]

[o] Ibid. Quod non sit creatura. [tom. v. part. i. p. 645.]

[p] Contra Maxim. Arian. ep. l. iv. c. 31. [al. lib. ii. c. 21. tom. viii. col. 722.]

cated to a body, to be so is not proper to God, nor can it prove the Holy Ghost so to be. Of the same nature is that other argument used frequently by the primitive doctors, proving two natures to be in Christ, the divine and the human, and the difference between them is remarked in this, that the divine is in many places, and in all; but the human can be but in one at once. This is affirmed by Origen[q], S. Hilary[r], S. Hierome[s], S. Austin[t], Gelasius[u], Fulgentius[v], and Ven. Bede[x]. But this is but variety of the same dish; if both these can prevail together then either of them ought to prevail singly.

25. Against all this, and whatsoever else can be objected, it is pretended that it is possible for a body to be in many distant places at once, for Christ who is always in heaven yet appeared to S. Paul on earth, and to many other saints, as to S. Peter, to S. Antony, to S. Tharsilla, S. Gregory, and I cannot tell who. To this I answer; 1) That in all this there is nothing certain, but that Christ appeared to S. Paul; for it may be He appeared to him in heaven, S. Paul being on earth: for so He did to S. Stephen, as is recorded in the Acts of the apostles[y]: and from heaven there might only come a voice and a light. 2) It may be S. Paul saw Christ when he was wrapt[z] up into 'the third heavens;' for that Christ was seen by him, himself affirms; but he says not that he saw Him at his conversion; and all that he says he saw then was that he 'saw a great light and heard a voice[a].' 3) That in case Christ did appear corporally to Saul on earth, it follows not His body was in two places at once. I have the warrant of him that is willing enough otherwise that this argument should prevail; *Quia non est improbabile Christum privatim et ad breve tempus descendisse de cœlo post ascensionem*[b], 'it is not unlikely that Christ might privately and for a short time descend from heaven after His ascension.' For when it is said in scripture that "the heavens must receive Him till the day of restitution of all things," it is to be meant ordinarily, and as His place of residence; but that hinders not an extraordinary commigration; as a man may be said to dwell continually in London, and yet sometimes to go into the country to take the air. For the other instances of S. Peter, and S. Antony, and the rest, if I were sure they were true I would say the same answer would also serve their turn; but as they are, it is not material whether it does or no.

26. Another way of answering is taken from the examples of God, and the reasonable soul. Concerning the soul, I have these things

[q] In S. Matth. hom. xxxiii. [tom. iii. p. 883.]

[r] Lib. x. de Trinit. [§ 62. col. 1075.]

[s] Ad Marcel. de V. quæst. [tom. iv. part. i. col. 166 sq.]

[t] Tract. xxx. in Johan. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 517 A.]

[u] [al. S. Athanasius, al. Vigilius Tapsensis.] Disp. contr. Sab. Ar. Phot. [in opp. S. Athan., tom. ii. p. 643 sqq.]

[v] Lib. ii. ad Thrasim. c. 17. [p. 107.]

[x] Homil. invent. crucis. [tom. vii. col. 93.]

[y] Acts vii. [55.]

[z] [sic edd.]

[a] [Acts ix. 3; xxii. 6.]

[b] Bellar. de euch., lib. iii. c. 3. sect. 1. 'Confirmatur.' [tom. iii. col. 664.]

to say; 1) Whether the soul be whole in every part of the body, and whole in the whole, is presumed by most men, but substantially proved by none; but denied by a great many, and those of the first rank of learned men. 2) If it were, it follows not that it is in two places or more: because not the hand nor the foot is the adequate place of the soul, but the whole body; and therefore the usual expression of philosophy, saying, The soul is whole in every part, is not true positively but negatively; that is, the soul being immaterial cannot be cantonized into parts by the division of the body: but positively it is not true; for the understanding is not in the foot, nor the will in the hand: and something of the soul is not organical or depending upon the body: viz., the pure acts of volition, some little glimpses of intuition, reflexion, and the like. 3) If it were, yet to allege this is impertinent to their purpose, unless whatsoever is true concerning a spirit can also be affirmed of a body. 4) When the body is divided into parts, the soul is not multiplied into fantastic or real numbers, as it is pretended in transubstantiation; and therefore although the soul were 'whole in every part,' it could do no service in this question, unless it were so whole in each part as to be whole when each part is divided, for so it is said to be in the eucharist; which because we say is impossible, we require an instance in something where it is so; but because it is not so in the soul, this instance is not home to any of their purposes. But Bellarmine says[c], God can make it to be so that the soul shall remain in the member that is discontinued and cut off. I answer, that God ever did do so, nor he nor any man else can pretend, unless he please to believe S. Winifred's and S. Denys's walking with their heads in their hands after their decollation; but since we never knew that God did so, and whether it implies a contradiction or no that it should be so, God hath no where declared, it is sufficient to the present purpose that it is as much a question, and of itself no more evident, than that a body can be conserved in many places; and therefore being as uncertain as the principal question, cannot give faith to it, or do any service: but this is to amuse unwary persons by seeming to say something which indeed is nothing to the purpose.

27. But that the omnipresence of God should be brought to prove it possible that a body may be in many places, truly though I am heartily desirous to do it, if I could justly, yet I cannot find any colour to excuse it from great impiety. But this I shall add, that it is so impossible that any body should be in two places, and so impossible to justify this from the immensity of God, that God himself is not in proper manner of speaking in two places; He is not capable of being in any place at all, as we understand being in a place; He is greater than all places, and fills all things; and locality, and place, and beings, and relations are all from Him, and therefore they cannot comprehend Him. But then although this immensity of

[c] Lib. iii. euch. c. 3. sect. 'Ad hoc argumentum.' [tom. iii. col. 666.]

God is beyond the capacity of place, and He can no more be in a place than all the world can be in the bottom of a well, yet if God could be limited and determined, it were a contradiction to say that He could be in two places; just as it is a contradiction to say there are two Gods. So that this comparison of Bellarmine's, as it is odious up to the neighbourhood and similitude of a great impiety, so it is ἀφιλόσοφον, it is against that philosophy whereby we understand any of the perfective notices of God. But these men would fain prevail by all means, they care not how.

28. But why may we not believe as well the doctrine of Transubstantiation in defiance of all the seeming impossibilities, as well as we believe the doctrine of the Trinity[d] in defiance of greater? To this I answer many things. 1) Because the mystery of the Trinity is revealed plainly in scripture, but the doctrine of Transubstantiation is against it; as I suppose myself to have plainly proved. So that if there were a plain revelation of Transubstantiation, then this argument were good; and if it were possible for ten thousand times more arguments to be brought against it, yet we are to believe the revelation in despite of them all; but when so much of revelation is against it, and nothing for it, it is but vain to say we may believe this as well as the doctrine of the Trinity; for so we may as well argue for the heresy of the Manichees; why may we not as well believe the doctrine of the Manichees in despite of all the arguments brought against it, when there are so many seeming impossibilities brought against the holy Trinity? I suppose the answer that I have given would be thought reasonable, to every such pretence. 2) As the doctrine of the holy Trinity is set down in scripture, and in the apostles' creed, and was taught by the fathers of the first three hundred years, I know no difficulties it hath; what it hath met withal since proceeds from the too curious handling of that which we cannot understand. 3) The schoolmen have so pried into this secret, and have so confounded themselves and the articles, that they have made it to be unintelligible, inexplicable, indefensible, in all their minutes and particularities; and it is too sadly apparent in the arguments of the Antitrinitarians, whose sophisms against the article itself, although they are most easily answered, yet as they bring them against the *minutiæ* and impertinences of the school, they are not so easily to be avoided. But 4) there is not the same reason; because concerning God we know but very few things, and concerning the mysterious Trinity that which is revealed is extremely little; and it is general, without descending to particulars: and the difficulty of the seeming arguments against that, being taken from our philosophy and the common manner of speaking, cannot be apportioned and fitted to so great a secret; neither can that at all be measured by any thing here below. But I hope we may have leave to say we understand more concerning bodies and their nature than concerning the persons of the holy Trinity: and

[d] [Compare Stillingfleet's Dialogue on this subject.]

therefore we may be sure in the matter of bodies to know what is and what is not possible, when we can know no measure of truth or error in all the mysteriousnesses of so high and separate, super-exalted secrets, as is that of the holy Trinity. 5) Because when the church for the understanding of this secret of the holy Trinity hath taken words from metaphysical learning, as 'person,' *hypostasis*, 'consubstantiality,' ὁμοούσιος, and such like, the words of themselves were apt to change their signification, and to put on the sense of the present school. But the church was forced to use such words as she had, the highest, the nearest, the most separate and mysterious; but when she still kept these words to the same mystery, the words swelled or altered in their sense, and were exacted according to what they did signify amongst men in their low notices; this begat difficulty in the doctrine of the holy Trinity. For better words she had none, and all that which they did signify in our philosophy could not be applied to this mystery, and therefore we have found difficulty, and shall for ever, till in this article the church returns to her ancient simplicity of expression. For these reasons I conceive the case is wholly different, and the difficulty and secret of one mystery which is certainly revealed, cannot warrant us to admit the impossibilities of that which is not revealed. Let it appear that God hath affirmed Transubstantiation, and I for my part will burn all my arguments against it, and make public amends. The like also is to be said in the matter of Incarnation.

29. But 'if two bodies may be in one place, then one body may be in two places.' Aquinas[e] denies the consequent of this argument; but I for my part am careless whether it be true or no. But I shall oppose against it this, if two bodies cannot be in one commensurate place, then one body cannot be in two places. Now concerning this, it is certain it implies a contradiction that two bodies should be in one place, or possess the place of another till that be cast forth:

> Quod nisi inania sint, qua possent corpora quæque
> Transire, haud ulla fieri ratione videres[f].

And the great dispute between the scholars of Epicurus and the Peripatetics concerning vacuity was wholly upon this account, Epicurus saying there could be no motion unless the place were empty all the other sects saying that it was enough that it was made empty by the coming of the new body; all agreeing that two bodies could not be together, τὸ γὰρ πλῆρες ἀδύνατον εἶναι δέξασθαι· εἰ δὲ δέξαιτο, καὶ ἔστι δύο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ἐνδέχοιτ' ἂν καὶ ὁποσαοῦν ἅμα εἶναι σώματα[g]. All agreed that two bodies could not be together, and that the first body must be thrust forth by the intromission of the second;

> ———Quæ si non esset inane
> Non tam sollicito motu privata carerent,
> Quam genita omnino nulla ratione fuissent,
> Undique materies quoniam stipata quiesset[h];

[e] In iv. dist. 44. q. 2. art. 2.
[f] Lucret., lib. i. [357.]
[g] Arist., lib. iv. φυσικ. ἀκροάσ. [cap. 6.]
[h] Lucret., lib. i. [343.]

for the contrary says that two bodies are one. For the proper dimensions of a quantitative body are length, breadth, and thickness[i]: now the extension of the body in these dimensions is measured by the place, for the place is nothing else but the measuring and limiting of the thing so measured and limited by these measures and limitations of length, breadth, and thickness; now if two bodies could be in one place, then they must both have one superficies, one length, one thickness; and then either the other hath none, or they are but one body and not two, or else though they be two bodies and have two superficies, yet these two superficies are but one; all which are contradictions. Bellarmine[k] says that to be co-extended to a place is separable from a magnitude or body, because it is a thing that is extrinsical and consequent to the intrinsical extension of parts, and being later than it, is by divine power separable. But this is as very a sophism as all the rest: for if whatever in nature is later than the substance be separable from it, then fire may be without heat, or water without moisture[l]; a man can be without time, for that also is in nature after his essence; and he may be without a faculty of will or understanding, or of affections, or of growing to his state or being nourished; and then he will be a strange man who will neither have the power of will or understanding, of desiring or avoiding, of nourishment or growth, or any thing that can distinguish him from a beast or a tree or a stone: for these are all later than the essence, for they are essential emanations from it. Thus also quantity can be separated from a substantial body, if every thing that is later than the form can be separated from it. And therefore nothing of this can be avoided by saying to fill a place is an act[m], but these other instances are faculties and powers, and therefore the act may better be impeded by divine power, the thing remaining the same, than by the ablation of faculties: this I say cannot justify the trick. 1) Because to be extended into parts is as much an act as to be in a place, and yet that is inseparable from magnitude, and so confessed by Bellarmine[n]. 2) To be in a place is not an act at all, any more than to be created, to be finite, to be limited; and it was never yet heard of that *esse locatum*, or *esse in loco* was reducible to the predicament of action. 3) An act is no more separable than a faculty is, when the act is as essential as the faculty; now for a body to be in a place is as essential to a body as it is for a man to have understanding; for this is confessed[o] to be separable by divine power, and the other cannot be more; it cannot be naturally. 4) If to be in a place be

[i] Σωμάτων γὰρ ἴδιον ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκτείνεσθαι. —S. Basil. Seleuc. homil. in θεοτόκ. [Apud Combef. auct. nov. vett. patr., tom. i. col. 582 E.]

[k] De euch., lib. iii. c. 5. sect. 'Secundo observandum.' [tom. iii. col. 677.]

[l] Quod non possit alterum sine altero intelligi, quemadmodum neque aqua sine humectatione neque ignis sine calore.—Irenæ., lib. ii. c. 14. [al. 12. p. 128.]

[m] Bellar. de euch., lib. iii. c. 7. sect. 'Ad secundum Petr.' [tom. iii. col. 691.]

[n] Lib. iii. euch., c. 5. sect. 'Secundo observ.' [tom. iii. col. 677.]

[o] Ibid., c. vii. sect. 'Deinde etiam.' [col. 691.]

an act, it is no otherwise an act than it is an act for a father actually to have a son, and therefore is no more separable this than that; and you may as well suppose a father and no child, as a body and no place. 5) It is a false proposition to say that place is extrinsical to a quantitative body; and it relies upon the definition Aristotle gives of it in the fourth book of his Physics[p], that place is the superficies of the ambient body; which is as absurd in nature as any thing can be imagined; for then a stone in the bottom of a river did change his place (though it lie still) in every instant, because new water still washes it; and by this rule it is necessary (against Aristotle's great grounds) that some quantitative bodies should not be in a place, or else that quantitative bodies were categorematically infinite. For either there is no end, but body incloses body for ever, or else the ultimate or outmost body is not inclosed by any thing, and so cannot be in a place. To which add this; that if Epicurus his opinion were true, and that there were some spaces empty, which at least by a divine power can become true, and he can take the air out from the inclosure of four walls; in this case if you will suppose a man sitting in the midst of that room, either that man were in no place at all, which were infinitely absurd, or else (which indeed is true) circumscription or superficies were not the essence of a place. Place therefore is nothing but the space to which quantitative bodies have essential relation and finition; that where they consist, and by which they are not infinite: and this is the definition of place which S. Austin gives in his fourth book Exposit. of *Genes. ad literam*, chap. 8.[q]

30. God can do what He please, and He can reverse the laws of His whole creation, because He can change or annihilate every creature, or alter the manners and essences; but the question now is, what laws God hath already established, and whether or no essentials can be changed, the things remaining the same; that is, whether they can be the same, when they are not the same. He that says God can give to a body all the essential properties of a spirit, says true, and confesses God's omnipotency; but he says also that God can change a body from being a body to become a spirit: but if he says that remaining a body it can receive the essentials of a spirit, he does not confess God's omnipotency, but makes this article difficult to be believed, by making it not to work wisely, and possibly. God can do all things, but are they undone when they are done? that is, are the things changed in their essentials, and yet remain the same? then how are they changed, and then what hath God done to them?

31. But as to the particular question. To suppose a body not co-extended to a place, is to suppose a man alive not co-existent to time; to be in no place, and to be in no time, being alike possible[r]: and this intrinsical extension of parts is as inseparable from the extrinsical, as

[p] [cap. 4.]
[q] [vid. c. 18. tom. iii. part. 1. col. 172.]
[r] Paschasius Diaconus eccles. Rom. A.D. 500. lib. i. de Spir. S. cap. 12. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr. tom. v. part. 3. p. 738.]

an intrinsical duration is from time. Place and time being nothing but the essential manners of material complete substances, these cannot be supposed such as they are, without time and place: because quantitative bodies in their very formality suppose that; for place without a body in it, is but a notion in logic, but when it is a reality, it is a *ubi*, and time is *quando;* and a body supposed abstractly[s] from place, is not real but intentional, and in notion only, and is in the category of substance, but not of quantity. But it is a strange thing that we are put to prove the very principles of nature and first rudiments of art, which are so plain that they can be understood naturally, but by all devices of the world cannot be made dubitable.

32. Ninthly, but against all the evidence of essential and natural reason, some overtures of scripture must be pretended. For that two bodies can be in one place appears, because Christ came from His mother's womb, it being closed; into the assembly of the apostles, the doors being shut; out of the grave, the stone not being rolled away; and ascended into heaven, through the solid orbs of all the firmament. Concerning the first and the last the scripture speaks nothing, neither can any man tell whether the orbs of heaven be solid or fluid, or which way Christ went in: but of the heavens opening the scripture sometimes makes mention; and the prophet David spake in the spirit saying, "Lift up your heads O ye gates, and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in." —The stone of the sepulchre was removed by an angel, so saith S. Matthew[t]: but why should it be supposed the angel rolled it away after Christ was risen? or if he did, why Christ did not remove it Himself (who loosed all the bands of death by which He was held) and there leave it when He was risen, or if He had passed through and wrought a miracle, why it should not be told us, or why it should not remain as a testimony to the soldiers and Jews, and convince them the more when they should see the body gone and yet their seals unbroken, or if it were not, how we should come to fancy it was so, I understand not; neither is there ground for it.—There is only remaining that we account concerning Jesus his entering into the assembly of the apostles, the doors being shut: to this I answer, that this infers not a penetration of bodies, or that two bodies can be in one place; 1) Because there are so many ways of effecting it without that impossibility. 2) The door might be made to yield to his Creator as easily as water which is fluid be made firm under His feet: for consistence or lability[u] are not essential to wood and water; for water can naturally be made consistent, as when it is turned to ice; and wood that can naturally be petrified, can upon the efficiency of an equal agent be made thin, or labile, or inconsistent. 3) This was

[s] ['abstractedly' A.]

[t] S. Matt. xxviii. [2.]

[u] "Αμα γὰρ ὑπεξίεναι ἀλλήλοις ἐνδέχεται, οὐδένος ὄντος διαστήματος χωριστοῦ παρὰ τὰ σώματα τά κινούμενα· καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν συνεχῶν δίναις ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὑγρῶν.—Arist., lib. iv. φυσικ. ἀκροάσ. [cap. 7.]

done on the same day in which the sea yielded to the children of Israel, that is, the seventh day after the passover, and we may allow it to be a miracle though it be no more than that of the waters; that is, as these were made consistent for a time,

Suppositumque rotis solidum mare[v],

so the doors apt to yield to a solid body;

—— possint namque omnia reddi
Mollia, quæ fiant, aer, aqua, terra, vapores
Quo pacto fiant et qua vi cunque gerantur[w].

4) How easy was it for Christ to pass His body through the pores of it, and the natural apertures if He were pleased to unite them, and thrust the matter into a greater consolidation? 5) Wood being reduced to ashes possesses but a little room, that is, the crass impenetrable parts are but few, the other apt for cession, which could easily be disposed by God as He pleased. 6) The words in the text are κεκλεισμένων τῶν θυρῶν, in the past tense, the gates or doors 'having been shut;' but that they were shut in the instant of His entry, it says not; they might, if Christ had so pleased, have been insensibly opened, and shut in like manner again; and if the words be observed, it will appear that S. John[x] mentioned the shutting the doors in relation to the apostles' fear, not to Christ's entering; he intended not (so far as appears) to declare a miracle. 7) But if he had, there are ways enough for Him to have entered strangely, though He had not entered impossibly. Vain therefore is the fancy of those men who think a weak conjecture able to contest against a perfect, natural impossibility. For when a thing can be done without a penetration of dimensions, and yet by a power great enough to beget admiration though without contesting against the unalterable laws of nature, to dream it must be this way is to challenge confidently, but to be careless of our warrant.

I conclude, that it hath never yet been known that two bodies ever were at once in one place.

33. I find but one objection more pretended, and that is, that place is not essential to bodies, because the utmost heaven is a body, and yet is not in a place, because it hath nothing without it that can circumscribe it. To this I have already answered in the confutation of Aristotle's definition of a place[y]. But besides, I answer, that what the utmost heaven is, our philosophy can tell or guess at; but it is certain that beyond any thing that philosophy ever dreamed of, there are bodies. For Christ "is ascended far above all heavens[z]," and therefore to say it is not in a place, or that there is not a place where Christ's body is, is a ridiculous absurdity. But if there be places for bodies above the highest heavens, then the highest heaven also is in

[v] [Juv. x. 176.]
[w] [al. 'genantur.' Lucret. i. 567.]
[x] Chap. xx. [19.]
[y] Num. 28. [? 29.]
[z] [Eph. iv. 10.]

a place, or may be for ought any thing pretended against it. "In My Father's house are many mansions," said Christ[a], many places of abode; and it is highly probable that that pavement where the bodies of saints shall tread to eternal ages, is circumscribed, though by something we understand not. Many things more might be said to this: but I am sorry that the series of a discourse must be interrupted with such trifling considerations.

34. The sum is this; as substances cannot subsist without the manner of substances, no more can accidents without the manner of accidents, quantities after the manner of quantities, qualities as qualities[b]; for to separate that from either by which we distinguish them from each other, is to separate that from them by which we understand them to be themselves. And four may as well cease to be four, and be reduced to unity, as a line cease to be a line, and a body a body, and a place a place, and a *quantum* or *extensum* to be extended in his own kind of quantity or extension: and if a man had talked otherwise, till this new device arose, all sects of philosophers of the world would have thought him mad; and I may here use the words of Cotta in Cicero, lib. i. *De natura deorum*[c], *Corpus quid sit, sanguis quid sit, intelligo, quasi corpus et quasi sanguis quid sit, nullo prorsus modo intelligo.* But concerning the nature of bodies and quantities, these may suffice in general; for if I should descend to particulars and insist upon them, I could cloy the reader with variety of one dish.

35. Tenthly, by this doctrine of Transubstantiation the same thing is bigger and less than itself, for it is bigger in one host than in another; for the wafer is Christ's body, and yet one wafer is bigger than another; therefore Christ's body is bigger than itself. The same thing is above itself and below itself, within itself and without itself: it stands wholly upon his own right side, and wholly at the same time upon his own left side; it is as very a body as that which is most divisible, and yet it is as indivisible as a spirit; and it is not a spirit but a body, and yet a body is no way separated from a spirit, but by being divisible. It is a perfect body, in which the feet are further from the head than the head from the breast, and yet there is no space between head and feet at all; so that the parts are further off and nearer, without any distance at all; being further and not further, distant, and yet in every point. By this also here is magnitude without extension of parts; for if it be essential to magnitude to have *partem extra partem*, that is, parts distinguished and severally sited, then where one part is there another is not, and therefore the whole body of Christ is not in every part of the consecrated wafer; and yet if it be not, then it must be broken into parts when the wafer is broken, and then it must fill his place by parts. But then

[a] [John xiv. 2.]
[b] Vide Boeth. in prædicam. Arist. [vid. lib. i. p. 120.]
[c] [cap. 26.]

it will not be possible that a bigger body, with the conditions of a body, should be contained in a thing less than itself, that a man may throw the house out at the windows: and if it be impossible that a magnitude should be in a point, and yet Christ's body be a magnitude and yet in a point, then the same thing is in a point and not in a point, extended and not extended, great and not divisible, a quantity without dimension, something and nothing. By this doctrine the same thing lies still and yet moves, it stays in a place and goes away from it, it removes from itself and yet abides close by itself, and in itself and out of itself; it is removed and yet cannot be moved, broken and cannot be divided; passes from east to west through a middle place, and yet stirs not. It is brought from heaven to earth, and yet is no where in the way, nor ever stirs out of heaven. It ceases to be where it was, and yet does not stir from thence, nor yet cease to be at all. It is removed at the motion of the accidents, and yet does not fall when the host falls[d]; it changes His place but falls not, and yet the changing of place was by falling. It supposes a body of Christ which was made of bread, that is, not born of the Virgin Mary; it says that Christ's body is there without power of moving, or seeing, or hearing, or understanding, He can neither remember nor foresee, save himself from robbers[e] or vermin, corruption or rottenness; it makes that which was raised in power to be again sown in weakness; it gives to it the attribute of an idol, 'to have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, a nose and not to smell, feet and yet cannot walk.' It makes a thing contained bigger than the continent, and all Christ's body to go into a part of His body; His whole head into His own mouth, if He did eat the eucharist, as it is probable He did, and certain that He might have done. These are the certain consequents of this most unreasonable doctrine, in relation to motion and quantity. I need not instance in those collateral absurdities which are appendent to some of the foregoing particulars; as how it should be credible that Christ in His sumption of the last supper should eat His own flesh; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸ ἐπιδέχεται, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἔξωθέν τι, said Simplicius[f], 'nothing can receive itself,' nothing can really participate of itself, and properly; figuratively and sacramentally this may be done, but not in a natural and physical sense; for as S. Cyril of Alexandria[g] argues, *Si vere idem est quod participat et quod participatur, quid opus est participatione,* 'what need He partake of Himself, what need He receive a part of that which He is already whole?' and if the partaker and the thing partaken be naturally the same, then the sacrament did as much eat Christ as Christ did eat the sacrament. It would also follow from hence that the

[d] Bellarm. euch., lib. iii. c. 10. sect. 'Respondeo corpus.' [tom. iii. col. 709.] Suarez. in 3. Tho. q. 76. art. 7. disp. 53. sect. 4. [tom. iii. p. 804.] Quomodo potest Deus alibi esse vivus, alibi mortuus? Lact. lib. i. c. 1. [leg. c. 2. tom. i. p. 53.]

[e] [Baruch vi. 57.]

[f] In Categ. cap. de substant. [f. 28 a, cap. 63. fol. Basil. 1551.]

[g] In S. Joh. ix. [vid. tom. iv. 792 A.]

soul of Christ should enter into His body, though it were there before it entered; and yet it would now be there twice at the same time, for it is but one soul, and yet enters after it is there, it never having gone forth. Nay further yet, upon supposition that Christ did eat the sacrament, as it is most likely He did, and we are sure He might have done, then the soul of Christ, which certainly went along with His body, which surely was then alive, should be in His body in two contrary and incompatible manners, by one of which He does operate freely and exercise all the actions of life, by the other He exercises none; by one He is visible, by the other invisible; by one moveable, by the other immovable; by one after the manner of a body, by the other after the manner of a spirit: the one of these being evident in itself, the other by their own affirmation. But these are by the bye; there are whole categories of fond and impossible consequents from this doctrine.

36. Eleventhly, but if I should also consider the change of consecration, i. e. the conversion of bread into Christ's body, and their rare stratagems and devices in ridiculous affirmatives and negatives as to that particular, it would afford a new heap of matter.

37. For this conversion is not generation, it is not corruption, it is not creation, because Christ's body already is, and cannot be produced again; it is not after the manner of natural conversions, it differs from the supernatural: there is no change of one form into another, the same first matter does not remain under several forms[h], first of bread, then of Christ's body. It is turned into the substance of Christ's body, and yet nothing of the bread becomes any thing of the body of Christ. It is turned into Christ, and yet it is turned into nothing, the substance is not annihilated (for then it were not turned into Christ's body) and yet it is annihilated or turned to nothing, for it does not become Christ's body; it is determined upon Christ's body, and yet does not become it, though it be changed into it. For if bread could become Christ's body, then bread could receive a greater honour than any of the servants of Christ; for it could be glorified with the biggest glorification, it would be exalted far above all angels, bread should reign for ever, and be king of all the world, which are honours not communicable to mere man, and by no change can be wrought upon him: and if they may upon bread, then bread is exalted higher than the sons of men; and yet so it is if it be naturally and substantially changed into the body of Christ. I cannot insist upon any thing of this, the absurdity being so vast, the labour would be as great as needless: only I shall transcribe part of a disputation by which Tertullian proves the resurrection of our bodies by such words which do certainly confute the Roman fancies of Tran-

[h] Sola [leg. 'solæ,' sc. substantiæ.] enim mutari transformarique in se possunt quæ habent unius materiæ commune subjectum.—Boeth. de duab. nat. Christi. [p. 1214.]

substantiation, cap. 55. *De resurrectionis carnis*[i]. *Discernenda est autem demutatio ab omni argumento perditionis, &c.*, 'change must be distinguished from perdition;..but they are not distinguished if the flesh be so changed that it perishes:..as that which is lost is not changed, so that which is changed is not lost, or perished, for it suffered change, not perdition; for to perish is wholly not to be that which it was, but to be changed is only to be otherwise; moreover while it is otherwise, it can be the same thing, (or itself;) for it hath his being which did not perish.' Now how it is possible that these words should be reconciled with Transubstantiation, in which they affirm the bread to be changed, and yet totally to have perished, that is, that nothing of it remains, neither matter nor form, it concerns them to take care; for my part I am satisfied that it is impossible: and I choose to follow the philosophy of Tertullian, by which he fairly confirms the article of the Resurrection, rather than the impossible speculations of these men, which render all notices of men to be mere deceptions, and all articles of faith in many things uncertain, and nothing to be certain but that which is impossible. This consideration so moved Durand[j], and their *doctor fundatissimus* Ægidius Romanus[k], that they thought to change the word Transubstantiation, and instead of it that they were obliged to use the word of transformation simply, affirming that other to be unintelligible. But I proceed. By this doctrine Christ's body is there where it was not before; and yet not by change of place, for it descends not; nor by production, for it was produced before; not by natural mutation, for Christ himself is wholly immutable, and though the bread be mutable, it can never become Christ. That which is now and was always, begins to be, and yet it cannot begin which was so long before. And by this doctrine is affirmed that which even themselves judge to be simply and absolutely impossible; for if after a thing hath his being, and during the first being, it shall have every day many new beginnings without multiplying the beings, then the same thing is under two times at the same time; it is but a day old and yet was six days ago, and six ages and sixteen. The body of Christ obtains to be what it was not before, and yet it is wholly the same without becoming what it was not. It obtains to be under the form of bread, and that which it is now and was not before, is neither perfective of his being, nor destructive, nor alterative, nor augmentative, nor diminutive, nor conservative. It is as it were a production, as it were a creation, as a conservation, as an adduction: that is, it is as it were just nothing; for it is not a creation, not a generation, not an adduction, not a conservation. It is not a conversion productive; for no new individual is produced. It is not a conversion conservative; that's a child of Bellarmine's: but it is perfect nonsense; for it

[i] [p. 360 C.]

[j] In iv. d. 11. q. 3. sect. 5. [p. 717.]

[k] Theor. 1, 2. [fol. 101 sqq.—The ordinary word in Ægidius is 'conversio.']

is (as he says) a conversion in which both the terms remain, in the same place; that is, in which there are two things not converted, but not one that is: but it is a thing of which there never was any example. But then if we ask what conversion it is; after a great many fancies and devices contradicting each other, at last it is found to be adductive, and yet that adductive does not change the place, but signifies a substantial change; and yet adduction is no substantial change, but accidental; and yet this change is not accidental, but adductive and substantial.

O rem ridiculam, Cato, et jocosam!

It is a succession[l], not a conversion, and transubstantiation; for it is *corpus ex pane confectum*, 'a body made of bread,' and yet it was made before the bread was made: but it is made of it as day of night, not *tanquam ex materia*, but *tanquam ex termino*, 'not as of matter but as of a term from whence,' say they, but that is a direct motion or succession, not a substantial change. For that I may use the words of Faventinus[m], What is the formal term of this action of Transubstantiation, or conversion? Not the body of Christ; for that is the material term: the formal term is, that Christ's body should be contained under the species of bread and wine: *Hoc autem totum est accidentale et nihil addit in re nisi præsentiam realem sub speciebus*, 'but all this is accidental, and nothing real but that He becomes present there.' For since the body of Christ relates to the accidents only accidentally, it cannot in respect of them have any substantial manner of being, different from that which it had before it was eucharistical. And it is no otherwise than if water on the ground were annihilated, or removed, or corrupted, and some secret way changed from thence, and in the place of it snow should descend from heaven, or honey, or manna, it were hard to call this conversion, or Transubstantiation: just as if we should say that Augustus Cæsar was converted into his successor Tiberius, and Moses into Joshua, and Elias into Elisha, or the sentinel is substantially changed into him that relieves him.

38. Twelfthly. Lastly, if we consider the changes that are incident to the accidents of bread and wine, they would afford us another heap of incommodities; for besides that accidents cannot subsist without their proper subjects, (and much less can they become the subjects of other accidents[n], for what they cannot be to themselves they cannot be to others, in matter of supply and subsistence, it being a contradiction to say insubsistent subsistencies,) besides this I say, if Christ's body be not invested with these accidents, how do they represent it, or to

[l] Bellarm. de missa, lib. i. c. 27. sect. '3. propositio.'—Lib. iii. de euch., cap. ult. sect. 'Ad tertiam.' [tom. iii. coll. 1037 et 770.] Scotus iv. dist. 11. q. 3. [p. 604 sqq.]

[m] [Faber] Favent. in iv. [sent.] disp. xxxv. c. 6. [vid. c. 2. p. 128 sqq.]

[n] Τὸ γὰρ συμβεβηκὸς οὐ συμβεβηκότι συμβεβηκὸς, εἰ μὴ ὅτι ἄμφω συμβέβηκε ταὐτῷ.—Arist. metaph., lib. iv. [al. iii.] cap. 4. 1.

what purpose do they remain? If they be the investiture of Christ's body, then the body is changed by the mutation of the accidents. But however, I would fain know whether an accident can be sour, or be burnt, as Hesychius[o] affirms they used in Jerusalem to do to the relics of the holy sacrament; or can accidents make a man drunk, as Aquinas supposes the sacramental wine did the Corinthians, of whom S. Paul says, "one is hungry, and another is drunken?" I am sure if it can it is not the blood of Christ; for Mr. Bland's argument in queen Mary's time[p] concluded well in this instance, 'That which is in the chalice can make a man drunk; but Christ's blood cannot make a man drunk; therefore that which is in the chalice is not Christ's blood.' To avoid this they must answer to the major, and say that it does not *supponere universaliter*, for every thing in the chalice does not make a man drunk, for in it there are accidents of bread, and the body besides, and they do inebriate, not this; that is to say, a man may be drunk with colour[q] and quantity, and a smell, when there is nothing that smells[r]; for indeed if there were a substance to be smelt, it might; but that accidents can do it alone is not to be supposed; unless God should work a miracle to make a man drunk, which to say I think were blasphemy. But again, can an accidental form kill a man? But the young emperor of the house of Luxemburgh was poisoned by a consecrated wafer, and pope Victor the third had like to have been, and the archbishop of York was poisoned by the chalice, say Matthew Paris and Malmesbury. And if the body be accidentally moved at the motion of accidents, then by the same reason[s] it may accidentally become mouldy, or sour, or poisonous; which methinks to all christian ears should strike horror to hear it spoken. I will not heap up more instances of the same kind of absurdities and horrid consequences of this doctrine; or consider how a man or a mouse can live upon the consecrated wafers (as Aimonius[t] tells that Lewis the fair did for forty days together live upon the sacrament, and a Jew or a Turk could live on it without a miracle, if he had enough of it) and yet cannot live upon accidents; it being a certain rule in philosophy, *Ex iisdem nutriuntur mixta ex quibus fiunt;* and a man may as well be made of accidents, and be no substance, as well as be nourished by accidents without substance: neither will I enquire how it is possible that we should eat Christ's body without touching it; or how we can be said to touch Christ's body, when we only touch and taste the accidents of bread; or lastly,

[o] In Lev. c. viii. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. vii. p. 35 B.]

[p] [Fox, Acts and Monuments, in A.D. 1555. tom. iii. p. 308. fol. 1684.]

[q] Ψόφος δὲ καὶ χρῶμα καὶ ὀσμὴ οὐ τρέφει, οὐδὲ ποιεῖ οὔτε αὔξησιν οὔτε φθίσιν.—Arist., lib. iii. de anim. [c. 12.]

[r] Est enim hic color et sapor, qualitas et quantitas, cum nihil in alterutro sit coloratum et sapidum, quantum et quale. —Innocent. III. de offic. missæ, lib. iii. c. 21. [vid. Myst. missæ, lib. iv. cap. 28. tom. i. p. 393.]

[s] Bellarmin., lib. iii. c. 10. de euch. sect. 'Respondeo corpus.' [tom. iii. col. 709.]

[t] [De gest. Francor., lib. v. c. 19. p. 306. fol. Par. 1603.]

how we can touch the accidents of bread without the substance, so to do being impossible in nature,

Tangere enim et tangi nisi corpus nulla potest res,

said Lucretius[u], and from him Tertullian in his fifth chapter of his book *De anima*[v]. These and divers other particulars I will not insist upon, but instead of them I argue thus from their own grounds: if Christ be properly said to be touched and to be eaten, because the accidents are so, then by the same reason He may be properly made hot, or cold, or mouldy, or dry, or wet, or venomous, by the proportionable mutation of accidents; if Christ be not properly taken and manducated, to what purpose is He properly there? so that on either hand there is a snare. But it is time to be weary of all this, and enquire after the doctrine of the church in this great question; for thither at last with some seeming confidence they do appeal. Thither therefore we will follow.

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§ 12. Transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the primitive church.

CONCERNING this topic or head of argument I have some things to premise.

1. First, in this question it is not necessary that I bring a catalogue of all the ancient writers, for although to prove the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be catholic it is necessary by Vincentius Lirinensis his rules, and by the nature of the thing, that they should all agree; yet to shew it not to have been the established, resolved doctrine of the primitive church, this ἀκρίβεια is not necessary. Because although no argument can prove it catholic but a consent; yet if some, as learned, as holy, as orthodox do dissent, it is enough to prove it not to be catholic. As a proposition is not universal, if there be one, or three, or ten exceptions; but to make it universal it must be κατὰ παντὸς, it must take in all.

2. Secondly, none of the fathers speak words exclusive of our way, because our way contains a spiritual sense, which to be true our adversaries deny not, but say it is not sufficient, but there ought to be more; but their words do often exclude the way of the church of Rome, and are not so capable of an answer for them.

3. Thirdly, when the saying of a father is brought, out of which his sense is to be drawn by argument and discourse, by two or three remote uneasy consequences; I do not think it fit to take notice of those words either for or against us, because then his meaning is as obscure as the article itself, and therefore he is not fit to be brought in interpretation of it. And the same also is the case when the words are brought by both sides, for then it is a shrewd sign the doctor is not well to be understood, or that he is not fit in those words to be an umpire; and of this cardinal Perron is a great ex-

[u] [Lib. i. 305.]

[v] [p. 267 B.]

ample, who spends a volume in folio to prove S. Austin to be of their side in this article, or rather not to be against them.

4. Fourthly, all those testimonies of fathers which are as general, indefinite, and unexpounded as the words of scripture which are in question, must in this question pass for nothing; and therefore when the fathers say that in the sacrament is 'the body and blood of Christ,' that there is 'the body of our Lord,' that before consecration it is λιτὸς ἄρτος, 'mere bread,' but after consecration it is 'verily the body of Christ,' 'truly His flesh,' 'truly His blood,' these and the like sayings are no more than the words of Christ, 'This is My body,' and are only true in the same sense of which I have all this while been giving an account; that is, by a change of condition, of sanctification, and usage. We believe that after consecration and blessing it is really Christ's body, which is verily and indeed taken of the faithful in the Lord's supper; and upon this account, we shall find that many, very many of the authorities of the fathers commonly alleged by the Roman doctors in this question, will come to nothing. For we speak their sense and in their own words, the church of England expressing this mystery frequently in the same forms of words[x]; and we are so certain that to eat Christ's body spiritually is to eat Him really, that there is no other way for Him to be eaten really than by spiritual manducation.

5. Fifthly, when the fathers in this question speak of the change of the symbols in the holy sacrament, they sometimes use the words of μεταβολὴ, μεταῤῥύθμισις, μετασκεύασμος, μεταστοιχείωσις, μετα ποίησις, in the Greek church: conversion, mutation, transition migration, transfiguration, and the like in the Latin; but they by these do understand accidental and sacramental conversions[y], not proper, natural and substantial. Concerning which although I might refer the reader to see it highly verified in David Blondel's[z] familiar elucidations of the eucharistical controversy; yet a shorter course I can take to warrant it, without my trouble or his; and that is, by the confession of a Jesuit, and of no mean fame or learning amongst them. The words of Suarez[a], whom I mean, are these; *Licet antiqui pp. &c.* 'although the ancient fathers have used divers names, .. yet all they are either general, as the names of conversion, mutation, transition; or else they are more accommodated to an accidental

[x] See Article xxviii. of the Church of England.

[y] Μεταποιήσει νόμους. Suid.—Αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων μετεποιοῦντο εἰς ἐκκλησίας. Georg. Alex. vit. Chrys., c. 55. [in opp. S. Chrysost. ed. Savil. tom. viii. p. 233.]—Οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὁ διασκεδάσαι, ἢ τὸν βουλὴν μεταποιῆσαι δυνάμενος. Chrys.vit. auctor anon. [cap. 20. p. 308.]—Id. in μεταβολὴ et reliquis observare est.—Μεταποιέω, μεταβάλλω. Suidas.—Μεταστοιχείουσα, μετασχηματίζουσα, μεταπλάττουσα. Suidas.—Πάντας πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν μετεστοιχείου μεταῤῥυθμίζων. Auctor. vitæ Chrysost. anon., c. 52. [leg. 51. p. 320.] Et de corpore Chrysostomi dixit, εἰς λίθου φύσιν μετεσκευάσθη. [c. 140. p. 369.]—Ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς, ἤτοι μεταποιήσας. Œcumen. in 1 Pet. i. [p. 483.] —Διδαχὴ μεταῤῥυθμίζει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Clem. Alex. strom. iv. [c. 23. p. 631.] Idem, lib. iii. pædag. c. 2. [p. 253.] μετασκευάζει τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς πόρνας.

[z] Chap. v. [p. 156.]

[a] In iii. disp. 50. sect. 3. [leg. i. tom. iii. p. 730.]

change, as the name of transfiguration, and the like: only the name of transelementation, which Theophylact did use, seems to approach nearer to signify the propriety of this mystery, because it signifies a change even of the first elements; . . yet that word is harder, and not sufficiently accommodate; for it may signify the resolution of one element into another, or the resolution of a mixt body into the elements.' He might have added another sense of μεταστοιχείωσις or transelementation, for Theophylact[b] uses the same words to express the change of our bodies to the state of incorruption, and the change that is made in the faithful when they are united unto Christ. But Suarez proceeds, 'But Transubstantiation does most properly and appositely signify the passage and conversion of the whole substance into the whole substance.' So that by this discourse we are quitted and made free from the pressure of all those authorities of the fathers which speak of the mutation, conversion, transition, or passage, or transelementation, transfiguration, and the like, of the bread into the body of Christ; these do or may only signify an accidental change; and come not home to their purpose of Transubstantiation; and it is as if Suarez had said, 'The words which the fathers use in this question make not for us, and therefore we have made a new word for ourselves, and obtruded it upon all the world.' But against it I shall only object an observation of Bellarmine[c], that is not ill, "The liberty of new words is dangerous in the church, because out of new words by little and little new things arise, while it is lawful to coin new words in divine affairs."

6. Sixthly; to which I add this, that if all the fathers had more unitedly affirmed the conversion of the bread into Christ's body than they have done, and had not explicated their meaning as they have done indeed, yet this word would so little have helped the Roman cause that it would directly have overthrown it. For in their Transubstantiation there is no conversion of one thing into another, but a local succession of Christ's body into the place of bread. A change of the *ubi* was not used to be called a substantial conversion. But they understood nothing of our present ἀκρίβεια; they were not used to such curious nothings, and intricate falsehoods, and artificial nonsense, with which the Roman doctors troubled the world in this question. But they spake wholly another thing, and either they did affirm a substantial change or they did not; if they did not, then it makes nothing for them, or against us. But if they did mean a proper substantial change, then, for so much as it comes to, it makes against us, but not for them; for they must mean a change of one substance into another, by conversion, or a change of substances, by substitution of one in the place of another. If they meant the latter, then it was no conversion of one into another; and then they expressed not what they meant; for conversion, which was their word,

[b] Theoph. in S. Luc. xxiv. et in S. Joh. vi. [pp. 544 B, et 654 A.]

[c] De Sacramentis in genere, c. 7. sect. 'Ex quibus.' [tom. iii. col. 22.]

could signify nothing of that: but if they meant the change of substance into substance properly by conversion, then they have confuted the present doctrine of Transubstantiation; which though they call a substantial change, yet an accident is the *terminus mutationis*, that is, it is by their explication of it wholly an accidental change, as I have before discoursed[d]; for nothing is produced but ubiquity or presentiality, that is, it is only made present where it was not before. And it is to be observed that there is a vast difference between conversion and Transubstantiation; the first is not denied; meaning by it a change of use, of condition, of sanctification; as a table is changed into an altar; a house into a church; a man into a priest; Matthias into an apostle; the water of the river into the laver of regeneration; but this is not any thing of Transubstantiation. For in this new device, there are three strange affirmatives, of which the fathers never dreamt. 1) That the natural being of bread is wholly ceased, and is not at all, neither the matter nor the form. 2) That the accidents of bread and wine remain without a subject, their proper subject being annihilated, and they not subjected in the holy body. 3) That the body of Christ is brought into the place of the bread, which is not changed into it, but is succeeded by it. These are the constituent propositions of Transubstantiation, without the proof of which all the affirmations of conversion signify nothing to their purpose, or against ours.

7. Seventhly, when the fathers use the word nature in this question, sometimes saying 'the nature is changed,' sometimes that 'the nature remains,' it is evident that they either contradicted each other, or that the word 'nature' hath amongst them divers significations. Now in order to this, I suppose, if men will be determined by the reasonableness of the things themselves, and the usual manners of speech, and not by prejudices and prepossessions, it will be evident that when they speak of the change of nature, saying that bread changes his nature, it may be understood of an accidental change: for that the word nature is used for a change of accidents, is by the Roman doctors contended for when it is to serve their turns (particularly in their answer to the words of pope Gelasius) and it is evident in the thing; for we say, a man of 'a good nature,' that is, of a loving disposition. It is natural to me to love or hate this or that; and it is against my nature, that is, my custom, or my affection. But then as it may signify accidents, and a natural change may yet be accidental, as when water is changed into ice, wine into vinegar; yet it is also certain that nature may mean substance: and if it can by the analogy of the place, or the circumstances of speech, or by any thing, be declared when it is that they mean a substance by using the word 'nature;' it must be certain that then substance is meant, when the word 'nature' is used distinctly from and in oppo-

[d] Vide sect. xi. n. 34.

sition to accidents; or when it is explicated by and in conjunction with substance; which observation is reducible to practice in the following testimonies of Theodoret, Gelasius and others; *immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit,* says S. Austin[e].

8. Eighthly; so also whatsoever words are used by the ancient doctors seemingly affirmative of a substantial change, cannot serve their interest that now most desire it; because themselves being pressed with the words of *natura* and *substantia* against them, answer, that the fathers using these words, mean them not φυσικῶς but θεολογικῶς, not naturally but theologically, that is as I suppose, not properly but sacramentally: by the same account when they speak of the change of the bread into the substance of Christ's body, they may mean the change of substance, not naturally but sacramentally; so that this ought to invalidate the greatest testimony which can be alleged by them; because themselves have taken from the words that sense which only must have done them advantage; for if *substantia* and *natura* always mean 'naturally,' then their sentence is oftentimes positively condemned by the fathers: if this may mean 'sacramentally,' then they can never without a just answer pretend from their words to prove a natural, substantial change.

9. Ninthly; but that the words of the fathers in their most hyperbolical expressions ought to be expounded sacramentally and mystically, we have sufficient warrant from themselves, affirming frequently that the name of the thing signified is given to the sign. S. Cyprian[f] affirms *ut significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censeantur,* the same words represent the sign and the thing signified. The same is affirmed by S. Austin in his epistle *ad Bonifacium*[g]. Now upon this declaration of themselves, and of scripture, whatsoever attributes either of them give to bread after consecration, we are by themselves warranted against the force of the words by a metaphorical sense; for if they call the sign by the name of the thing signified, and the thing intended is called by the name of a figure, and the figure by the name of the thing, then no affirmative of the fathers can conclude against them that have reason to believe the sense of the words of institution to be figurative; for their answer is ready; the fathers, and the scriptures too, call the figure by the name of the thing figurated; the bread by the name of flesh, or the body of Christ, which it figures and represents.

10. Tenthly, the fathers in their alleged testimonies speak more than is allowed to be literally and properly true by either side, and therefore declare and force an understanding of their words different from the Roman pretension. Such are the words of S. Chrysostom[h],

[e] Ad Dardanum. [ep. clxxxvii. tom. ii. col. 681 B.]

[f] Serm. de unct. [append. p. 48.]

[g] Vide infra, n. 30.

[h] Hom. lxxxiii. in S. Matth. [al. lxxxii. tom. vii. p. 787 E.]—Hom. lx. et vi. ad Antioch. pop. [leg. 'Hom. lx. et lxi. ad Antioch. pop. et lib. vi. de sacerdot.'—Vid. Bellarmin. de Sacr. euch. lib. ii. cap. 22. tom. iii. col. 614.]

"Thou seest Him, thou touchest Him, thou eatest Him, and thy tongue is made bloody by this admirable blood, thy teeth are fastened in His flesh, thy teeth are made red with His blood:" and the author of the book *De cœna Domini* attributed to S. Cyprian [i], *Cruci hæremus, &c.*, 'we stick close to the cross, we suck His blood, and fasten our tongue between the very wounds of our Redeemer:' and under this head may be reduced very many other testimonies; now how far these go beyond the just positive limit, it will be in the power of any man to say, and to take into this account as many as he please, even all that go beyond his own sense and opinion, without all possibility of being confuted.

11. Eleventhly, in vain will it be for any of the Roman doctors to allege the words of the fathers proving the conversion of bread into Christ's body or flesh, and of the wine into His blood; since they say the same thing of us, that we also are 'turned into Christ's flesh, and body, and blood.' So S. Chrysostom[j], 'He reduces us into the same mass or lump,' *neque in fide solum sed reipsa*, 'and in very deed makes us to be His body.' So pope Leo[k], *In mystica distributione spiritalis alimoniæ hoc impartitur, hoc sumitur, ut accipientes virtutem cœlestis cibi in carnem ipsius, qui caro nostra factus est, transeamus;* and in his twenty-fourth[l] sermon of the Passion, *Non alia igitur*[m] *participatio corporis.. quam ut in id quod sumimus transeamus*, 'there is no other participation of the body than that we should pass into that which we receive; .. in the mystical distribution of the spiritual nourishment this is given and taken, that we receiving the virtue of the heavenly food, may pass into His flesh who became our flesh.' And Rabanus[n] makes the analogy fit to this question, *Sicut in nos id convertitur cum id manducamus et bibimus, sic et nos in corpus Christi convertimur dum obedienter et pie vivimus*, 'as that (Christ's body) is converted into us while we eat it and drink it, so are we converted into the body of Christ while we live obediently and piously.' So Gregory Nyssen[o], τὸ ἀθάνατον σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἀναλαβόντι αὐτὸ γινόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν μετεποίησεν, 'the immortal body being in the receiver, changes him wholly into his own nature:' and Theophylact useth the same word, "He that eateth Me, liveth by Me, whilst he is in a certain manner mingled with Me, and is transelementated (μεταποιεῖται) or changed into Me." Now let men of all sides do reason, and let one expound the other, and it will be granted that as we are turned into Christ's body, so is that into us, and so is the bread into that.

12. Twelfthly; whatsoever the fathers speak of this, they affirm the same also of the other sacrament, and of the sacramentals or

[i] [p. 41.]
[j] Hom. lxxxviii. [leg. lxxxiii.] in S. Matth. [tom. vii. p. 788 B.]
[k] Ad cler. Constantinop. [sc. ep. xxiii. p. 113 D.]
[l] [leg. 'fourteenth,' p. 62.]
[m] [al. 'aliud agit.']
[n] De instit. cler., lib. i. c. 31. [tom. vi. p. 11 G.]
[o] Orat. catech., c. 37. [tom. iii. p. 102.]

rituals of the church. It is a known similitude used by S. Cyril of Alexandria, "As the bread of the eucharist after the invocation of the Holy Ghost is no longer common bread, but it is the body of Christ; so this holy unguent is no longer mere and common ointment, but it is χάρισμα Χριστοῦ, the grace of Christ;" (χρίσμα Χριστοῦ it uses to be mistaken, the 'chrism' for the 'grace' or 'gift' of Christ;) and yet this is not spoken properly, as is apparent; but it is in this as in the eucharist, so says the comparison. Thus S. Chrysostom says that "the table or altar is as the manger in which Christ was laid;" that "the priest is a seraphim, and his hands are the tongs taking the coal from the altar." But that which I instance in is that 1) They say that 'they that hear the word of Christ eat the flesh of Christ;' of which I have already given account in *sect.* iii. *num.* 10, &c. As hearing is eating, as the word is His flesh, so is the bread after consecration in a spiritual sense. 2) That which comes most fully home to this is their affirmative concerning baptism, to the same purposes, and in many of the same expressions, which they use in this other sacrament. S. Ambrose[p] speaking of the baptismal waters affirms *naturam mutari per benedictionem,* 'the nature of them is changed by blessing;' and S. Cyril of Alexandria[q] saith, 'By the operation of the Holy Spirit the waters are reformed to a divine nature, by which the baptized cleanse their body.' For in these the ground of all their great expressions is that which S. Ambrose expressed in these words, *Non agnosco usum naturæ, nullus est hic naturæ ordo, ubi est excellentia gratiæ,* 'where grace is the chief ingredient, there the use and the order of nature is not at all considered.' But this whole mystery is most clear in S. Austin[r], affirming 'that we are made partakers of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism we are made members of Christ; and are not estranged from the fellowship of that bread and chalice, although we die before we eat that bread, and drink that cup.' *Tingimur in passionem Domini,* 'we are baptized into the passion of our Lord,' says Tertullian[s]; "into the death of Christ," saith S. Paul, for by both sacraments we "shew the Lord's death."

13. Thirteenthly; upon the account of these premises we may be secured against all the objections, or the greatest part of those testimonies from antiquity, which are pretended for Transubstantiation; for either they speak that which we acknowledge, as that 'it is Christ's body,' that 'it is not common bread,' that 'it is a divine thing,' that 'we eat Christ's flesh,' that 'we drink His blood,' and the like; all which we acknowledge and explicate as we do the words of institution; or else they speak more than both sides allow to be literally true; or speak as great things of other mysteries which

[p] Lib. iv. de Sacram. [cap. 4.] et lib. De iis qui initiantur myster. c. 9. [tom. ii. col. 370 A, 338 D.]

[q] Lib. ii. in Johan. c. 12. [tom. iv. p. 147 D.]

[r] Ad infantes apud Bedam in 1 Cor. x. [vid. p. 86. not. h, supra.]

[s] Lib. de Bapt. [cap. xix. p. 232 A.]

must not, cannot be expounded literally; that is, they speak more, or less, or diverse from them, or the same with us: and I think there is hardly one testimony in Bellarmine, in Cocceius, and Perron, that is pertinent to this question, but may be made invalid by one or more of the former considerations. But of those, if there be any, of which there may be a material doubt, beyond the cure of these observations, I shall give particular account in the sequel.

14. But then for the testimonies which I shall allege against the Roman doctrine in this article, they will not be so easily avoided; first, because many of them are not only affirmative in the spiritual sense, but exclusive of the natural and proper; secondly, because it is easy to suppose they may speak hyperboles, but never that which [t] would undervalue the blessed sacrament: for an hyperbole is usual, not a μείωσις or the lessening a mystery; that may be true, this never; that may be capable of fair interpretations, this can admit of none; that may breed reverence, this contempt. To which I add this, that the heathens slandering the Christians to be worshippers of Ceres or Liber, because of the holy bread and chalice (as appears in S. Austin's twentieth book and thirteenth chapter against Faustus the Manichee[u]) had reason to advance the reputation of sacramental signs to be above common bread and wine, not only so to explicate the truth of the mystery, but to stop the mouth of their calumny; and therefore for higher expressions there might be cause, but not such cause for any lower than the severest truth. And yet let me observe this by the way; S. Austin answered only thus, 'we are far from doing so,' *quamvis panis et calicis sacramentum nostro ritu amplectamur*. S. Austin might have further removed the calumny if he had been of the Roman persuasion; who adore not the bread, nor eat it at all in their synaxes until it be no bread, but changed into the body of our Lord; but he knew nothing of that: neither was there ever any scandal of Christians upon any mistake that could be a probable excuse for them to lessen their expressions in the matter eucharistical. Indeed Mr. Brerely hath got an ignorant fancy by the end, which I am now to note and wipe off. He says that the primitive Christians were scandalized by the heathen to be eaters of the flesh of a child, which in all reason must be occasioned by their doctrine of the manducation of Christ's flesh in the sacrament; and if this be true, then we may suspect that they to wipe off this scandal might remove their doctrine as far from the objection as they could, and therefore might use some lessening expressions. To this I answer, that the occasions of the report were the sects of the Gnostics, and the Pepuzians. The Gnostics, as Epiphanius[x] reports, bruised a new-born infant in a mortar, and all of them did communicate by eating portions of it; and the Montanists having sprinkled a little child with meal, let him blood, and of that made their eucharistical bread; and

[t] ['that they' A.]

[u] [tom. viii. col. 342.]

[x] [Hæres. xxvi. § 5. tom. i. p. 87.]

these stories the Jews published, to disrepute, if they could, the whole religion; but nothing of this related to the doctrine of the christian eucharist, though the bell always must tinkle as they are pleased to think. But this turned to advantage of the truth, and to the clearing of this article. For when the scandal got foot and run abroad, the heathens spared not to call the Christians cannibals, and to impute to them anthropophagy, or the devouring human flesh, and that they made Thyestes' feast, who by the procurement of Atreus eat his own children. Against this the christian apologists betook themselves to a defence. Justin Martyr[y] says the false devils had set on work some vile persons to kill some one or other, to give colour to the report. Athenagoras[z] in a high defiance of the infamy, asks, "Do you think we are murderers? for there is no way to eat man's flesh, unless we first kill him." Octavius in Minutius Felix[a] confutes it upon this account, "We do not receive the blood of beasts into our food or beverage; therefore we are infinitely distant from drinking man's blood." And this same Tertullian in his Apologetic[b] presses further, affirming that to discover Christians they use to offer them a black pudding, or something in which blood remained, and they chose rather to die than to do it. And of this we may see instances in the story of Sanctus[c] and Blandina in the ecclesiastical histories: concerning which it is remarkable what Œcumenius in his Catena upon the third chapter of the first epistle of S. Peter[d] reports out of Irenæus; the Greeks having taken some servants of Christians, pressing to learn something secret of the Christians, and they having nothing in their notice to please the inquisitors, except that they had heard of their masters that the divine communion is the blood and body of Christ, they supposing it true according to their rude natural apprehensions, tortured Sanctus and Blandina to confess it; but Blandina answered them thus, "How can they suffer any such thing in the exercise of their religion, who do not nourish themselves with flesh that is permitted?" All this trouble came upon the act of the forementioned heretics; the report was only concerning the blood of an infant, not of a man, as it must have been if it had been occasioned by the sacrament; but the sacrament was not so much as thought of in this scrutiny, till the examination of the servants gave the hint in the torture of Blandina. Cardinal Perron[e] perceiving much detriment likely to come to their doctrine by these apologies of the primitive Christians upon the eleventh anathematism of S. Cyril, says, that they deny 'anthropophagy,' but did not deny 'Theanthropophagy,' saying, that they did not eat the flesh nor drink the blood of a mere man, but of Christ who was God and man; which is so strange a device, as I wonder it could drop from the pen of so great a wit. For this

[y] [Apol. ii. § 10. p. 96.]
[z] Legat. pro christian. [§ 29. p. 133.]
[a] [cap. xxx.]
[b] Cap. ix. [p. 10.]
[c] [Euseb. Hist. eccl. v. i.]
[d] [p. 149.]
[e] [De l'eucharist, liv. ii. p. 457.]

would have been a worse and more intolerable scandal, to affirm that Christians eat their God and sucked His blood, and were devourers not only of a man but of an immortal God. But however, let his fancy be confronted with the extracts of the several apologies which I have now cited, and it will appear that nothing of the cardinal's fancy can come near their sense or words; for all the business was upon the blood of a child which the Gnostics had killed, or the Montanists tormented; and the matter of the sacrament was not in the whole rumour so much as thought upon.

15. Lastly, unless there be no one objection of ours that means as it says, but all are shadows, and nothing is awake but Bellarmine in all his dreams, or Perron in all his laborious excuses; if we be allowed to be in our wits, and to understand Latin, or Greek, or common sense; unless the fathers must all be understood according to their new nonsense answers, which the primitive doctors were so far from understanding or thinking of, that besides that it is next to impudence to suppose they could mean them, their own doctors in a few ages last past did not know them, but opposed, and spake some things contrary, and many things diverse from them: I say unless we have neither sense nor reason nor souls like other men, it is certain that not one nor two, but very many of the fathers, taught our doctrine most expressly in this article, and against theirs. And after all, whether the testimonies of the doctors be ancient or modern, it is advantage to us, and inconvenient for them: for if it be ancient, it shews their doctrine not to be from the beginning; if it be modern, it does it more, for it declares plainly the doctrine to be but of yesterday: now I am very certain I can make it appear not to have been the doctrine of the church, not of any church whose records we have, for above a thousand years together.

16. But now in my entry upon the testimonies of fathers, I shall make my way the more plain and credible if I premise the testimonies of some of the Roman doctors in this business. And the first I shall name is Bellarmine himself[f], who was the most wary of giving advantage against himself; but yet he says, *Non esse mirandum, &c.* 'it is not to be wondered at, if S. Austin, Theodoret, and others of the ancients, spake some things which in shew seem to favour the heretics, when even from Jodocus some things did fall which by the adversaries were drawn to their cause.' Now though he lessens the matter by *quædam,* and *videantur,* and *in speciem,* 'seemingly' and 'in shew' and 'some things,' yet it was as much as we could expect from him; with whom *visibiliter,* if it be on our side, must mean *invisibiliter,* and *statuimus* must be *abrogamus.* But I rest not here; Alphonsus à Castro[g] says more: *De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio,* 'the ancient

[f] Lib. ii. euch. c. 25. sect. 'Hic vero.' [tom. iii. col. 639.]

[g] De hær., lib. viii. v. Indulgentia, [col. 578 E.]

writers seldom mention the change of the substance of bread into the body of Christ.' And yet these men would make us believe that all the world's their own. But Scotus does directly deny the doctrine of conversion or Transubstantiation to be ancient, so says Henriquez[h]. *Ante concilium Lateranense transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei,* so said Scotus himself, as Bellarmine[i] cites him: and some of the fathers of the society[k] in England in their prison affirmed, *rem transubstantiationis patres ne attigisse quidem,* 'that the fathers did not so much as touch the matter of Transubstantiation:' and it was likely so, because Peter Lombard[l], whose design it was to collect the sentences of the fathers into heads of articles, found in them so nothing to the purpose of Transubstantiation, that he professed he was not able to define whether the conversion of the eucharistical bread were formal or substantial, or of another kind. "To some it seems to be substantial, saying, the substance is changed into the substance." *Quibusdam,* and *videtur;* 'it seems,' and that not to all neither but 'to some;' for his part he knows not whether they are right or wrong, therefore in his days the doctrine was not catholic. And methinks it was an odd saying of Vasquez[m], and much to this purpose, that as soon as ever the later schoolmen heard the name of Transubstantiation, such a controversy did arise concerning the nature of it (he says not, of the meaning of the word, but the nature of the thing) that by how much the more they did endeavour to extricate themselves, by so much the more they were entangled in difficulties. It seems it was news to them to hear talk of it, and they were as much strangers to the nature of it, as to the name; it begat quarrels, and became a riddle which they could not resolve: but like Achelous his horn, sent forth a river of more difficulty to be waded through then the horn was to be broken. And amongst these schoolmen Durandus maintained an heretical opinion (says Bellarmine[n]) saying that the 'form of bread' was changed into Christ's body, but that the 'matter of bread' remained still; by which also it is apparent that then this doctrine was but in the forge; it was once stamped upon at the Lateran council, but the form was rude, and it was fain to be cast again, and polished at Trent; the Jesuit order being the chief masters of the mint. But now I proceed to the trial of this topic.

17. I shall not need to arrest the reader with consideration of the pretension made by the Roman doctors, out of the 'Passions' of the apostles, which all men condemn for spurious and apocryphal; particularly the passion of S. Andrew[o] said to be written by the

[h] Sum., lib. viii. c. 23. [p. 447.]
[i] De euch., lib. iii. c. 23. sect. 'Unum tamen.' [tom. iii. col. 752.]
[k] Discurs. modest., p. 13.
[l] Lib. iv. Sent. dist. 11. lit. a. [p. 736.]
[m] In 3 Tho., tom. iii. disp. 183. c. 1. n. 1. [p. 184.]
[n] Lib. iii. de euch., c. 1. [leg. cap. 11. tom. iii. col. 712.]
[o] [Apud Sur. in Nov. 30. tom. vi. p. 629 sqq.]

priests and deacons of Achaia. For it is sufficient that they are so esteemed by Baronius[p], censured for such by Gelasius[q], by Philastrius[r], and Innocentius[s]; they were corrupted also by the Manichees by additions, and detractions; and yet if they were genuine and uncorrupted, they say nothing but what we profess, "Although the holy Lamb truly sacrificed, and His flesh eaten by the people, doth nevertheless persevere whole and alive;" for no man that I know of, pretends that Christ is so eaten in the sacrament that He dies for it; for His flesh is eaten spiritually and by faith, and that is the most true manducation of Christ's body, the flesh of the holy Lamb: and this manducation 'breaks not a bone of Him;' but then how He can be torn by the teeth of the communicants and yet 'remain whole,' is a harder matter to tell; and therefore these words are very far from their sense; they are nearer to an objection. But I shall not be troubled with this any more; save that I shall observe that one White[t] of the Roman persuasion quoting part of these words which Bellarmine, and from him the underwriters object, *Ego omnipotenti Deo omni die immaculatum agnum sacrifico*, of these words in particular affirms that without all controversy they are apocryphal.

18. Next to him is S. Ignatius, who is cited to have said something of this question in his epistle *ad Smyrnenses*[u]; speaking of certain heretics, 'They do not admit of eucharists and oblations, because they do not confess the eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour, which flesh suffered for us.' They that do not confess it, let them be *anathema*; for sure it is, as sure as Christ is true: but *quomodo* is the question, and of this S. Ignatius says nothing. But the understanding of these words perfectly, depends upon the story of that time. Concerning which we learn out of Tertullian and Irenæus, that the Marcosians, the Valentinians and Marcionites, who denied the incarnation of the Son of God, did nevertheless use the eucharistical symbols; though, I say, they denied Christ to have a body. Now because this usage of theirs did confute their grand heresy (for to what purpose should they celebrate the sacrament of Christ's body, if He had none?) therefore it is that S. Ignatius might say, they did not admit the eucharist, because they did not confess it to be the flesh of Christ; for though in practice they did admit it, yet in theory they denied it, because it could be nothing, as they handled the matter. For how could it be Christ's flesh sacramentally, if He had no flesh really? And therefore they did not admit the eucharist as the church did, for in no sense would they grant it to be the flesh of Christ; not the figure, not the sacrament of it, lest admitting the figure they should also confess the substance. But besides, if these words had been

[p] Annal., tom. i. A.D. xliv. num. 42. [p. 326.]

[q] [In concil. Rom. i.—tom. ii. col. 940.]

[r] [De hæres., cap. 88. p. 168.]

[s] [Ep. iii. ad fin.—Concil. reg., tom. iv. p. 22.]

[t] Diacosio-martyr. fol. 3. [4to. Lond. 1553.]

[u] [cap. vii. p. 36.]

against us, it had signified nothing, because these words are not in S. Ignatius; they are in no Greek copy of him, but they are reported by Theodoret. But in these there is nothing else material than what I have accounted; for I only took them in by the by, because they are great names, and are objected sometimes.

But I shall descend to more material testimonies, and consider those objections that are incident to the mention of the several fathers; supposing that the others are invalid upon the account of the premises; or if they were not, yet they can but pass for single opinions, against which themselves, and others, are opposed at other times.

19. Tertullian[v] is affirmative in that sense of the article which we teach. *Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis suis, Christus corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei.* He proves against the Marcionites that Christ had a true real body in His incarnation, by this argument, 'because in the sacrament He gave bread as the figure of His body, saying, This is My body, that is, the figure of My body. Fisher in his answer to the ninth[x] question propounded by K. James, and he from card. Perron, say it is an *ὑπέρβατον*, and answers to this place, that *Figura corporis mei* refers, after Tertullian's odd manner of speaking, to *Hoc*, not to *corpus meum*, which are the words immediately preceding, and so most proper for the relation; and that the sense is, 'This figure of My body is My body:' that is, this which was a figure in the Old testament, is now a substance. To this I reply, 1) It must mean, 'this which is present is My body,' not, this figure of My body which was in the Old testament, but this which we mean in the words of consecration; and then it is no hyperbaton, which is to be supplied with *quod erat*, 'this which was;' for the nature of a hyperbaton is, to make all right by a mere transposition of the words; as *Christus mortuus est*, i. e. *unctus*; place *unctus* before *mortuus*, and the sentence is perfect; but it is not so here: without the addition of two words it cannot be; and if two words may be added, we may make what sense we please. But 2) suppose that *figura corporis* does refer to *Hoc*, yet it is to be remembered that *Hoc* in that place is one of the words of the institution or consecration, and then it can have no sense to evacuate the pressure of His words. 3) Suppose this reference of the words to be intended, then the sense will be, 'This figure of My body is My body,' the consequent of which is that which we contend for, that the same which is called His body, is the figure of His body: the one is the subject, the other the predicate: and then it affirms all that is pleaded for: as if we say, *Hæc effigies est homo*, we mean it is the *effigies* of a man; and so in this; 'This figure of My body is My body,' by the rule of denominatives signifies 'This is the figure of My body.' 4) In the preceding words Tertullian says, the *pascha* was the

[v] Adv. Marcion., lib. iv. c. 40. [p. 457 D.]

[x] [leg. 'sixth.' p. 260 sqq.]

type of His passion; this *pascha* He desired to eat; this *pascha* was not the lamb, (for He was betrayed the night before it was to be eaten;) *professus se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut quid alienum concupisceret Deus);* He would eat the passover of His own; *figuram sanguinis sui salutaris implere concupiscebat,* 'He desired to fulfil the figure,' that is, to produce the last of all the figures, 'of His healing blood:' now this was by eating the paschal lamb, that is, Himself; for the other was not to be eaten that night. Now then, if the eating, or delivering Himself to be eaten that night, was *implere figuram sanguinis sui,* He then did fulfil the figure of His blood, therefore *figura corporis mei* in the following words must relate to what He did that night; that therefore was the figure, but the more excellent, because the nearest to the substance, which was given really the next day: this therefore, as S. Gregory Nazianzen affirms, was the most excellent figure, the paschal lamb itself being *figura figuræ,* 'the figure of a figure,' as I have quoted him in the sequel[y]. And it is not disagreeing from the expression of scripture, saying, that the law had σκίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων[z], 'a shadow, but not the very image;' that was in the ceremonies of the law, this in the sacraments of the gospel: Christ himself was the τὸ πρᾶγμα, the 'thing itself;' but the image was more than the shadow, though less than the substance; ἀντίτυπον was the word by which the fathers expressed this nearer configuration. 5) Whereas it is added, it had not been a figure *nisi veritatis esset corpus,* to my sense clears the question; for therefore Christ's body which He was clothed withal was a true body, else this could not be a figure of it; but therefore this which was also a figure, could not be the true body of which it was a figure. 6) That which Fisher adds, that Tertullian's drift was to shew that whereas in the Old testament bread was the figure of the body of Christ (as appears by the words of the prophet[a], *Mittamus lignum in panem ejus,* i. e. *crucem in corpus ejus*) Christ in the New testament made this figure really to be His body; this I conceive to make very much against Tertullian's design. For he proves that therefore Christ might well call bread His body; that was no new thing, for it was so also in the old figure, and therefore may be so now; but that this was no more than a figure, he adds, "If therefore He made bread to be His body, because He wanted a true body, then bread was delivered for us, and it would advance the vanity of Marcion, that bread was crucified." No, this could not be; but therefore he must mean, that as of old in the prophet and in the passover, so now in the last supper, He gave the same figure, and therefore that which was figured was real, viz., His crucified body. Now suppose we should frame this argument out of Tertullian's *medium,* and suppose it to be made by Marcion: 'The body of Christ was delivered for the sins of the world,

[y] [p. 149, note d.] [z] [Heb. i. 1.] [a] [Jer. xi. 19. ed. vulg.]

&c., you catholics say that bread is the body of Christ; therefore you say that bread was delivered for the sins of the whole world, and that bread was crucified for you, and that bread is the Son of God;' what answer could be made to this out of Tertullian, but by expounding the minor proposition figuratively, 'we catholics say that the eucharistical bread is the body of Christ in a figurative sense, it is *completio* or *consummatio figurarum*, the last and most excellent of all figures.' But if he should have said, according to the Roman fancy, that it is the natural body of Christ, it would have made rare triumphs in the schools of Marcion. But that there may be no doubt in this particular, hear himself summing up his own discourses in this question[b], *Proinde panis et calicis sacramento jam in evangelio probavimus corporis et sanguinis Dominici veritatem adversus phantasma Marcionis*, 'against the phantasm of Marcion we have proved the verity of Christ's body and blood by the sacrament of bread and wine.' 7) This very answer I find to be Tertullian's own explication of this affair: for speaking of the same figurative speech of the prophet Jeremy, and why bread should be called His body, he gives this account[c], *Hoc lignum et Hieremias tibi insinuat, dicturis prædicans Judæis, Venite, mittamus lignum in panem ejus, utique in corpus; sic enim Deus in evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc jam eum intelligas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cujus retro corpus in panem prophetes figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo*, 'for so God revealed in your gospel, calling bread His body, that hence thou mayest understand that He gave to bread the figure of His body, whose body anciently the prophet figured by bread, afterwards the Lord himself expounding the sacrament.' Nothing needs to be plainer. By the way let me observe this, that the words cited by Tertullian out of Jeremy are expounded, and recited too, but by allusion; for there are no such words in the Hebrew text, which is thus to be rendered, *Corrumpamus veneno cibum ejus*, and so cannot be referred to the sacrament, unless you will suppose that he foresignified the poisoning the emperor by a consecrated wafer. But as to the figure, this is often said by him; for in the first book against Marcion[d] he hath these words again, *Nec reprobavit panem quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat, etiam in sacramentis propriis egens mendicitatibus Creatoris*, 'He refused not bread by which He represents His own body, wanting or using in the sacraments the meanest things in the Creator.' For it is not to be imagined that Tertullian should attempt to persuade Marcion that the bread was really and properly Christ's body, but that He really delivered His body on the cross; that both in the Old testament and here, Himself gave a figure of it in bread and wine, for that was it which the Marcionites denied; saying, on the cross no

[b] Lib. v. cont. Marcion. c. 8. [p. 470 D.] [c] Lib. iii. c. 19. [p. 408 C.]
[d] [cap. xiv. p. 372 B.]

real humanity did suffer; and he confutes them by saying these are figures, and therefore denote a truth. 8) However these men are resolved that this new answer shall please them and serve their turn, yet some of their fellows, great clerks as themselves, did shrink under the pressure of it, as not being able to be pleased with so laboured and improbable an answer. For Harding against Jewel[e] hath these words speaking of this place, "which interpretation is not according to the true sense of Christ's words although his meaning swerve not from the truth." And B. Rhenanus the author of the Admonition to the reader *De quibusdam Tertulliani dogmatis*[f], seems to confess this to be Tertullian's error, *Error putantium corpus Christi in eucharistia tantum esse sub figura, jam olim condemnatus,* 'the error of them that think the body of Christ is in the eucharist only in a figure, is now long since condemned.' But Garetius[g], Bellarmine[h], Justinian[i], Coton[j], Fevardentius[k], Valentia[l], and Vasquez[m], in the recitation of this passage of Tertullian very fairly leave out the words that pinch them, and which clears the article; and bring the former words for themselves, without the interpretation of *id est, figura corporis mei.* I may therefore without scruple reckon Tertullian on our side, against whose plain words no real exception can lie, himself expounding his own meaning in the pursuance of the figurative sense of this mystery.

20. Concerning Origen I have already given an account in the ninth paragraph, and other places casually, and made it appear that he is a direct opposite to the doctrine of Transubstantiation. And the same also of Justin Martyr, paragraph the fifth, number 9. Where also I have enumerated divers others who speak upon parts of this question, on which the whole depends; whither I refer the reader. Only concerning Justin Martyr, I shall recite these words of his against Tryphon[n], *Figura fuit panis eucharistiæ quem in recordationem passionis . . facere præcepit,* 'the bread of the eucharist was a figure which Christ the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of His passion.'

21. Clemens Alexandrinus[o] saith, διττὸν δὲ τὸ αἷμα Κυρίου, κ.τ.λ. 'the blood of Christ is twofold; the one is carnal, by which we are redeemed from death; the other spiritual, viz., by which we are anointed: and this is to drink the blood of Jesus, to be partakers of the incorruption of our Lord. But the power of the word is the Spirit, as blood is of the flesh: therefore in a moderated proportion and convenience[p], wine is mingled with water, as the Spirit with a man: and he receives in the feast (viz. eucharistical) tempered wine

[e] Art. xii. sect. 9. [fol. 133.—4to. Louvaine, 1564.]
[f] [p. 121. fol. Franek. 1597.]
[g] De vera præs., clas. i. [p. 19.]
[h] Lib. iii. euch., c. 20. [tom. iii. col. 738.]
[i] In 1 Cor. xi. [24.]
[j] Du sacr. de la messe, c. 17.
[k] In Irenæ., lib. iv. c. 34. [p. 366.]
[l] De transubst., lib. ii. c. 3. [p. 387.]
[m] Tom. iii. in 3. disp. 180. n. 21. [p. 128.]
[n] [vid. p. 168.]
[o] Pæd., lib. ii. c. 2. [p. 177.]
[p] [ἀναλόγως.]

unto faith[q]; but the Spirit leadeth to incorruption: but the mixture of both, viz., of drink and the word, is called the eucharist, which is praised, and is a good gift [or grace] of which they who are partakers by faith are sanctified in body and soul.' Here plainly he calls that which is in the eucharist 'spiritual blood;' and without repeating, the whole discourse is easy and clear. And that you may be certain of S. Clement his meaning, he disputes in the same chapter against the Encratites, who thought it not lawful to drink wine, *εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, μετέλαβεν οἴνοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς, κ.τ.λ.*, 'for be ye sure He also did drink wine, for He also was a man, and He blessed wine when He said, 'Take, drink,' *τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα, αἷμα τῆς ἀμπέλου*, 'This is My blood, the blood of the vine,' for that word, 'that was shed for many for the remission of sins,' it signifies allegorically a holy stream of gladness[r]; .. *ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθὲν*, 'but that the thing which had been blessed was wine, He shewed again, saying to His disciples, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine till I drink it new with you in My father's kingdom.' Now S. Clement proving by Christ's sumption of the eucharist that He did drink wine, must mean the sacramental symbol to be truly wine, and Christ's blood allegorically, that 'holy stream of gladness,' or else he had not concluded by that argument against the Encratites. Upon which account these words are much to be valued, because by our doctrine in this article he only could confute the Encratites; as by the same doctrine explicated as we explicate it, Tertullian confuted the Marcionites, and Theodoret and Gelasius confuted the Nestorians and Eutychians; if the doctrine of Transubstantiation had been true, these four heresies had by them, as to their particular arguments relating to this matter, been unconfuted.

22. S. Cyprian[s] in his tractate *De unctione*, which Canisius, Harding, Bellarmine, and Lindan cite, hath these words, *Dedit itaque Dominus noster, &c.*, 'therefore our Lord in His table in which He did partake His last banquet with His disciples, with His own hands gave bread and wine, but on the cross He gave to the soldiers His body to be wounded, that in the apostles the sincere truth, and the true sincerity being more secretly imprinted, He might expound to the gentiles how wine and bread should be His flesh and blood, and by what reasons causes might agree with effects, and diverse names and kinds (viz. bread and wine) might be reduced to one essence, and the signifying and the signified, might be reckoned by the same words:' and in his third epistle[t] he hath these words, *Vinum quo Christi sanguis ostenditur*, 'wine by which Christ's blood is shewn or

[q] [Gr. *καὶ τὸ μὲν εἰς πίστιν εὐωχεῖ, τὸ κρᾶμα*, 'ac temperatum quidem vinum fidem convivis præbet.']

[r] [Gr. *τὸν Λόγον τὸν περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εὐφροσύνης ἅγιον ἀλληγορεῖ νᾶμα*, 'Verbum, .. quod 'pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum,' sanctum lætitiæ fluentum allegorice vocat.']

[s] [Append., p. 48.]

[t] [p. 148.]

declared.' Here I might cry out, as Bellarmine upon a much slighter ground, *Quid clarius dici potuit?* But I forbear; being content to enjoy the real benefits of these words without a triumph. But I will use it thus far, that it shall outweigh the words cited out of the tract *De cœna Domini* by Bellarmine, by the Rhemists, by the Roman catechism, by Perron, and by Gregory de Valentia. The words are these [u], *Panis iste quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro, et sicut in persona Christi, &c.,* 'the bread which the Lord gave to His disciples is changed, not in shape, but in nature, being made flesh by the omnipotency of the word; and as in the person of Christ the humanity was seen and the divinity lay hid, so in the visible sacrament the divine essence after an ineffable manner pours itself forth, that devotion about the sacraments might be religion, and that a more sincere entrance may be opened to the truth whereof the body and the blood are sacraments, even unto the participation of the Spirit, not unto the consubstantiality of Christ.' This testimony, as Bellarmine says, admits of no answer. But by his favour it admits of many: 1) Bellarmine cites but half of those words, and leaves out that which gives him answer. 2) The words affirm that that body and blood are but a sacrament of a reality and truth; but if it were really and naturally Christ's body, then it were itself *veritas et corpus*, and not only a sacrament. 3) The truth of which these are sacramental, is the participation of the Spirit; that is, a spiritual communication. 4) This does not arrive *ad consubstantialitatem Christi*, 'to a participation or communion of the substance of Christ,' which it must needs do if bread were so changed in nature as that it were substantially the body of Christ. 5) These sermons of S. Cyprian's title and name are under the name also of Arnoldus abbot of Bonavilla in the time of S. Bernard, as appears in a MS. in the library of All Souls' college, of which I had the honour sometime to be a fellow. However, it is confessed on all sides that this tractate is not S. Cyprian's, and who is the father of it if Arnoldus be not, cannot be known; neither his age nor reputation. His style sounds like the eloquence of the monastery, being direct friar's Latin, as appears by his *honorificare, amaricare, injuriare, demembrare, sequestrare, attitulare, spiritalitas, te supplico*, and some false Latin besides, and therefore he ought to pass for nothing; which I confess I am sorry for, as to this question, because to my sense he gives us great advantage in it. But I am content to lose what our cause needs not. I am certain they can get nothing by him. For if the authority were not incompetent, the words were impertinent to their purpose, but very much against them: only let me add out of the same sermon these words [u], *Panis iste communis in carnem et sanguinem mutatus procurat vitam et incrementum corporibus, ideoque ex consueto rerum effectu fidei nostra* [v] *adjuta in-*

[u] [Append., p. 40.]

[v] [leg. 'nostræ.']

firmitas, sensibili argumento edocta est visibilibus sacramentis inesse vitæ æternæ effectum, et non tam corporali quam spiritali transitione Christo nos uniri, 'that common bread being changed into flesh and blood procures life and increment to our bodies; therefore our infirmity being helped with the usual effect of faith is taught by a sensible argument that the effect of eternal life is in visible sacraments, and that we are united to Christ not so much by a corporal as by a spiritual change.' If both these discourses be put together, let the authority of the writer be what it will, the greater the better.

23. In the dialogues against the Marcionites collected out of Maximus[w] in the time of Commodus or Severus, or thereabouts, Origen is brought in speaking thus, Εἰ δ' ὡς οὗτοί φασιν ἄσαρκος καὶ ἄναιμος ἦν, ποίας σαρκὸς ἢ τίνος σώματος ἢ ποιοῦ αἵματος εἰκόνας διδοὺς ἄρτον τε καὶ ποτήριον ἐνετέλλετο τοῖς μαθηταῖς διὰ τούτων τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι, 'if, as the Marcionites say, Christ had neither flesh nor blood, of what flesh or of what blood did He giving bread and the chalice as images, command His disciples that by these a remembrance of Him should be made?'

24. To the same purpose are the words of Eusebius[x], Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς, τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παρακελευόμενος, 'He gave to His disciples the symbols of divine economy, commanding the image or type of His own body to be made;' and again[y], Τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες, 'they received a command according to the constitution of the New testament to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table by the symbols of His body and healthful blood.'

25. S. Ephrem the Syrian, patriarch of Antioch[z], is dogmatical and decretory in this question, Τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος, 'the body of Christ received by the faithful departs not from his sensible substance, and is undivided from a spiritual grace.' He adds the similitude and parity of baptism to this mystery; 'for even baptism being wholly made spiritual, and being that which is the same and proper of the sensible substance, I mean of water, saves, and that which is born doth not perish[a].' I will not descant upon these or any other words of the fathers I allege, for if of their own natural intent they do not teach our doctrine, I am content they should pass for nothing.

26. S. Epiphanius[b] affirming man to be like God, πάντες τὸ κατ'

[w] A.D. 190. [vid. p. 57. not. y, supra.]

[x] Lib. viii. demonst. evang., c. I. [p. 380 D.]

[y] Lib. i. c. ult. [p. 39 A.]

[z] De sacris Antioch. legibus apud Phot., lib. i. col. 229. [p. 252.] Scotus Jesuita exponit ἐξίσταται 'cognoscitur,' contra sensum loci.

[a] [Gr. Καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ πνευματικὸν ὅλον γενόμενον, καὶ ἓν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὃ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν.]

[b] In Ancorato. [c. lvii. tom. ii. p. 60.]

εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, 'in some image or similitude, not according to nature,' illustrates it by the similitude of the blessed sacrament; 'we see that our Saviour took into His hands, as the evangelist hath it; that He arose from supper, and took those things, and when He had given thanks He said, This is Mine, and this: we see it is not equal, it is not like, not to the image in the flesh, not to the invisible Deity, not to the proportion of members, for this is a round form,' καὶ ἀναίσθητόν ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν, 'and cannot perceive any thing, (or, 'is insensible according to power or faculty,') and He would by grace say, This is Mine, and this; and every man believes the word that is spoken, for he that believeth not Him to be true, is fallen from grace and salvation.'[a] Now the force of Epiphanius his argument consisting in this, that we are like to God after His image but yet not according to nature, as the sacramental bread is like the body of Christ, it is plain that the sacramental species are the body of Christ and His blood κατ' εἰκόνα ἀλλὰ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, 'according to the image or representment, not according to nature' but according to grace.

27. Macarius[c] his words are plain enough, Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι, 'in the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of His flesh and of His blood, and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ.'

28. S. Gregory Nazianzen[d] speaking of the *pascha* saith, *Jam paschatis participes erimus, &c.*, 'now we shall be partakers of the paschal supper, but still in figure, though more clear than in the old law; for the legal passover (I will not be afraid to speak it) was a more obscure figure of a figure.'

S. Ambrose[e] is of the same persuasion. *Fac nobis hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi,* 'make this ascribed oblation, reasonable, and acceptable, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And again, *Mira potentia, &c.*, 'it is a wonderful power of God which makes that the bread should remain what it is, and yet be changed into another thing.' And again[f], 'How much more operative is the word of Christ that the things be what they were, and yet be changed into another; and so that which was bread before consecration, now is the body of Christ.' *Hoc tamen impossibile est ut panis sit corpus Christi; sed hæc*[g] *verba ad sanum intellectum sunt intelligenda, ita solvit Hugo,* saith the gloss in Gratian[h]; which is an open defiance of the doctrine of S. Ambrose,

[a] Homil. xxvii. [§ 17. p. 108 C.]
[b] Orat. ii. in pasch. [al. orat. xlv. § 23. tom. i. p. 863 B.]
[c] Lib. iv. de sacram. c. 5. [tom. ii. col. 371 B.]
[f] Cap. 4. ibid., [p. 369 A.—Vid. not. in ed. Ben.]
[g] [leg. 'talia.']
[h] De consec. dist. 2. 'Panis est.' [sc. c. lv. col. 2113.]

affirming it to be impossible. But because these words pinch severely, they have retrenched the decisive words; and leave out *et sint,* and make them to run thus, 'that the things be .. changed into another;' which corruption is discovered by the citation of these words in Paschasius, Guitmond, Bertram, Algerus, Ivo Carnotensis, Gratian, and Lombard. But in another place[i] he calls the mystical chalice 'the type of the blood;' and[k] that Christ is offered here *in imagine,* 'in type, image, or representation,' *in cœlo in veritate,* 'the truth, the substance is in heaven.' And again[l], "This therefore truly is the sacrament of His flesh: our Lord Jesus himself says, This is My body; before the blessing by the words it was named another species (or kind), after the consecration the body of Christ is signified."

29. S. Chrysostom is brought on both sides, and his rhetoric hath cast him on the Roman side, but it also bears him beyond it; and his divinity, and sober opinions, have fixed him on ours. How to answer the expressions hyperbolical which he often uses, is easy, by the use of rhetoric, and customs of the words; but I know not how any man can sensibly answer these words[m], "for as before the bread is sanctified we name it bread, but the divine grace sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it." To the same purpose are those words on the twenty-second psalm[n] published amongst his works[o], though possibly they were of some oth of that time, or before, or after; it matters not to us, but much to them: for if he be later and yet esteemed a catholic (as it is certain he was, and the man a while supposed to be S. Chrysostom) it is the greater evidence that it was long before the church received their doctrine. The words are these, "That table He hath prepared to His servants and His maidens in their sight, that He might every day shew us in the sacrament according to the order of Melchisedec bread and wine to the likeness of the body and blood of Christ." To the same purpose is that saying in the homilies of whoever is the author of that *Opus imperfectum* upon S. Mat. *Si igitur hæc vasa*[p], *&c.*, 'if therefore these vessels being sanctified, it be so dangerous to transfer them to private uses, in which the body of Christ is not, but the mystery of His body is contained; how much more concerning the vessels of our bodies,' &c. Now against these testimonies they make an outcry that they are not S. Chrysostom's works, and for this last, the book is corrupted, and they think in this place by some one of Berengarius'

[i] In 1 Cor. xi. [tom. ii. append. col. 149 D.]

[k] De offic., lib. i. c. 48. [col. 63 C.]

[l] Lib. de initiat., c. 9. [col. 339.]

[m] Ep. ad Cæsar. cont. hæres. Apollinarii, [tom. iii. p. 744.] citat. per Damascen. [cont. Jacobitas, ad fin.—tom. i. p. 427.] et per collect. sent. pp. contra Severianos edit. per Turrian. [Canis. antiq. lect., tom. iv. part. i. p. 238.]

[n] [Alleged by P. Martyr against Gardiner, obj. cc. p. 367.]

[o] [See Bellarmine, De sacr. euch. lib. ii. cap. 22. tom. iii. col. 617.]

[p] Hom. xi. in S. Mat. [tom. vi. Append. p. 63 C.]

scholars; for they cannot tell. Fain they would believe it; but this kind of talk is a resolution not to yield, but to proceed against all evidence; for that this place is not corrupted, but was originally the sense of the author of the homilies, is highly credible by the faith of all the old MSS.; and there is in the public library of Oxford an excellent MS. very ancient that makes faith in this particular; but that some one of their scholars might have left these words out of some of their copies, were no great wonder, though I do not find they did, but that they foisted in a marginal note, affirming that these words are not in all old copies; an affirmation very confident, but as the case stands, to very little purpose. But upon this account nothing can be proved from sayings of fathers. For either 1) they are not their own works but made by another, or 2) they are capable of another sense, or 3) the places are corrupted by heretics, or 4) it is not in some old copies; which pretences I am content to let alone, if they upon this account will but transact the question wholly by scripture and common sense. 5) It matters not at all what he is, so he was not esteemed an heretic; and that he was not, it is certain, since by themselves these books are put among the works of S. Chrysostom, and themselves can quote them when they seem to do them service. All that I infer from hence is this, that whensoever these books were writ, some man esteemed a good catholic was not of the Roman persuasion in the matter of the sacrament; therefore their opinion is not catholic. But that S. Chrysostom may not be drawn from his right of giving testimony and interpretation of his words in other places; in his twenty-third homily upon the first of the Corinthians[q], which are undoubtedly his own, he saith, "As thou eatest the body of the Lord, so they (viz. the faithful in the Old testament) did eat Manna: as thou drinkest blood, so they the water of the rock. For though the things which are made be sensible, yet they are given spiritually, not according to the consequence of nature, but according to the grace of a gift, and with the body they also nourish the soul, leading unto faith."

30. The next I produce for evidence in this case is S. Austin, concerning whom it is evident that he was a protestant in this article, that truly it is a strange boldness to deny it; and upon equal terms no man's mind in the world can be known; for if all that he says in this question shall be reconcilable to Transubstantiation, I know no reason but it may be possible but a witty man may pretend when I am dead that in this discourse I have pleaded for the doctrine of the Roman church. I will set his words down nakedly without any gloss upon them, and let them do by themselves as much as they can. *Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem*[r], *&c.*, 'for if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, they were no sacraments at all: but from this similitude for the most part they re-

[q] [tom. x. p. 203.]
[r] Ep. ad Bonifac. [ap. xcviii. tom. ii. col. 267 F.]

ceive the names of the things themselves; as therefore according to a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is faith.' Now suppose a stranger to the tricks of the Roman doctors, a wise and a discerning man, should read these words in S. Austin and weigh them diligently, and compare them with all the adjacent words and circumstances of the place, I would desire reasonably to be answered on which side he would conclude S. Austin to be? If in any other place he speaks words contrary, that is his fault or forgetfulness; but if the contrary had been the doctrine of the church, he could never have so forgotten his religion and communion as so openly to have declared a contrary sense to the same article. *Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis*[s], *&c.*, 'you are not to eat this body which you see' (so he brings in Christ speaking to His disciples) 'or to drink that blood which My crucifiers shall pour forth; I have commended to you a sacrament, which being spiritually understood shall quicken you;' and[t] "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which He commended to His disciples the figure of His body and blood:" "For He did not doubt to say[u], This is My body, when He gave the sign of His body." *Quod ab omnibus sacrificium appellatur*[x], *&c.*, 'that which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice;' in which "the flesh of Christ[y] after His assumption is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrance." But concerning S. Austin's doctrine, I shall refer him that desires to be further satisfied to no other record than their own canon law; which not only from S. Austin[z], but from divers others, produces testimonies so many, so pertinent, so full for our doctrine, and against the dream of Transubstantiation, that it is to me a wonder why it is not clapped into the *Indices expurgatorii*, for it speaks very many truths beyond the cure of their glosses; which they have changed and altered several times. But that this matter concerning S. Austin may be yet clearer, his own third book *De doctrina christiana* is so plain for us in this question, that when Frudegardus in the time of Charles the Bald had upon occasion of the dispute which then began to be hot and interested in this question, read this book of S. Austin, he was changed to the opinion of a spiritual and mysterious presence, and upon occasion of that his being persuaded by S. Austin, Paschasius Ratberdus wrote to him, as of a question then doubted of by many persons, as is to be seen in his epistle to Frudegardus. I end this of S. Austin with those words of his which he intends by way of rule for

[s] In psalm. xcviii. [§ 9. tom. iv. col. 1066 A.]

[t] In psalm. iii. [ibid. col. 7 E.]

[u] Cont. Adimant., cap. 12. [tom. viii. col. 124 E.]

[x] Lib. x. contr. Faust. Manich., cap. 2. [leg. 'De civ. Dei, lib. x. cap. 5.' tom. vii. col. 242 D.—See 'Dissuasive from Popery,' part ii. book 2. § 3. p. 79. 4to. Lond. 1667.]

[y] [Contr. Faust. Manich., lib. xx. cap. 21.—See 'Dissuasive,' as above.]

[z] De consecrat. d. ii. [Decret. Gratian. col. 2080 sqq.]

expounding these and the like words of scripture taken out of this book Of christian doctrine[a]; *Locutio præcepliva, &c.*, 'a preceptive speech forbidding a crime, or commanding something good or profitable, is not figurative; but if it seems to command a crime or forbid a good, then it is figurative: "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," &c., seems to command a wickedness, it is therefore a figure, commanding us to communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to lay it up in our memory that His flesh was crucified and wounded for us.' I shall not need to urge that this holy sacrament is called *eucharistia carnis et sanguinis*, 'the eucharist of the body and blood,' by Irenæus; *corpus symbolicum et typicum*, by Origen; *in typo sanguis*, by S. Jerome; *similitudo, figura, typus, ἀντίτυπον*, 'images,' 'enigmas,' 'representations,' 'expressions,' 'exemplars,' of the passion, by divers others; that which I shall note here is this; that in the council of Constantinople[b] it was publicly professed that the sacrament is not the body of Christ *φύσει* but *θέσει*, not 'by nature' but 'by representment;' for so it is expounded, *τὸ θέσει, ἤτοι ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ ἁγία*, 'the holy image of it,' and *τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄρτον ὡς ἀψευδῆ εἰκόνα τῆς φυσικῆς σαρκὸς*, 'the eucharistical bread is the true image of the natural flesh,' and *ἡ θεοπαράδοτος εἰκὼν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ*, and *ἀψευδὴς εἰκὼν τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ*, 'a figure or image delivered by God, of His flesh;' and 'a true image of the incarnate dispensation of Christ.' These things are found in the third tome of the sixth action of the second Nicene council[c], where a pert deacon, ignorant and confident, had boldly said that none of the apostles or fathers had ever called the sacrament the 'image' of Christ's body: that they were called *ἀντίτυπα*, 'antitypes,' before consecration, he grants; but after consecration, they are called, and are, and are believed to be the body and blood of Christ properly. Which I suppose he might have learned of Damascene, who in opposition to the iconoclasts, would not endure the word 'type' or 'image' to be used concerning the holy sacrament; for they would admit no other image but that: he in defiance of them who had excommunicated him for a worshipper of images and a half Saracen, would admit any image but that; but denied that to be an image or type of Christ, (*De fide*, lib. iv. c. 14[d];) for Christ said not, This is the type of My body, but it is it. But however, this new question began to branle[e] the words of 'type' and 'antitype,' and the manner of speaking began to be changed, yet the article as yet was not changed. For the fathers used the words of 'type' and 'antitype,' and 'image,' &c., to exclude the natural sense of the sacramental body: and Damascene, and Anastasius Sinaita,

[a] Lib. iii. cap. 15, 16. [tom. iii. part. i. col. 52.]

[b] A.D. DCCLIV. of 338 bishops.

[c] Vide Concil. gener., tom. iii. p. 599 [sq.] edit. Rom. [fol. 1612.—Harduin., tom. iv. col. 368 E.]

[d] [tom. i. p. 270 sq.]

[e] ['brand' A.—'Branler' fr. 'to moot or brandish.']

and some others of that age began to refuse those words, lest the sacrament be thought to be nothing of reality, nothing but an image. And that this really was the sense of Damascene, appears by his words recited in the acts of the second council of Nice, affirming that the divine bread is made Christ's body by assumption and inhabitation of the spirit of Christ, in the same manner as water is made the laver of regeneration. But however they were pleased to speak in the Nicene assembly, yet in the Roman edition of the councils[f] the publishers and collectors were wiser, and put on this marginal note, 'Αντίτυπα μετὰ τὸ ἁγιασθῆναι πολλάκις εὕρηται καλούμενα τὰ ἅγια δῶρα, 'the holy gifts are oftentimes called types and figures even after consecration; particularly by Greg. Naz.[g] and S. Cyril[h] of Hierusalem.' I remember only one thing objected to this testimony of so many bishops, that they were iconoclasts or breakers of images, and therefore not to be trusted in any other article; so Bellarmine, as I remember: but this is just as if I should say that I ought to refuse the Lateran council, because they were worshippers of images, or defenders of purgatory. Surely if I should, I had much more reason to refuse their sentence, than there is that the Greeks should be rejected upon so slight a pretence; nay, for doing that which for ought appears, was in all their circumstances their duty in a high measure: so that in effect they are refused for being good Christians. But after this, it happened again that the words of 'type' and 'image' were disliked in the question of the holy sacrament, by the emperor Charles the great, his tutor Alcuinus, and the assembly at Frankfort; but it was in opposition to the council of Constantinople, that called it the true image of Christ's body, and of the Nicene council who decreed the worship of images: for if the sacrament were an image, as they of C.P. said, then it might be lawful to give reverence and worship to some images: for although these two synods were enemies to each other, yet the proposition of one might serve the design of the other: but therefore the western doctors of that age, speaking against the decree of this, did also mislike the expression of that: meaning that the sacrament is not a type or image, as a type is taken for a prefiguration, a shadow of things to come, like the legal ceremonies, but in opposition to that, is a body and a truth; yet still it is a sacrament of the body, a mystery which is the same in effect with that which the fathers taught in their so frequent using these words of type, &c., for seven hundred and fifty years together. And concerning this I only note the words of Charles the emperor, *Ep. ad Alcuinum*[i], after the synod, "Our Lord hath given the bread and the chalice *in figura corporis sui et sui sanguinis*, in the figure of His body and blood." But setting the authority

[f] [tom. iii. p. 601 D.—fol. 1612.]
[g] In Apolog. [al. orat. ii. § 95.] et orat. funebr. pro Gorg. [al. orat. viii. § 18.—tom. i. pp. 56, 229.]
[h] Mystag. catech. v. [§ 20. p. 331 C.]
[i] [Inter opp. Alcuini, col. 1150 A.]

aside, for if these men of C.P. be not allowed, yet the others are, and it is notorious that the Greek fathers did frequently call the bread and wine *ἀντίτυπα, σύμβολα, μυστήρια, εἰκόνας,* and the Latin fathers call them signs, similitudes, figures, types, images, therefore there must be something pretended to stop this great outcry, and insupportable prejudice of so great, so clear authority. After many trials; as that by 'antitypes' they mean 'exemplars,' that it is only before consecration, not after, and such other little devices, of which they themselves quickly grew weary; at last the craftiest of them came to this, "that the body of Christ under the species might well be said to be the sign of the same body and blood as it was on the cross," so Bellarmine[k]; that's the answer; and that they are hard put to it, you may guess by the meanness of the answer. For besides that nothing can be like itself, *Idem non est simile*[l]; the body as it is under the species, is glorified, immortal, invisible, impassible, indivisible, insensible; and this is it which he affirms to be the sign, that is, which is appointed to signify and represent a body that was humbled, tormented, visible, mortal, sensible, torn, bleeding, and dying; so that here is a sign nothing like the thing signified, and an invisible sign of a visible body, which is the greatest absurdity in nature, and in the use of things, which is imaginable; but besides this, this answer, if it were a proper and sensible account of any thing, yet it is besides the mark; for that the fathers in these allegations affirm that the species are the signs, that is, that bread and wine, or the whole sacrament, is a sign of that body which is exhibited in effect and spiritual power, they dreamt not this dream; it was long before themselves did dream it: they that were but the day before them having, as I noted before, other fancies. I deny not but the sacramental body is the sign of the true body crucified; but that the body glorified should be but a sign of the true body crucified, is a device fit for themselves to fancy. To this sense are those words cited by Lombard and Gratian[m] out of S. Austin in the sentences of Prosper, *Caro ejus est quam forma panis opertam in sacramento accipimus, sanguis quem sub specie vini potamus; caro videlicet carnis, et sanguis sacramentum est sanguinis, carne et sanguine utroque invisibili et intelligibili et spirituali significatur corpus Christi visibile plenum gratiæ et divinæ majestatis;* that is, 'It is His flesh which under the form of bread we receive in the sacrament, and under the form of wine we drink His blood:' now that you may understand his meaning, he tells you this is true in the sacramental or spiritual sense only; for he adds, "Flesh is the sacrament of flesh, and blood of blood; by both flesh and blood which are invisible, intelligible, and spiritual, is signified the visible body of Christ full of grace and

[k] De euch., lib. ii. c. 15. [col. 601 C.]

[l] Nemo est sui ipsius imago. S. Hilar. lib. de Synod. [vid. col. 1159.]—Quod simile est non est illud cui est simile. S. Athanas. contr. hypocr. Meleti. [tom. ii. p. 31 B.]

[m] [De consecr. dist. ii. c. 48.—'Hoc est.' col. 2107.]

divine majesty." In which words here is a plain confutation of their main article, and of this whimsy of theirs[n]. For as to the particular, whereas Bellarmine says that Christ's body real and natural is the type of the body as it was crucified, S. Austin says that the natural body is a type of that body which is glorified, not the glorified body of the crucified: secondly, that which is a type, is flesh in a spiritual sense, not in a natural; and therefore it can mean nothing but this, that the sacramental body is a figure and type of the real; ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι. And this thing is noted by the gloss of Gratian[o], *Caro, i. e. species carnis, sub qua latet corpus Christi &c.*, 'the flesh, that is, the species of it under which it lies, are the sacrament of the flesh:' so that the being of a sacrament of Christ's body, is wholly relative to the symbols, not to the body; as if the body were his own sign and his own sacrament.

31. Next to this heap of testimonies, I must repeat the words of Theodoret and Gelasius, which though known in this whole question, yet being plain, certain, and unanswerable, relying upon a great article of the religion, even the union of the two natures of Christ into one person without the change of substances, must be as sacred and untouched by any trifling answer as the article itself ought to be preserved. The case was this: the Eutychian heretics denied the natures of Christ to be united in one person[p], that is, they denied Him to be both God and man, saying, His humanity was taken into His divinity after His ascension. The fathers disputing against them, say, the substances remain entire, though joined in the person. The Eutychians said this was impossible, but as in the sacrament the bread was changed into Christ's body, so in the ascension was the humanity turned into the divinity. To this Theodoret[q] answers in a dialogue between the Eutychians under the name of Eranistes and himself the orthodox, "Christ honoured the symbols and signs which are seen, with the title of His body and blood, not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace:" the words are not capable of an answer, if we observe that he says there is no change made, but only grace superadded; in all things else the things are the same. And again[r], "For neither do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure, and form, and may be seen and touched," &c., "so the humanity of Christ:" and a little after, "So that body of Christ hath the ancient form, figure, superscription, and (to speak the sum of all) the substance of the body, although after the resurrection it be immortal and free from all corruption." Now these words spoken upon this occasion, to this purpose, in direct opposition to a contradicting person, but casting his article wholly upon supposition of a substantial change, and opposing to him a

[n] Ubi supra.

[o] De consecrat. d. 2. c. 'Hoc est quod.' [col. 2108.]

[p] Alphons. a Castro, de hæres. Eutych., [lib. iv. col. 279 sq.]

[q] Dial. i. c. 8. [tom. iv. p. 26.]

[r] Dial. ii. c. 24. [ibid., p. 126.]

ground contrary to his, upon which only he builds his answer, cannot be eluded by any little pretence. Bellarmine and the lesser people from him, answer, that by nature he understands the exterior qualities of nature, such as colour, taste, weight, smell, &c. 1) I suppose this, but does he mean so by *substantia* too, *οὐσία*? does he by substance mean accidents? But suppose that a while, yet 2) if he had answered thus, how had Theodoret confuted the Eutychians? For thus says Eranistes, "As the bread is changed in substance into the body of Christ, so is the humanity into the divinity:" "Yea but," says Theodoret according to Bellarmine, "the substance of bread is not changed, for the colour, the shape, the bigness, and the smell remain:" or thus, "The accidents remain, which I call substance; for there are two sorts of substances; substances and accidents; and this latter sort of substances remain, but not the former; and so you are confuted, Eranistes." But what if Eranistes should reply, 'If you say all of bread is changed excepting the accidents, then my argument holds, for I only contend that the substance of the humanity is changed, as you say the substance of bread is;' to this nothing can be said, unless Theodoret may have leave to answer as other wise men must: but now Theodoret answered that the substance of bread is not changed, but remains still; and by substance he did mean substance, and not the accidents, for if he had, he had not spoken sense; either therefore the testimony of Theodoret remaineth unsatisfied by our adversaries, or the argument of the Eutychians is unanswered by Theodoret. 3) Theodoret in these places opposes 'nature' to 'grace,' and says, all remains without any change but of grace. 4) He also explicates 'nature' by 'substance,' so that it is a substantial nature he must mean. 5) He distinguishes substance from form and figure, and therefore by substance cannot mean form and figure, as Bellarmine dreams. 6) He affirms concerning the body of Christ that in the resurrection it is changed in accidents, being made incorruptible and immortal, but affirms that the substance remains; therefore by substance he must mean as he speaks, without any prodigious sense affixed to the word. 7) Let me observe this by the way, that the doctrine of the substantial change of bread into the body of Christ was the persuasion of the heretic, the Eutychian Eranistes, but denied by the catholic Theodoret; so that if they will pretend to antiquity in this doctrine, their plea is made ready and framed by the Eutychian, from whom they may, if they please, derive the original of their doctrine, or if they please, from the elder Marcosites; but it will be but vain to think the Eutychian did argue from thence, as if it had been a catholic ground: reason we might have had to suppose it, if the catholic had not denied it; but the case is plain: as the Sadducees disputed with Christ about the article of 'no spirits, no resurrection,' though in the church of the Jews the contrary was the more prevailing opinion: so did the Eutychians upon a pretence of a substantial conversion in the sacrament, which was then their fancy, and

devised to illustrate their other opinion: but it was disavowed by the catholics.

32. Gelasius was engaged against the same persons in the same cause, and therefore it will be needful to say nothing but to describe his words; for they must have the same efficacy with the former, and prevail equally. *Certe sacramenta*[s], *&c.*, 'truly the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we receive are a divine thing, for that by them we are made partakers of the divine nature, and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries.' These are his words; concerning which this only is to be considered, beyond what I suggested concerning Theodoret; that although the word οὐσία in the Greek which we render *substantia*, might be apt to receive divers interpretations, though in his discourse he confined it to his proper meaning (as appears above), yet in Gelasius who was a Latin author the word *substantia* is not capable of it, and I think there is no example where *substantia* is taken for an accidental nature. It may, as all other words can, suffer alterations by tropes and figures, but never signify grammatically any thing but itself, and his usual significations: and if there be among us any use of lexicons or vocabularies, if there be any notices conveyed to men by forms of speech, then we are sure in these things; and there is no reason we should suffer ourselves to be outfaced out of the use of our senses and our reason, and our language. It is usually here replied, that Gelasius was an obscurer person, bishop of Cæsarea, and not pope of Rome as is supposed. I answer; that he was bishop of Rome that writ the book out of which these words are taken, is affirmed in the Bibliotheca PP., approved by the theological faculty in Paris MDLXXVI.: and Massonius *De episcopis urbis Romæ*, in the life of pope Gelasius, saith, that pope John cited the book *De duabus naturis*, and by Fulgentius it is so too. Secondly, but suppose he was not pope; that he was a catholic bishop is not denied, and that he lived above a thousand years ago; which is all I require in this business: for any other bishop may speak truth as well as the bishop of Rome, and his truth shall be of equal interest and persuasion. But so strange a resolution men have taken to defend their own opinions, that they will, in despite of all sense and reason, say something to every thing, and that shall be an answer whether it can or no.

33. After all this, it is needless to cite authorities from the later ages; it were indeed easy to heap up many, and those not obscure either in their name, or in their testimony. Such as Facundus bishop of Hermian[t] in Africa in the year DLII, in his ninth book and last chapter written in defence of Theod. Mopsuest., &c., hath these words,

[s] De duabus naturis cont. Eutychetem et Nestorium. [p. 671.]
[t] [p. 79 G.]

'The sacrament of His body and blood, we call His body and blood; not that bread is properly His body, or the cup His blood, but that they contain in them the mystery of His body and blood.' Isidore bishop of Sevil[u] says, *Panis quem frangimus, &c.*, 'the bread which we break is the body of Christ, who saith, I am the living bread; but the wine is His blood, and that is it which is written, I am the true vine: but bread, because it strengthens our body, therefore it is called the body of Christ, but wine because it makes blood in our flesh, therefore it is reduced or referred to the blood of Christ; but these visible things sanctified by the Holy Ghost pass into the sacrament of the divine body.' Suidas[x] in the word Ἐκκλησία, Σῶμα ἐαυτοῦ. *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἱερατεύει ὡς ἄνθρωπος, δέχεται δὲ τὰ προσφερόμενα ὡς θεὸς· προσφέρει δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος σύμβολα, πᾶν τὸ φύραμα διὰ τῆς ἀπαρχῆς ἁγιάζουσα,* 'Christ calls the church His body; and by her as a man He ministers, but as He is God He receives what is offered; but the church offers the symbols of His body and blood, sanctifying the whole mass by the first fruits:' *symbola, i.e. signa,* says the Latin version; the bread and wine are the 'signs' of His body and His blood; *σύμβολα, σημεῖα·* so Suidas. Hesychius[y] speaking of this mystery affirms, *Quod simul panis et caro est,* 'it is both bread and flesh too.' Fulgentius saith, *Hic calix est novum testamentum, i. e. Hic calix quem vobis trado, novum testamentum significat,* 'this cup is the New testament, that is, it signifies it.' Παρέδωκε γὰρ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, said Procopius of Gaza[z], 'He gave to His disciples the image of His own body.' Σύμβολα ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀλήθεια, said the scholiast upon Dionysius the Areopagite[a], 'these things are symbols, and not the truth or verity;' and he said it upon occasion of the same doctrine which his author (whom he explicates) taught in that chapter[b], Ἐπιτεθέντων τῷ θείῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν σεβασμίων συμβόλων δι' ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς σημαίνεται καὶ μετέχεται, κ.τ.λ., 'the divine symbols being placed upon the altar, by which Christ is signified and participated.' But this only I shall remark, that Transubstantiation is so far from having been the primitive doctrine, that it was among catholics fiercely disputed in the time of Charles the bald, about the year DCCCLXXX. Paschasius wrote for the substantial conversion; Rabanus maintained the contrary in his answer to Heribaldus, and in his writing to abbat Egilo. There lived in the same time in the court of Charles the emperor a countryman of ours, Jo. Scot, called by some Jo. Erigena, who wrote a book against the substantial change in the sacrament; he lived also sometimes in England with king Alfred, and was surnamed 'the wise,' and was a martyr, saith

[u] Lib. i. de offic. c. 18. [tom. vi. p. 383.]
[x] [col. 1171 D.]
[y] Lib. xx. in Levit. c. 8. [leg. lib. ii. —Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. vii. p. 35 A.]
[z] In Gen. xlix. [ver. 12.]
[a] [Maximus] in Eccles. hier., c. iii. [ad calc. Dionys. Areop., p. 68 C.]
[b] Dionys. Eccl. hier., c. 3. [p. 99 C.]

Possevinus[c], and was in the Roman calender; his day was the fourth of the ides of November, as is to be seen in the Martyrology published at Antwerp 1586. But when the controversy grew public and noted, Charles the bald commanded Bertram or Ratran to write upon the question, being of the monastery of Corbey: he did so, and defended our doctrine against Paschasius: the book is extant, and may be read by him that desires it; but it is so entire and dogmatical against the substantial change which was the new doctrine of Paschasius, that Turrian * gives this account of it, "To cite Bertram, what is it else but to say that Calvin's heresy is not new?" And the Belgic expurgatory index[d] professeth to use it with the same equity which it useth to other catholic writers, in whom they tolerate many errors and extenuate or excuse them, and sometimes by inventing some device they do deny it, and put some fit sense to them when they are opposed in disputation, and this they do, lest the heretics should talk that they forbid and burn books that make against them. You see the honesty of the men, and the justness of their proceedings; but the Spanish expurgatory index forbids the book wholly, with a *penitus auferatur*.

I shall only add this, that in the church of England, Bertram's doctrine prevailed longer; and till Lanfranc's time it was permitted to follow Bertram or Paschasius. And when Osbern wrote the lives of Odo[e] archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan, and Elphege, by the command of Lanfranc, he says that in Odo's time some clergymen affirmed in the sacrament bread and wine to remain in substance, and to be Christ's body only in figure; and tells how the archbishop prayed, and blood dropped out of the host over the chalice, and so his clerks which then assisted at Mass, and were of another opinion, were convinced. This though he writes to please Lanfranc (who first gave authority to this opinion in England) and according to the opinion which then prevailed, yet it is an irrefragable testimony that it was but a disputed article in Odo's time; no catholic doctrine, no article of faith, nor of a good while after: for however these clerks were fabulously reported to be changed at Odo's miracle, who could not convince them by the law and the prophets, by the gospels and epistles; yet his successor, he that was the fourth after him, I mean Ælfric abbat of S. Alban's[f] and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, in his Saxon homily written above six hundred years since, disputes the question, and determines in the words of Bertram only for a spiritual presence, not natural or substantial. The book was

[c] Apparat. tit. 'Johannes cognomento Sapiens.' [leg. 'Duns.' tom. i. p. 868.—See Will. Malmesb., Life of Aldhelm, edited by Wharton, Angl. sacr., tom. ii. p. 27 sq. fol. Lond. 1691.]

* 1599.

[d] A.D. 1571. Antwerp.

[e] Osbernus vita Odonis. [Apud Wharton, ut supra, p. 82.]

[f] Capgrave [Life of Abp. Oswald, Nov. legend. Angl., fol. cclii.] calls him abbat of S. Alban's.—Malmesb. saith, he was of Malmesbury, A.D. 996. [De gest. reg. Angl., lib. ii. c. 8. p. 58, et in vita Aldhelmi, (not. c, supra) p. 32.]

printed at London by John Day, and with it a letter of Ælfric to Wulfin bishop of Schirburn to the same purpose. His words are these, that "housel" (that is, the blessed sacrament) "is Christ's body, not bodily but spiritually, not the body which He suffered in, but the body of which He spake when He blessed bread and wine to housel the night before His suffering, and said by the blessed bread, This is My body." And in a writing to the archbishop of York he said, the Lord "halloweth daily by the hand of the priest bread to His body and wine to His blood, in spiritual mystery, as we read in books; and yet notwithstanding that lively bread is not bodily so, nor the self same body that Christ suffered in." I end this with the words of the gloss upon the canon law[g], *Cœleste sacramentum quod vere repræsentat Christi carnem dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie, unde dicitur, Suo modo, sed non rei veritate sed significati mysterio, ut sit sensus, Vocatur Christi corpus, i. e. significatur,* 'the heavenly sacrament which truly represents the flesh of Christ, is called the body of Christ; but improperly, therefore it is said' (meaning in the canon taken out of S. Austin) 'after the manner, to wit, not in the truth of the thing, but in the mystery of that which is signified; so that the meaning is, it is called Christ's body, that is, Christ's body is signified;' which the church of Rome well expresses in an ancient hymn[h],

Sub duabus[i] speciebus
Signis tantum et non rebus
Latent res eximiæ;

'Excellent things lie under the two species of bread and wine, which are only signs, not the things whereof they are signs.' But the Lateran council struck all dead: before which, *Transubstantiatio non fuit dogma fidei,* said Scotus, it was no article of faith; and how it can be afterwards, since Christ is only 'the author and finisher of our faith,' and therefore all faith was delivered from the beginning, is a matter of highest danger and consideration. But yet this also I shall interpose, if it may do any service in the question, or help to remove a prejudice from our adversaries, who are borne up by the authority of that council; that the doctrine of Transubstantiation was not determined by the great Lateran council. The word was first invented by Stephen bishop of Augustodunum, about the year MC. or a little after, in his book *De sacramento altaris;* and the word did so please pope Innocentius the third that he inserted it into one of the seventy canons which he proposed to the Lateran council A.D. MCCXV.; which canons they heard read, but determined nothing concerning them, as Matthew Paris, Platina, and Nauclerus witness. But they got reputation by being inserted by Gregory the ninth into his decretals, which yet he did not in the name of the council, but of

[g] De consecrat. dist. ii. c. 48. 'Hoc est.' Lugduni, 1518. [col. 2109.]

[h] [In fest. Corp. Christi; Missal. Rom., p. 372. 4to. Antuerp. 1617.]

[i] [al. 'diversis.']

Innocentius to the council. But the first that ever published these canons under the name of the Lateran council was Joannes Cochlæus, A.D. MDXXXVIII. But the article was determined at Rome thirty-six years after that council, by a general council of fifty-four prelates and no more. And this was the first authority or countenance it had; Stephen christened the article, and gave the name, and this congregation confirmed it.

§ 13. Of adoration of the sacrament.

WHEN a proposition goes no further than the head and the tongue, it can carry nothing with it but his own appendages, viz., to be right or to be wrong, and the man to be deceived or not deceived in his judgment: but when it hath influence upon practice, it puts on a new investiture, and is tolerable or intolerable, according as it leads to actions good or bad. Now in all the questions of christendom nothing is of greater effect or more material event than this. For since by the decree of the council of Trent[k] they are bound to exhibit to the sacrament the same worship which they give to the true God, either this sacrament is Jesus Christ, or else they are very idolaters; I mean materially such, even while in their purposes they decline it. I will not quarrel with the words of the decree commanding to give divine worship[l] to the sacrament; which by the definition of their own schools is an outward visible sign of an inward spiritual grace, and so they worship the sign and the grace with the worship due to God. But that which I insist upon is this; that if they be deceived in this difficult question, against which there lie such infinite presumptions and evidence of sense, and invincible reason, and grounds of scripture,—and in which they are condemned by the primitive church, and by the common principles of all philosophy, and the nature of things, and the analogy of the sacrament;—for which they had no warrant ever till they made one of their own, which themselves so little understand, that they know not how to explicate it, nor agree in their own meaning, nor cannot tell well what they mean; if I say, they be deceived in their own strict article, besides the strict sense of which there are so many ways of verifying the words of Christ, upon which all sides do rely; then it is certain they commit an act of idolatry in giving divine honour to a mere creature, which is the image, the sacrament, and representment of the body of Christ: and at least it is not certain that they are right; there are certainly very great probabilities against them, which ought to abate their confidence in the article; and though I am persuaded that the arguments against them are unanswerable; for if I did not think so, then I should be able to answer them, and if I were able to answer, I would not seek to persuade others by that

[k] Sess. xiii. c. 5. [tom. x. col. 81 B.]

[l] Tantum ergo sacramentum adoremus [al. 'veneremur'] cernui. Hymn. in Miss. [In die Corp. Christi, ad vesp., auctore S. Thom. Aquin. —Thesaur. hymnolog. ed. Daniel, tom. i. p. 251, 8vo. Halis 1841.]

which does not persuade me; yet all indifferent persons, that is, all those who will suffer themselves to be determined by some thing besides interest and education, must needs say they cannot be certain they are right, against whom there are so many arguments that they are in the wrong. The commandment to worship God alone is so express; the distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast, the danger of worshipping that which is not God, or of not worshipping that which is God, is so formidable, that it is infinitely to be presumed that if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the holy sacrament, the holy scripture would have called it God, or Jesus Christ, or have bidden us in express terms to have adored it; that either by the first, as by a reason indicative, or by the second, as by a reason imperative, we might have had sufficient warrant direct or consequent to have paid a divine worship. Now that there is no implicit warrant in the sacramental words of 'This is My body,' I have given very many reasons to evince, by proving the words to be sacramental and figurative. Add to this, that supposing Christ present in their senses, yet as they have ordered the business, they have made it superstitious and idololatrical; for they declare that 'the divine worship does belong also to the symbols of bread and wine, as being one with Christ;' they are the words of Bellarmine[m]; that even the species also with Christ are to be adored, so Suarez[n]; which doctrine might upon the supposal of their grounds be excused, if, as Claudius de Sainctes dreamed, they and the body of Christ had but one existence; but this themselves admit not of, but he is confuted by Suarez. But then let it be considered, that since those species or accidents are not inherent in the holy body, nor have their existence from it, but wholly subsist by themselves (as they dream), since between them and the holy body there is no substantial, no personal union, it is not imaginable how they can pass divine worship to those accidents which are not in the body, nor the same with the body, but by an impossible supposition subsist of themselves, and were proper to bread, and now not communicable to Christ, and yet not commit idolatry; especially since the Nestorians were by the fathers called *ἀνθρωπολάτραι*, or 'worshippers of a man,' because they worshipped the humanity of Christ, which they supposed not to be 'personally' but 'habitually' united to the divinity.

2. But secondly, suppose that the article were true *in thesi*, and that the bread in consecration was changed, as they suppose; yet it is to be considered that that which is practicable in this article is yet made as uncertain and dangerous as before. For by many defects secret and insensible, by many notorious and evident, the change may be hindered, and the symbols still remain as very bread and wine as ever, and rob God of His honour. For if the priest errs in reciting

[m] Lib. iv. de euch., c. 29. [tom. iii. col. 920.]

[n] Tom. iii. in 3 Thom. disp. 65. sect. 1. [p. 956.]

the words of consecration by addition, or diminution, or alteration, or longer interruption; if he do but say, *Hoc est corpum meum* for *corpus meum*, or *meum corpus* for *corpus meum*, or if he do but as the priest that Agrippa[o] tells of, that said *Hæc sunt corpora mea*, lest consecrating many hosts he should speak false Latin: if either the priest be timorous, surprised, or intemperate, in all these cases the priest and the people too worship nothing but bread. And some of these are the more considerable, I mean those defectibilities in pronunciation, because the priest always speaking the words of consecration in a secret voice not to be heard[p], none of the people can have any notice whether he speaks the words so sufficiently as to secure them from worshipping a piece of bread. If none of all these happen, yet if he do not intend to consecrate all, but some, and yet know not which to omit,—if he do intend but to mock,—if he be a secret atheist,—a Moor,—or a Jew,—if he be an impious person and laugh at the sacrament,—if he do not intend to do as the church does; that is, if his intention be neither actual nor real: then in all these cases the people give divine worship to that which is nothing but bread. But if none of all this happen, yet if he be not a priest, (*quod sæpe accidit*, saith pope Adrianus VI. *in quæst. quodlib.* q. 3[q], it 'often happens' that the priest feigns himself to celebrate and does not celebrate, or feigns himself to celebrate and is no priest); if he be not baptized rightly; if there was in his person, as by being simoniac, or irregular, a bastard, or *bigamus*, or any other impediment[r] which he can or cannot know of; if there was any defect in his baptism or ordinations, or in the baptism and ordination of him that ordained him, or in all the succession from the head of the διαδοχὴ, from the apostles that first began the *series*, in all these cases it cannot but be acknowledged by their own doctrine that the consecration is invalid and ineffective, the product is nothing, but a piece of bread is made the object of the divine worship. Well, suppose that none of all this happens, yet there are many defects in respect of the matter also; as if the bread be corrupted,—or the wine be vinegar,—if it be mingled with any other substance but water,—or if the water be the prevailing ingredient,—or if the bread be not wheat,—or the wine be of sour or be of unripe grapes; in all these cases nothing is changed, but bread remains still, λιτὸς ἄρτος, 'mere bread' and 'mere wine,' and yet they are worshipped by divine adoration.

3. Thirdly, when certain of the society of Jesuits were to die by the laws of England in the beginning of king James his reign, it was asked them whether, if they might have leave to say mass, they would to the people standing by, for the confirmation of their doubt, and to

[o] De vanit. scient., c. 3. [part. ii. p. 15. 8vo. Lugd. s. a.]

[p] Concil. Trid. sess. xxii. can. 9. [tom. x. col. 129.] Ledesima ait sacerdotem isto canone prohiberi clara voce eloqui verba consecrationis.—De scriptur. quavis lingua non legendis. [cap. xxi. n. 20. (p. 161) et alibi.]

[q] [f. 63 K. 8vo. Par. 1531.]

[r] ['thing' A.]

convert them, say these words, "Unless this whole species you see in the chalice be the same blood which did flow out of the side of the crucifix, or of Christ hanging on the cross, let there be no part for me in the blood of Christ, or in Christ himself to eternal ages," and so with these words in their mouth yield to death; they all denied it, none of them would take such a sacrament upon them. And when Garnet, that unhappy man, was tempted to the same sense, he answered, that a man might well doubt of the particular; no man was bound to believe that any one priest in particular now, or at any one certain time, does consecrate effectively; but that the bread is transubstantiated some where or other, at some time or other, by some priest or other[s]. This I receive from the relation of a wise prelate[t], a great and a good man, whose memory is precious, and is had in honour. But the effect of this is, that Transubstantiation, supposing the doctrine true (as it is most false), yet in practice is uncertain; but the giving it divine worship is certain; the change is believed only in general, but it is worshipped in particular; concerning which whether it be any thing more than bread, it is impossible without a revelation they should know. These then are very ill, and deeply to be considered; for certain it is, 'God is a jealous God,' and therefore will be impatient of every encroachment upon His peculiar. And then for us, as we must pray with faith, and without doubting, so it is fit we should worship; and yet in this case, and upon these premises, no man can choose but doubt; and therefore he cannot, he ought not to worship; *Quod dubitas ne feceris.*

4. I will not censure concerning the men that do it, or consider concerning the action whether it be formal idolatry or no: God is their judge and mine, and I beg He would be pleased to have mercy upon us all; but yet they that are interested, for their own particulars ought to fear and consider these things. 1) That no man without his own fault can mistake a creature so far as to suppose him to be a god. 2) That when the heathens worshipped the sun and moon, they did it upon their confidence that they were gods, and would not have given to them divine honours if they had thought otherwise. 3) That the distinction of material and formal idolatry, though it have a place in philosophy, because the understanding can consider an act with his error, and yet separate the parts of the consideration; yet it hath no place in divinity; because in things of so great concernment it cannot but be supposed highly agreeable to the goodness and justice of God that every man be sufficiently instructed in his duty and convenient notices. 4) That no man in the world upon these grounds, except he that is malicious and spiteful, can be an idolater; for if he have an ignorance great enough to excuse him, he can be no idolater; if he have not, he is spite-

[s] Vide Bonavent. in iii. dist. 24. a. 1. q. 1. [concl. n. 6. tom. v. p. 290 D.]

[t] Bishop Andrewes, Resp. ad. apolog. Bellarm. [cap. i.] p. 7.

ful and malicious; and then all the heathens are also excused as well as they. 5) That if good intent and ignorance in such cases can take off the crime, then the persecutors that killed the apostles thinking they did God good service, and Saul in blaspheming the religion and persecuting the servants of Jesus, and the Jews themselves in crucifying the Lord of life, who 'did it ignorantly as did also their rulers,' have met with their excuse upon the same account. And therefore it is not safe for the men of the Roman communion to take anodyne medicines and narcotics to make them insensible of the pain; for it will not cure their disease. Their doing it upon the stock of error and ignorance I hope will dispose them to receive a pardon; but yet that also supposes them criminal; and though I would not for all the world be their accuser, or the aggravator of the crime, yet I am not unwilling to be their remembrancer, that themselves may avoid the danger. For though Jacob was innocent in lying with Leah instead of Rachel, because he had no cause to suspect the deception; yet if Penelope, who had not seen Ulysses in twenty years, should see one come to her nothing like Ulysses, but saying he were her husband, she should give but an ill account of her chastity if she should actually admit him to her bed, only saying, if you be Ulysses, or upon supposition that you are Ulysses, I admit you. For if she certainly admits him of whom she is uncertain if he be her husband, she certainly is an adulteress: because she having reason to doubt, ought first to be satisfied of her question. Since therefore besides the insuperable doubts of the main article itself, in the practice and the particulars there are acknowledged so many ways of deception, and confessed that the actual failings are frequent (as I shewed before out of pope Adrian), it will be but a weak excuse to say, I worship thee if thou be the Son of God, but I do not worship thee, if thou beest not consecrated, and in the mean time, the divine worship is actually exhibited to what is set before us. At the best we may say to these men, as our blessed Saviour to the woman of Samaria, "Ye worship ye know not what; but we know what we worship." For concerning the action of adoration this I am to say, that it is a fit address in the day of solemnity, with a *sursum corda,* with our hearts lift up to heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the Father; for *Nemo digne manducat nisi prius adoraverit,* said S. Austin[u], 'No man eats Christ's body worthily but he that first adores Christ:' but to terminate the divine worship to the sacrament, to that which we eat, is so unreasonable and unnatural[v], and withal so scandalous, that Averroes observing it to be used among the Christians with whom he had the ill fortune to converse, said these words, *Quandoquidem christiani adorant quod comedunt*[x], *sit anima*

[u] [In psalm. xcviii. § 9. tom. iv. col. 1065 C.]

[v] Vide Theodoret. quæst. lv. in Genes. et q. xi. in Levit. [ad fin.]

[x] Ἀβελτερίας ἐσχάτης τὸ ἐσθιόμενον προσκυνεῖν.—Theodoret. q. in Gen. q. lv. [tom. i. pp. 68, 191.]

mea cum philosophis, 'since Christians worship what they eat, let my soul be with the philosophers.' If the man had conversed with those who better understood the article, and were more religious and wise in their worshippings, possibly he might have been invited by the excellency of the institution to become a Christian. But they that give scandal to Jews by their images, and leaving out the second commandment from their catechisms, give offence to the Turks by worshipping the sacrament, and to all reasonable men by striving against two or three sciences and the notices of all mankind. "We worship the flesh of Christ in the mysteries," saith S. Ambrose[y], "as the apostles did worship it in our Saviour;" for we receive the mysteries as representing and exhibiting to our souls the flesh and blood of Christ, so that we worship it in the sumption and venerable usages of the signs of His body: but we give no divine honour to the signs; we do not call the sacrament our God. And let it be considered, whether if the primitive church had ever done or taught that the divine worship ought to be given to the sacrament, it had not been certain that the heathen would have retorted most of the arguments upon their heads by which the Christians reproved their worshipping of images. The Christians upbraided them with worshipping the works of their hands, to which themselves gave what figure they pleased, and then by certain forms consecrated them, and made by invocation (as they supposed) a divinity to dwell there. They objected to them that they worshipped that which could neither see, nor hear, nor smell, nor taste, nor move, nor understand: that which could grow old and perish, that could be broken and burned, that was subject to the injury of rats and mice, of worms and creeping things, that can be taken by enemies, and carried away, that is kept under lock and key for fear of thieves and sacrilegious persons. Now if the church of those ages had thought and practised as they have done at Rome in these last ages, might not they have said, 'Why may not we as well as you? Do not you worship that with divine honours, and call it your God, which can be burnt, and broken, which yourselves form into a round or a square figure, which the oven first hardens, and then your priests consecrate, and by invocation make to be your God, which can see no more, nor hear, nor smell, than the silver and gold upon our images? Do not you adore that which rats and mice eat, which can grow mouldy and sour, which you keep under locks and bars for fear your God be stolne[z]? Did not Lewis the ninth[a] pawn your God to the Soldan of Egypt, insomuch that to this day the Egyptian escutcheons by way of triumph bear upon them a pix with a wafer in it? True it is, that if we are beaten from our cities, we carry our gods with us; but did not the Jesuits carry your host (which you call God) about their necks from Venice in the time

[y] De Spir. S., lib. iii. c. 12. [al. cap. 11. tom. ii. col. 681 A.]

[z] [sic edd.]

[a] [vid. not. c, infra.]

of the Interdict, and now why do you reprove that in us which you do in yourselves?' What could have been answered to them if the doctrine and accidents of their [b] time had furnished them with these or the like instances? In vain it would have been to have replied, Yea, but ours is the true God, and yours are false gods; for they would easily have made a rejoinder, and said that 'this is to be proved by some other argument, in the mean time all your objections against our worshipping of images return violently upon you.' Upon this account, since none of the witty and subtle adversaries of christianity ever did or could make this defence by way of recrimination, it is certain there was no occasion given; and therefore those trifling pretences made out of some sayings of the fathers pretending the practice of worshipping the sacrament, must needs be sophistry and illusion, and can need no particular consideration. But if any man can think them at all considerable, I refer him to be satisfied by Mich. le Faucheur[c] in his voluminous confutation of card. Perron. I for my part am weary of the infinite variety of argument in this question; and therefore shall only observe this, that antiquity does frequently use the words προσκύνητος, σεβασμιώτατος, θεῖος, προσκυνούμενος, 'venerable,' 'adorable,' 'worshipful,' to every thing that ought to be received with great reverence, and used with regard; to princes, to laws, to baptism, to bishops, to priests, to the ears of priests, the cross, the chalice, the temples, the words of scripture, the feast of Easter; and upon the same account by which it is pretended that some of the fathers taught the adoration of the eucharist, we may also infer the adoration of all the other instances. But that which proves too much, proves nothing at all.

These are the grounds by which I am myself established, and by which I persuade or confirm others in this article.

I end with the words[d] of the fathers in the council of C.P.[e] Ἄρτου οὐσίαν προσέταξε προσφέρεσθαι, μὴ σχηματίζουσαν ἀνθρώπου μορφὴν, ἵνα μὴ εἰδωλολατρεία παρεισαχθῇ, 'Christ commanded the substance of bread to be offered, not the shape of a man, lest idolatry should be introduced.'

Gloria Deo in excelsis:
In terris pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

[b] ['our' A.]

[c] Lib. iv. c. 3, de la Cêne du Segneur. [p. 280 sqq. fol. Genev. 1635.]

[d] [Recitata in Concil. Nicæn. ii. act. vi. tom. iv. col. 368 E.]

[e] A.D. 745. [leg. 754.]

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

THE FIRST PART.

BY JER. TAYLOR,

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST
AND LATE LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

THE

PREFACE TO THE READER.

When a Roman gentleman had, to please himself, written a book in Greek, and presented it to Cato, he desired him to pardon the faults of his expressions, since he wrote in Greek, which was a tongue in which he was not perfect master. Cato told him he had better then to have let it alone and written in Latin, by how much it is better not to commit a fault than to make apologies. For if the thing be good, it needs not to be excused; if it be not good, a crude apology will do nothing but confess the fault, but never make amends. I therefore make this address to all who will concern themselves in reading this book, not to ask their pardon for my fault in doing of it; I know of none; for if I had known them, I would have mended them before the publication; and yet though I know not any, I do not question but much fault will be found by too many; I wish I have given them no cause for their so doing. But I do not only mean it in the particular periods, where every man that is not a son of the church of England or Ireland, will at least do as Apollonius[a] did to the apparition that affrighted his company on the mountain Caucasus, he will revile and persecute me with evil words; but I mean it in the whole design, and men will reasonably or capriciously ask, Why any more controversies? why this over again? why against the papists, against whom so very many are already exasperated that they cry out fiercely of persecution? and why can they not be suffered to enjoy their share of peace, which hath returned in the hands of his sacred majesty at his blessed restoration? For as much of this as concerns myself I make no excuse, but give my reasons, and hope to justify this procedure with that modesty which David used to his angry brother, saying, "What have I now done? is there not a cause?" The cause is this:—

The reverend fathers, my lords the bishops of Ireland, in their circumspection and watchfulness over their flocks having espied grievous wolves to have entered in, some with sheep's clothing and some without, some secret enemies and some open, at first endeavoured to give

[a] [Philostr. vit. Apollon. Tyan., lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 52.]

check to those enemies which had put fire into the bed-straw; and though God hath very much prospered their labours, yet they have work enough to do, and will have, till God shall call them home to the land of peace and unity. But it was soon remembered that when king James of blessed memory had discerned the spirits of the English nonconformists, and found them peevish and factious, unreasonable and imperious, not only unable to govern but as inconsistent with the government as greedy to snatch at it for themselves; resolved to take off their disguise, and put a difference between conscience and faction, and to bring them to the measures and rules of laws; and to this the council and all wise men were consenting, because by the king's great wisdom, and the conduct of the whole conference and enquiry, men saw there was reason on the king's side, and necessity on all sides. But the gunpowder treason breaking out, a new zeal was enkindled against the papists, and it shined so greatly that the nonconformists escaped by the light of it, and quickly grew warm by the heat of that flame, to which they added no small increase by their declamations and other acts of insinuation: insomuch that they being neglected, multiplied until they got power enough to do all those mischiefs which we have seen and felt. This being remembered and spoken of, it was soon observed that the tables only were now turned, and that now the public zeal and watchfulness against those men and those persuasions, which so lately have afflicted us, might give to the emissaries of the church of Rome leisure and opportunity to grow into numbers and strength to debauch many souls, and to unhinge the safety and peace of the kingdom. In Ireland we saw too much of it done, and found the mischief growing too fast, and the most intolerable inconveniences but too justly apprehended as near and imminent. We had reason at least to cry fire when it flamed through our very roofs, and to interpose with all care and diligence, when religion and the eternal interest of souls was at stake, as knowing we should be greatly unfit to appear and account to the great Bishop and Shepherd of souls if we had suffered the enemies to sow tares in our fields, we standing and looking on. It was therefore considered how we might best serve God, and rescue our charges from their danger, and it was concluded presently to run to arms, I mean to the weapons of our warfare, to the armour of the Spirit, to the works of our calling, and to tell the people of their peril, to warn them of the enemy, and to lead them in the ways of truth and peace and holiness: that if they would be admonished, they might be safe; if they would not, they should be without excuse, because they could not say but the prophets have been amongst them.

But then it was next enquired, who should minister in this affair, and put in order all those things which they had to give in charge: it was easy to choose many, but hard to choose one; there were many fit to succeed in the vacant apostleship, and though Barsabas the just was by all the church named as a fit and worthy man, yet the lot fell

upon Matthias; and that was my case: it fell to me to be their emanuensis, when persons most worthy were more readily excused; and in this my lords the bishops had reason, that according to S. Paul's rule, "If there be judgments or controversies amongst us, they should be employed who are least esteemed in the church[b];" and upon this account I had nothing left me but obedience; though I confess that I found regret in the nature of the employment, for I love not to be (as S. Paul[c] calls it) one of the συζητηταὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, 'disputers of this world.' For I suppose skill in controversies (as they are now used) to be the worst part of learning, and time is the worst spent in them, and men the least benefited by them; that is, when the questions are curious and impertinent, intricate and unexplicable, not to make men better, but to make a sect. But when the propositions disputed are of the foundation of faith, or lead to good life, or naturally do good to single persons or public societies, then they are part of the *depositum* of christianity, of the "analogy of faith[d]," and for this we are by the apostle commanded to "contend earnestly;" and therefore controversies may become necessary; but because they are not often so, but oftentimes useless and always troublesome; and as an ill diet makes an ill habit of body, so does the frequent use of controversies baffle the understanding, and makes it crafty to deceive others, itself remaining instructed in nothing but useless notions and words of contingent signification and distinctions without difference, which minister to pride and contention, and teach men to be pertinacious, troublesome, and uncharitable; therefore I love them not.

But because by the apostolical rule I am tied "to do all things without murmurings," as well as without "disputings[e]," I considered it over again, and found myself relieved by the subject matter, and the grand consequent of the present questions. For in the present affair the case is not so as in the others; here the questions are such that the church of Rome declares them to reach as far as eternity, and damn all that are not of their opinions; and the protestants have much more reason to fear concerning the papists, such who are not excused by ignorance, that their condition is very sad and deplorable, and that it is charity to snatch them as a brand from the fire; and indeed the church of Rome maintains propositions, which, if the ancient doctors of the church may be believed, are apt to separate from God. I instance in their superaddition of articles and propositions, derived only from a pretended tradition, and not contained in scripture. Now the doing of this is a great sin, and a great danger. *Adoro scripturæ plenitudinem; si non est scriptum, timeat Væ illud adjicientibus et detrahentibus destinatum,* said Tertullian[f], 'I adore the fulness of scripture; and if it be not written, let Hermogenes fear the woe that is destined to them that detract from or add to it.'

[b] [1 Cor. vi. 4.]
[c] [1 Cor. i. 20.]
[d] [Rom. xii. 6.]
[e] [Phil. ii. 14.]
[f] Cont. Hermogen. [c. xxii. p. 241 D.]

S. Basil[g] says, "Without doubt it is a most manifest argument of infidelity, and a most certain sign of pride, to introduce any thing that is not written [in the scriptures,] our blessed Saviour having said, My sheep hear My voice, and the voice of strangers they will not hear; and to detract from scriptures, or add any thing to the faith that is not there, is most vehemently forbidden by the apostle, saying, If it be but a man's testament, *nemo superordinat,* no man adds to it, and says also, This was the will of the testator." And Theophilus Alexandrinus[h] says plainly, "It is the part of a devilish spirit to think any thing to be divine that is not in the authority of the holy scriptures:" and therefore S. Athanasius[i] affirms that the catholics will neither speak nor endure to hear any thing in religion that is a stranger to scripture; it being *immodestiæ vecordia,* 'an evil heart of immodesty,' to speak those things which are not written. Now let any man judge whether it be not our duty, and a necessary work of charity, and the proper office of our ministry, to persuade our charges from the 'immodesty of an evil heart,'—from having 'a devilish spirit,'—from doing 'that which is vehemently forbidden by the apostle,'—from 'infidelity and pride,'—and lastly, from that 'eternal woe which is denounced' against them that add other words and doctrines than what is contained in the scriptures, and say, *Dominus dixit,* 'the Lord hath said it,' and He hath not said it. If we had put these severe censures upon the popish doctrine of tradition, we should have been thought uncharitable; but because the holy fathers do so, we ought to be charitable, and snatch our charges from the ambient flame.

And thus it is in the question of images; *Dubium non est quin religio nulla sit ubicunque simulacrum est,* said Lactantius[j], 'without all peradventure wherever an image is' (meaning for worship) 'there is no religion:' and that 'we ought rather to die than pollute our faith with such impieties,' said Origen[k]. It is against the law of nature, it being expressly forbidden by the second commandment, as Irenæus affirms, Tertullian, Cyprian, and S. Augustine: and therefore is it not great reason we should contend for that faith which forbids all worship of images, and oppose the superstition of such guides who do teach their people to give them veneration, to prevaricate the moral law, and the very law of nature, and do that which whosoever does has no religion? We know idolatry is a damnable sin, and we also know that the Roman church with all the artifices she could use, never can justify herself, or acquit the common practices from idolatry: and yet if it were but suspicious that it is idolatry, it were

[g] De vera fide, [tom. ii. p. 224 D.] et Moral. reg. lxxii. cap. 1. [tom. ii. p. 306 B.] et reg. lxxx. cap. 22. [p. 318.]

[h] Epist. pasch. ii. [§ 6. in Galland. bibl. vett. patr., tom. vii. p. 617 C.]

[i] De incarn. Christi. [Al. contr. Apollinar., p. 279 C, fol. Paris. 1608.—Aliter interpretatur ed. Ben., tom. i. p. 929.]

[j] De origin. error., lib. ii. [cap. 19. tom. i. p. 185.]

[k] Contr. Cels., lib. vii. [§ 64. tom. i. p. 740.]

enough to awaken us; for God is a jealous God, and will not endure any such causes of suspicion and motives of jealousy.—I instance but once more;—

The primitive church[l] did excommunicate them that did not receive the holy sacrament in both kinds; and S. Ambrose[m] says that 'he who receives the mystery other ways than Christ appointed' (that is, but in one kind, when He hath appointed it in two) 'is unworthy of the Lord, and he cannot have devotion.' Now this thing we ought not to suffer, that our people by so doing should remain 'unworthy of the Lord,' and for ever be 'indevout' or cozened with a false shew of devotion, or fall by following evil guides into the sentence of excommunication. These matters are not trifling, and when we see these errors frequently taught and owned as the only true religion, and yet are such evils which the fathers say are the way of damnation; we have reason to hope that all wise and good men, lovers of souls, will confess that we are within the circles of our duty when we teach our people to decline the crooked ways, and to walk in the ways of scripture and christianity.

But we have observed amongst the generality of the Irish such a declension of christianity, so great credulity to believe every superstitious story, such confidence in vanity, such groundless pertinacy, such vicious lives, so little sense of true religion and the fear of God, so much care to obey the priests, and so little to obey God; such intolerable ignorance, such fond oaths and manners of swearing, thinking themselves more obliged by swearing on the mass-book than the four gospels, and S. Patrick's mass-book more than any new one; swearing by their father's soul, by their gossip's[n] hand, by other things which are the product of those many tales are told them; their not knowing upon what account they refuse to come to church, but only that now they are old and never did, or their countrymen do not, or their fathers or grandfathers never did, or that their ancestors were priests, and they will not alter from their religion; and after all, can give no account of their religion what it is: only they believe as their priest bids them, and go to mass which they understand not, and reckon their beads to tell the number and the tale of their prayers, and abstain from eggs and flesh in Lent, and visit S. Patrick's well, and leave pins and ribbons, yarn or thread in their holy wells, and pray to God, S. Mary and S. Patrick, S. Columbanus and S. Bridget, and desire to be buried with S. Francis' cord about them, and to fast on Saturdays in honour of our Lady. These and so many other things of like nature we see daily, that we being conscious of the infinite distance which these things have from the spirit of christianity, know that no charity can be greater than to

[l] Can. 'Comperimus.' [Decret.] De consecr. dist. ii. [cap. 12. col. 2087.]

[m] [Pseud-Ambros.] in 1 Cor. xi. [tom. ii. append. col. 149 E.]

[n] [Gossippe, God-sibbe, (sibbe, 'affinitas,') a godfather or godmother.—Minshew.]

persuade the people to come to our churches, where they shall be taught all the ways of godly wisdom, of peace and safety to their souls: whereas now there are many of them that know not how to say their prayers, but mutter, like pyes and parrots, words which they are taught, but they do not pretend to understand.

But I shall give one particular instance of their miserable superstition and blindness.

I was lately within a few months very much troubled with petitions and earnest requests for the restoring a bell, which a person of quality had in his hands in the time of, and ever since, the late rebellion. I could not guess at the reasons of their so great and violent importunity, but told the petitioners, if they could prove that bell to be theirs, the gentleman was willing to pay the full value of it, though he had no obligation to do so (that I know of) but charity: but this was so far from satisfying them, that still the importunity increased, which made me diligently to enquire into the secret of it. The first cause I found was, that a dying person in the parish desired to have it rung before him to church, and pretended he could not die in peace if it were denied him; and that the keeping of that bell did anciently belong to that family from father to son: but because this seemed nothing but a fond and an unreasonable superstition, I enquired further, and at last found that they believed this bell came from heaven, and that it used to be carried from place to place, and to end controversies by oath, which the worst men durst not violate if they swore upon that bell, and the best men amongst them durst not but believe him; that if this bell was rung before the corpse to the grave, it would help him out of purgatory; and that therefore when any one died, the friends of the deceased did, whilst the bell was in their possession, hire it for the behoof of their dead, and that by this means that family was in part maintained. I was troubled to see under what spirit of delusion those poor souls do lie, how infinitely their credulity is abused, how certainly they believe in trifles, and perfectly rely on vanity, and how little they regard the truths of God, and how not at all they drink of the waters of salvation. For the numerous companies of priests and friars amongst them take care they shall know nothing of religion but what they design for them; they use all means to keep them to the use of the Irish tongue, lest if they learn English they might be supplied with persons fitter to instruct them; the people are taught to make that also their excuse for not coming to our churches, to hear our advices, or converse with us in religious intercourses, because they understand us not, and they will not understand us, neither will they learn that they may understand and live. And this and many other evils are made greater and more irremediable by the affrightment which their priests put upon them by the issues of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, by which (they now exercising it too publicly) they give them laws, not only for religion,

but even for temporal things, and turn their proselytes from the Mass if they become farmers of the tithes from the minister or proprietary without their leave: I speak that which I know to be true by their own confession and unconstrained and uninvited narratives. So that as it is certain that the Roman religion, as it stands in distinction and separation from us, is a body of strange propositions, having but little relish of true primitive and pure christianity, (as will be made manifest, if the importunity of our adversaries extort it;) so it is here amongst us a faction and a state-party and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living, a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be *populus unius labii* [o], 'a people of one language' and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such a one as ought to be reproved by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandize of souls who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood.

Having given this sad account why it was necessary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be; and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish: there is nothing remaining but that we humbly desire of God to accept and to bless this well-meant labour of love, and that by some admirable ways of His providence He will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to de-obstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people, but 'that which hinders will hinder until it be taken away' [p]:' however we believe and hope in God for remedy.

For although Edom would not let his brother Israel pass into his country, and the Philistines would stop the patriarch's wells, and the wicked shepherds of Midian would drive their neighbours' flocks from the watering troughs, and the emissaries of Rome use all arts to keep the people from the use of scriptures, the wells of salvation, and from entertaining the notices of such things which from the scriptures we teach; yet as God found out a remedy for those of old, so He will also for the poor misled people of Ireland; and will take away the evil minds, or the opportunities of the adversaries, hindering the people from instruction, and make way that the truths we have here taught may approach to their ears, and sink into their hearts, and make them wise unto salvation. Amen.

[o] [Gen. xi. 1.]

[p] [2 Thess. ii. 7.]

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY

TO THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PART I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE questions of difference between our churches and the church of Rome have been so often disputed, and the evidences on both sides so often produced, that to those who are strangers to the present constitution of affairs it may seem very unnecessary to say them over again: and yet it will seem almost impossible to produce any new matter; or if we could, it will not be probable that what can be newly alleged can prevail more than all that which already hath been so often urged in these questions. But we are not deterred from doing our duty by any such considerations; as knowing, that the same medicaments are with success applied to a returning or an abiding ulcer; and the preachers of God's word must for ever be ready to put the people in mind of such things which they already have heard, and by the same scriptures, and the same reasons, endeavour to destroy their sin, or prevent their danger; and by the same word of God to extirpate those errors, which have had opportunity in the time of our late disorders to spring up and grow stronger, not when the keepers of the field 'slept,' but when they were wounded, and their hands cut off, and their mouths stopped, lest they should continue, or proceed to do the work of God thoroughly.

A little warm sun, and some indulgent showers of a softer rain, have made many weeds of erroneous doctrine to take root greatly, and to spread themselves widely: and the bigots of the Roman church, by their late importune boldness and indiscreet frowardness[a] in making proselytes, have but too manifestly declared to all the world that if they were *rerum potiti*, 'masters of our affairs,' they would suffer nothing to grow but their own colocynths and gourds. And although the natural remed for this were to take away that

[a] ['forwardness' C.]

impunity, upon the account of which alone they do increase; yet because we shall never be authors of such counsels, but confidently rely upon God, the holy scriptures, right reason, and the most venerable and prime antiquity, which are the proper defensatives of truth for its support and maintenance; yet we must not conceal from the people committed to our charges, the great evils to which they are tempted by the Roman emissaries, that while the king and the parliament take care to secure all the public interests by instruments of their own, we also may by the word of our proper ministry endeavour to stop the progression of such errors which we know to be destructive of christian religion, and consequently dangerous to the interest of souls.

In this procedure although we shall say some things which have not been always placed before their eyes, and others we shall represent with a fittingness to their present necessities, and all with charity too and zeal for their souls; yet if we were to say nothing but what hath been often said already, we are still doing the work of God, and repeating His voice, and by the same remedies curing the same diseases, and we only wait for the blessing of God prospering that importunity which is our duty: according to the advice of Solomon[b], "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this, or that, or whether they both shall be alike good."

CHAPTER I.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN THE CONTROVERTED ARTICLES, IS NEITHER CATHOLIC, APOSTOLIC, NOR PRIMITIVE.

§ 1. That our religion is, but that their religion is not such, is proved in general,

It was the challenge of S. Augustine[c] to the Donatists, who (as the church of Rome does at this day) enclosed the catholic church within their own circuits, 'Ye say that Christ is heir of no lands but where Donatus is co-heir: read this to us out of the law and the prophets, out of the psalms, out of the gospel itself, or out of the letters of the apostles; read it thence and we believe it:' plainly directing us to the fountains of our faith, the Old and New testament, the words of Christ, and the words of the apostles. For nothing else can be the foundation of our faith; whatsoever came in after these, *foris est*, it belongs not unto Christ[d].

[b] [Eccles. xi. 6.]

[c] De unit. eccles., cap. 6. [tom. ix. col. 345 B.]

[d] Ecclesia ex sacris et canonicis scripturis ostendenda est, quæque ex illis ostendi non potest ecclesia non est. [Vid.] S. Aug. de unit. eccl., c. 4. et c. 3.—Ibi quæramus ecclesiam, ibi decernamus [leg. 'discutiamus'] causam nostram. [ibid., 341 A.]

To these we also add, not as authors or finishers, but as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical, the sentiments and catholic doctrine of the church of God, in the ages next after the apostles. Not that we think them or ourselves bound to every private opinion, even of a primitive bishop and martyr; but that we all acknowledge that the whole church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to the after-ages the whole faith, τυπὸν διδαχῆς, 'the form of doctrine' and 'sound words' 'which was at first delivered to the saints,' and was defective in nothing that belonged unto salvation; and we believe that those ages sent millions of saints to the bosom of Christ, and sealed the true faith with their lives and with their deaths, and by both gave testimony unto Jesus, and had from Him the testimony of His spirit.

And this method of procedure we now choose, not only because to them that know well how to use it, to the sober and moderate, the peaceable and the wise, it is the best, the most certain, visible and tangible, most humble and satisfactory; but also because the church of Rome does with greatest noises pretend her conformity to antiquity. Indeed the present Roman doctrines which are in difference, were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity, and with how ill success their quotations are out of the fathers of the first three ages, every enquiring man may easily discern. But the noises therefore which they make are from the writings of the succeeding ages; where secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions, and such variety of sayings, that both sides eternally and inconfutably shall bring sayings for themselves respectively. Now although things being thus, it will be impossible for them to conclude from the sayings of a number of fathers, that their doctrine which they would prove thence, was the catholic doctrine of the church; because any number that is less than all, does not prove a catholic consent: yet the clear sayings of one or two of these fathers truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good catholics as the other do deny, was not then matter of faith, or a doctrine of the church; for if it had, these had been heretics accounted, and not have remained in the communion of the church. But although for the reasonableness of the thing we have thought fit to take notice of it; yet we shall have no need to make use of it; since not only in the prime and purest antiquity we are indubitably more than conquerors; but even in the succeeding ages, we have the advantage both *numero, pondere, et mensura,* 'in number, weight, and measure.'

We do easily acknowledge that to dispute these questions from the sayings of the fathers is not the readiest way to make an end of them; but therefore we do wholly rely upon scriptures as the found-

ation and final resort of all our persuasions, and from thence can never be confuted; but we also admit the fathers as admirable helps for the understanding of the scriptures, and as good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the church esteemed the way of salvation: and therefore if we find any doctrine now taught which was not placed in their way of salvation, we reject it as being no part of the christian faith, and which ought not to be imposed upon consciences. They were "wise unto salvation," and "fully instructed to every good work;" and therefore the faith which they professed and derived from scripture, we profess also; and in the same faith "we hope to be saved even as they." But for the new doctors, we understand them not, we know them not; our faith is the same from the beginning, and cannot become new.

But because we shall make it to appear that they do greatly innovate in all their points of controversy with us, and shew nothing but shadows instead of substances, and little images of things instead of solid arguments; we shall take from them their armour in which they trusted, and choose this sword of Goliah to combat their errors; for *non est alter talis;* it is not easy to find a better than the WORD of GOD, expounded by the prime and best Antiquity.

The first thing therefore we are to advertise is, that the emissaries of the Roman church endeavour to persuade the good people of our dioceses from a religion that is truly primitive and apostolic, and divert them to propositions of their own, new, and unheard of in the first ages of the christian church.

For the religion of our church is therefore certainly primitive and apostolic, because it teaches us to believe the whole scriptures of the Old and New testament, and nothing else as matter of faith; and therefore unless there can be new scriptures, we can have no new matters of belief, no new articles of faith. Whatsoever we cannot prove from thence, we disclaim it, as not deriving from the fountains of our Saviour. We also do believe the apostles' creed, the Nicene with the additions of Constantinople, and that which is commonly called the symbol of S. Athanasius; and the four first general councils are so entirely admitted by us, that they, together with the plain words of scripture, are made the rule and measure of judging heresies[e] amongst us; and in pursuance of these it is commanded by our church that the clergy shall never teach any thing as matter of faith religiously to be observed, but that which is agreeable to the Old and New testament, and collected out of the same doctrine by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the church[f]. This was undoubtedly the faith of the primitive church, they admitted all into

[e] [See 'Episcopacy asserted,' § 47.—vol. v. p. 197, and note i.]

[f] Lib. canon. discipl. eccles. Angl., et Injunct. regin. Eliz., A.D. 1571. can. 'De concionatoribus.' [p. 23. 4to. Lond. 1571.]

their communion that were of this faith; they condemned no man that did not condemn these; they gave letters communicatory by no other cognizance, and all were brethren who spake this voice. *Hanc legem sequentes, christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti, reliquos vero dementes vesanosque judicantes hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere,* said the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius[g], in their proclamation to the people of C. P. All that believed this doctrine were Christians and catholics, viz., all they who believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one Divinity of equal majesty in the holy Trinity; which indeed was the sum of what was decreed in explication of the apostles' creed in the four first general councils.

And what faith can be the foundation of a more solid peace, the surer ligaments of catholic communion, or the firmer basis of a holy life and of the hopes of heaven hereafter, than the measures which the holy primitive church did hold, and we after them? That which we rely upon is the same that the primitive church did acknowledge to be the adequate foundation of their hopes in the matters of belief: the way which they thought sufficient to go to heaven in, is the way which we walk: what they did not teach, we do not publish and impose; into this faith entirely, and into no other, as they did theirs, so we baptize our catechumens: the discriminations of heresy from catholic doctrine which they used, we use also, and we use no other: and in short, we believe all that doctrine which the church of Rome believes, except those things which they have superinduced upon the old religion, and in which we shall prove that they have innovated. So that by their confession, all the doctrine which we teach the people as matter of faith, must be confessed to be ancient, primitive, and apostolic, or else theirs is not so: for ours is the same, and we both have received this faith from the fountains of scripture and universal tradition; not they from us or we from them, but both of us from Christ and His apostles. And therefore there can be no question whether the faith of the church of England be apostolic and primitive; it is so, confessedly: but the question is concerning many other particulars which were unknown to the holy doctors of the first ages, which were no part of their faith, which were never put into their creeds, which were not determined in any of the four first general councils, revered in all Christendom, and entertained every where with great religion and veneration, even next to the four gospels and the apostolical writings.

Of this sort because the church of Rome hath introduced many, and hath adopted them into their late creed, and imposes them upon the people, not only without but against the scriptures and the catholic doctrine of the church of God; laying heavy burdens on

[g] Dat. iii. calend. Mart. Thessalonicæ. [Cod. Theodos., lib. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2. [tom. vi. part. i. p. 5.]

men's consciences, and making the narrow way to heaven yet narrower by their own inventions; arrogating to themselves a "dominion over our faith," and prescribing a method of salvation which Christ and His apostles never taught; corrupting the faith of the church of God, and "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;" and lastly, having derogated from the prerogative of Christ, who alone is the author and finisher of our faith, and hath perfected it in the revelations consigned in the holy scriptures; therefore it is that we esteem ourselves obliged to warn the people of their danger, and to depart from it, and call upon them to stand upon the ways, and ask after the old paths, and walk in them; lest they partake of that curse which is threatened by God to them, who remove the ancient landmarks which our fathers in Christ have set for us.

First, from their challenging power of making new articles, and

Now that the church of Rome cannot pretend that all which she imposes is primitive and apostolic, appears in this; that in the church of Rome, there is pretence made to a power, not only of declaring new articles of faith, but of making new symbols or creeds, and imposing them as of necessity to salvation. Which thing is evident in the bull of pope Leo the tenth against Martin Luther, in which, amongst other things, he is condemned for saying, "It is certain that it is not in the power of the church or pope to constitute articles of faith." We need not add that this power is attributed to the bishops of Rome by Turrecremata[h], Augustinus Triumphus de Ancona[i], Petrus de Ancharano[j], and the famous abbot of Panormo[k], that the pope cannot only make new creeds, but new articles of faith; that he can make that of necessity to be believed which before never was necessary; that he is the measure and rule, and the very notice of all credibilities; that the canon law is the divine law, and whatever law the pope promulges, God, whose vicar he is, is understood to be the promulger; that the souls of men are in the hands of the pope; and that in his arbitration religion doth consist: which are the very words of Hostiensis[l], and Ferdinandus ab Inciso[m], who were casuists and doctors of law of great authority amongst them and renown. The thing itself is not of dubious disputation amongst them, but actually practised in the greatest instances, as is to be seen in the

[h] Quod sit metrum et regula ac scientia credendorum.—Summæ de ecclesia, lib. ii. c. 203. [lege cap. 107. fol. 248 a. 4to. Ven. 1561.]

[i] Novum symbolum condere solum ad papam spectat, quia est caput fidei christianæ, cujus auctoritate omnia quæ ad fidem spectant firmantur et roborantur; q. 59. art. 1; et art. 2, Sicut potest novum symbolum condere, ita potest novos articulos supra alios multiplicare. [p. 309 sq.]

[j] Papa potest facere novos articulos fidei, id est, quod modo credi oporteat, cum sic prius non oporteret.—[Sup. v. decret.] In cap. 'Cum Christus.' De hæret. n. 2. [p. 60.]

[k] Papa potest inducere novum articulum fidei.—In idem, [fol. 126 a. ed. fol. Lugd. 1586.]

[l] Super ii. decret. de jurejur. c. 'Nimis,' n. 1. [fol. 136 b. Ven. 1581.]

[m] Apud Petrum Ciezum, tom. 2. instit. peruinæ, cap. 69. [fol. 101 a.]

bull of Pius the fourth, at the end of the council of Trent[n]; by which all ecclesiastics are not only bound to swear to all the articles of the council of Trent for the present and for the future, but they are put into a new symbol or creed, and they are corroborated by the same decretory clauses that are used in the creed of Athanasius: that 'this is the true catholic faith, and that without this no man can be saved.'

Now since it cannot be imagined that this power to which they pretend should never have been reduced to act, and that it is not credible they should publish so invidious and ill-sounding doctrine to no purpose and to serve no end; it may without further evidence be believed by all discerning persons that they have need of this doctrine or it would not have been taught, and that consequently without more ado it may be concluded that some of their articles are parts of this new faith, and that they can therefore in no sense be apostolical, unless their being Roman makes them so.

Secondly, from the practice of their Indices Expurgatory, with some instances of their innovating.

To this may be added another consideration not much less material, that besides what Eckius told the elector of Bavaria, that the doctrines of Luther might be overthrown by the fathers, though not by scripture; they have also many gripes of conscience concerning the fathers themselves, that they are not right on their side; and of this, they have given but too much demonstration by their Expurgatory Indices. The serpent by being so curious a defender of his head, shews where his danger is, and by what he can most readily be destroyed. But besides their innumerable corruptings of the fathers' writings; their thrusting in that which was spurious, and like Pharaoh, killing the legitimate sons of Israel[o]; though in this they have done very much of their work, and made the testimonies of the fathers to be a record infinitely worse than of themselves, uncorrupted, they would have been, (of which divers learned persons have made public complaint and demonstration,) they have at last fallen to a new trade, which hath caused more disreputation to them than they have gained advantage, and they have virtually confessed that in many things the fathers are against them.

For first, the king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all catholic authors; but with this clause, *Iique ipsi privatim nullisque consciis apud se indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt*, 'that they should keep the expurgatory index privately, neither imparting that index nor giving a copy of it to any.' But it happened, by the divine providence so ordering it, that about thirteen

[n] [tom. x. coll. 199 sqq.]

[o] Johannes Clemens aliquot folia Theodoreti laceravit et abjecit in focum, in quibus contra transubstantiationem præclare disseruit. Et cum non ita pridem Origenem excuderent, totum illud caput sextum Johannis et quod commentabatur Origenes omiserunt, et mutilum ediderunt librum propter eandem causam.

years after a copy of it was gotten and published by Johannes Pappus and Franciscus Junius; and since it came abroad against their wills, they find it necessary now to own it, and they have printed it themselves. Now by these expurgatory tables what they have done is known to all learned men. In S. Chrysostom's works printed at Basil, these words, 'The church is not built upon the man, but upon the faith,' are commanded to be blotted out; and these, 'There is no merit but what is given us by Christ;' and yet these words are in his sermon upon Pentecost, and the former words are in his first homily upon that of S. John, "Ye are my friends," &c. The like they have done to him in many other places, and to S. Ambrose, and to S. Austin, and to them all[p], insomuch that Ludovicus Saurius, the corrector of the press at Lyons, shewed and complained of it to Junius, that he was forced to cancellate or blot out many sayings of S. Ambrose in that edition of his works which was printed at Lyons MDLIX. So that what they say on occasion of Bertram's book, "In the old catholic writers we suffer very many errors, and extenuate and excuse them; and finding out some commentary, we feign some convenient sense when they are opposed in disputations," they do indeed practise, but esteem it not sufficient; for the words which make against them they wholly leave out of their editions. Nay they correct the very tables or indices made by the printers or correctors; insomuch that out of one of Froben's indices they have commanded these words to be blotted, "The use of images forbidden;" "The eucharist no sacrifice, but the memory of a sacrifice;" "Works, although they do not justify, yet are necessary to salvation;" "Marriage is granted to all that will not contain;" "Venial sins damn;" "The dead saints after this life cannot help us." Nay, out of the index of S. Austin's works by Claudius Chevallonius at Paris MDXXXI., there is a very strange *deleatur, Dele, Solus Deus adorandus*[q]; that 'God alone is to be worshipped,' is commanded to be blotted out, as being a dangerous doctrine. These instances may serve instead of multitudes which might be brought, of their corrupting the witnesses and razing the records of antiquity, that the errors and novelties of the church of Rome might not be so easily reproved. Now if the fathers were not against them, what need these arts? Why should they use them thus? Their own expurgatory indices are infinite testimony against them, both that they do so, and that they need it.

But besides these things, we have thought it fit to represent in one aspect some of their chief doctrines of difference from the church of England, and make it evident that they are indeed new, and

[p] Sixtus Senensis, epist. dedicat. ad Pium Quin. laudat pontificem in hæc verba, Expurgari et emaculari curasti omnium catholicorum scriptorum ac præcipue veterum patrum scripta. [ad init. tom. i.]

[q] Index expurgator. Madritii, 1612. in Indice libror. expurgatorum, p. 39.

brought into the church, first by way of opinion, and afterwards by power, and at last by their own authority decreed into laws and articles.

§ 2. They innovate in pretending power to make new articles.

FIRST, we allege that this very power of making new articles is a novelty, and expressly against the doctrine of the primitive church; and we prove it, first, by the words of the apostle[r], saying, "If we, or an angel from heaven, shall preach unto you any other gospel," viz., in whole or in part, for there is the same reason of them both, "than that which we have preached, let him be anathema:" and secondly, by the sentence of the fathers in the third general council, that at Ephesus[s], "That it should not be lawful for any man to publish or compose another faith or creed than that which was defined by the Nicene council; and that whosoever shall dare to compose or offer any such to any persons willing to be converted from paganism, judaism, or heresy, if they were bishops or clerks, they should be deposed, if laymen, they should be accursed." And yet in the church of Rome faith and christianity increase like the moon; Bromyard complained of it long since, and the mischief increases daily. They have now a new article of faith ready for the stamp, which may very shortly become necessary to salvation; we mean, that of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin Mary. Whether the pope be above a council or no, we are not sure whether it be an article of faith amongst them or not; it is very near one if it be not. Bellarmine[t] would fain have us believe that the council of Constance approving the bull of P. Martin the fifth, declared for the pope's supremacy. But John Gerson[u], who was at the council, says that the council did abate those heights to which flattery had advanced the pope; and that before that council they spoke such great things of the pope, which afterwards moderate men durst not speak; but yet some others spake them so confidently before it, that he that should then have spoken to the contrary would hardly have escaped the note of heresy: and that these men continued the same pretensions even after the council. But the council of Basil decreed for the council against the pope; and the council of Lateran under Leo the tenth, decreed for the pope against the council. So that it is cross and pile[x]; and whether for a penny, when it can be done; it is now a known case, it shall become an article of faith. But for the present it is a probationary article, and according to Bellarmine's[y] expression is *fere de fide*, it is 'almost an article of faith;'

[r] [Gal. i. 8.]
[s] Part. ii. act. 6. [tom. i. col. 1525.]
[t] [? Vid. De concil. auctor., lib. ii. cap. 19. tom. ii. col. 130.]
[u] De potest. eccles., consil. 12. [lege consid. 12. tom. i. col. 135.]
[x] [i. e. 'head or tail.' Meaning of 'pile' uncertain; but see Ruding, in A.D. 1304.]
[y] De concil. auctor., lib. ii. c. 17. sect. 1. [tom. ii. col. 120 A.]

they want a little age, and then they may go alone. But the council of Trent[z] hath produced a strange new article, but it is *sine controversia credendum*, 'it must be believed, and must not be controverted,' that 'although the ancient fathers did give the communion to infants, yet they did not believe it necessary to salvation.' Now this being a matter of fact, whether they did or did not believe it, every man that reads their writings can be able to inform himself; and besides that it is strange that this should be determined by a council, and determined against evident truth, (it being notorious that divers of the fathers did say it is necessary to salvation,) the decree itself is beyond all bounds of modesty, and a strange pretension of empire over the christian belief. But we proceed to other instances.

§ 3. They did innovate in their doctrine of indulgences.

THE Roman doctrine of indulgences was the first occasion of the great change and reformation of the western churches begun by the preachings of Martin Luther and others; and besides that it grew to that intolerable abuse that it became a shame to itself and a reproach to christendom, it was also so very an innovation that their great Antoninus[a] confesses that "concerning them we have nothing expressly, either in the scriptures, or in the sayings of the ancient doctors:" and the same is affirmed by Sylvester Prierias[b]. Bishop Fisher of Rochester[c] says that in the beginning of the church there was no use of indulgences; and that they began after the people were a while affrighted with the torments of purgatory; and many of the schoolmen confess that the use of indulgences began in the time of pope Alexander the third, towards the end of the twelfth century: but Agrippa[d] imputes the beginning of them to Boniface the eighth, who lived in the reign of king Edward the first of England, thirteen hundred years after Christ. But that in his time the first jubilee was kept, we are assured by Crantzius[e]. This pope lived and died with great infamy[f], and therefore was not likely from himself to transfer much honour and reputation to the new institution. But that about this time indulgences began, is more than probable; much before, it is certain they were not. For in the whole canon law written by Gratian, and in the sentences of Peter Lombard, there is nothing spoken of indulgences. Now because they lived in the time of pope Alexander the third, if he had introduced them, and much rather if they had been as ancient as S. Gregory (as some vainly and

[z] Sess. xxi. c. 4. [tom. x. col. 121.]

[a] Part. i. sum. tit. 10. c. 3. [init.]

[b] [Summ. Sylvestr. sub voc. 'Indulgentia,' § 1. part. ii. p. 24. Antv. 1581.]

[c] In art. xviii. Luther. [col. 497.]

[d] [De incert. scient., cap. lxi. part. ii. p. 147. 8vo. Lugd. s. a.]

[e] [Saxon., lib. viii. cap. 36. tom. ii. p. 224.]

[f] Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, moriebatur ut canis, de eo sæpius dictum. —[vid. Carranz., summ. concil., p. 818. Rothom. 1641.]

weakly pretend, from no greater authority than their own legends) it is probable that these great men, writing bodies of divinity and law, would have made mention of so considerable a point, and so great a part of the Roman religion, as things are now ordered. If they had been doctrines of the church then as they are now, it is certain they must have come under their cognizance and discourses.

Now lest the Roman emissaries should deceive any of the good sons of the church, we think it fit to acquaint them that in the primitive church [g], when the bishops imposed severe penances, and that they were almost quite performed, and a great cause of pity intervened, or danger of death, or an excellent repentance, or that the martyrs interceded, the bishop did sometimes indulge the penitent, and relax some of the remaining parts of his penance, and according to the example of S. Paul in the case of the incestuous Corinthian, gave them ease, lest they should be swallowed up with too much sorrow. But the Roman doctrine of indulgences is wholly another thing; nothing of it but the abused name remains. For in the church of Rome they now pretend that there is an infinite of degrees of Christ's merits and satisfaction beyond what is necessary for the salvation of His servants: and (for fear Christ should not have enough) the saints have a surplusage of merits, or at least of satisfactions more than they can spend, or themselves do need [h]: and out of these the church hath made her a treasure, a kind of poor-man's box; and out of this, a power to take as much as they list to apply to the poor souls in purgatory; who because they did not satisfy for their venial sins, or perform all their penances which were imposed, or which might have been imposed, and which were due to be paid to God, for the temporal pains reserved upon them, after He had forgiven them the guilt of their deadly sins, are forced sadly to roar in pains not inferior to the pains of hell, excepting only that they are not eternal. That this is the true state of their article of indulgences, we appeal to Bellarmine [i].

Now concerning their new foundation of indulgences, the first stone of it was laid by pope Clement the sixth, in his Extravagant *Unigenitus, De pœnitentiis et remissionibus*, A.D. MCCCL. This constitution was published fifty years after the first jubilee, and was a new device to bring in customers to Rome at the second jubilee, which was kept in Rome in this pope's time. What ends of profit

[g] Tertull. ad Martyr., cap. i. [p. 136.]—S. Cyprian., lib. iii. ep. 15. apud Pamelium 11. [Fell, xv. p. 34.]—Concil. Nicæn. i. can. 12. [tom. i. col. 330.]—Concil. Ancyr. can. 5. [tom. i. col. 273.]—Concil. Laodicen. can. 2. [tom. i. col. 782.]—S. Basil. in ep. canonicis; habentur in Nomocanone Photii, can. lxxiii. [tit. ix. cap. 39. tom. ii. p. 1025. bibl. jur. canon. G. Voelli, fol. Par. 1661.]

[h] Communis opinio dd. tam theologorum, quam canonicorum, quod sunt ex abundantia meritorum quæ ultrà mensuram demeritorum suorum sancti sustinuerunt, et Christi.—[Angel. de Clavasio,] Sum. angel. v. Indulg. 9. [fol. 141. Argentor. 1513.]

[i] Lib. i. de indulgent. capp. 2 et 3. [tom. iii. col. 1493 sqq.]

and interest it served we are not much concerned to enquire; but this we know, that it had not yet passed into a catholic doctrine, for it was disputed against by Franciscus de Mayronis[k], and Durandus[l], not long before this Extravagant; and that it was not rightly formed to their purposes till the stirs in Germany, raised upon the occasion of indulgences, made Leo the tenth set his clerks on work to study the point and make something of it.

But as to the thing itself: it is so wholly new, so merely devised and forged by themselves, so newly created out of nothing, from great mistakes of scripture and dreams of shadows from antiquity; that we are to admonish our charges that they cannot reasonably expect many sayings of the primitive doctors against them, any more than against the new fancies of the quakers, which were born but yesterday. "That which is not, cannot be numbered[m];" and that which was not, could not be confuted. But the perfect silence of antiquity in this whole matter is an abundant demonstration that this new nothing was made in the later laboratories of Rome. For as Durandus said[n], the holy fathers, Ambrose, Hilary, Hierome, Augustine, speak nothing of indulgences. And whereas it is said that S. Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, gave indulgences at Rome in the stations[o]; Magister Angularis who lived about two hundred years since, says he never read of any such any where; and it is certain there is no such thing in the writings of S. Gregory, nor in any history of that age or any other that is authentic: and we could never see any history pretended for it by the Roman writers, but a legend of Ledgerus brought to us the other day by Surius: which is so ridiculous and weak, that even their own parties dare not avow it as true story; and therefore they are fain to make use of Thomas Aquinas upon the sentences, and Altisiodorensis, for story and record. And it were strange that if this power of giving indulgences to take off punishment reserved by God after the sin is pardoned, were given by Christ to His church, that no one of the ancient doctors should tell any thing of it: insomuch that there is no one writer of authority and credit, not the more ancient doctors we have named[p], nor those who were much later, Rupertus Tuitiensis, Anselm, or S. Bernard, ever took notice of it; but it was a doctrine wholly unknown to the church for about twelve hundred years after Christ; and Card. Cajetan told pope Adrian the sixth that to him that readeth the decretals it plainly appears that an indulgence is nothing else but an absolution from that penance which the confessor hath imposed; and therefore can be nothing of that which is now-a-days pretended.

True it is that the canonical penances were about the time of Bur-

[k] In iv. lib. sent. dist. 19. q. 2. [fol. 206 b.]

[l] Ibid., dist. xx. q. 3. [pp. 791, 2.]

[m] [vid. Eccles. i. 15.]

[n] Ubi supra.

[o] [Vid. Polyd. Vergil. de rer. inventor., lib. viii. c. 1. p. 229, de pp. Gregor. et Bonifac.]

[p] ['have already named' A.]

chard[q] lessened and altered by commutations; and the ancient discipline of the church in imposing penances was made so loose that the indulgence was more than the imposition, and began not to be an act of mercy but remissness, and absolution without amends. It became a trumpet and a levy for the holy war in pope Urban the second's time, for he gave a plenary indulgence and remission of all sins to them that should go and fight against the Saracens. And yet no man could tell how much they were the better for these indulgences: for concerning the value of indulgences, the complaint is both old and doubtful, said pope Adrian[r]; and he cites a famous gloss, which tells of four opinions all catholic, and yet vastly differing in this particular; but the Summa Angelica[s] reckons seven opinions concerning what that penalty is which is taken off by indulgences: no man could then tell; and the point was but in the infancy, and since that they have made it what they please: but it is at last turned into a doctrine, and they have devised new propositions, as well as they can, to make sense of it; and yet it is a very strange thing; a 'solution,' not 'an absolution,' (it is the distinction of Bellarmine,) that is, the sinner is let to go free without punishment in this world or in the world to come; and in the end it grew to be that which christendom could not suffer, a heap of doctrines without grounds of scripture or catholic tradition. And not only so, but they have introduced a way of remitting sins that Christ and His apostles taught not; a way destructive to[t] the repentance and remission of sins which was preached in the name of Jesus: it brought into the church false and fantastic hopes, 'a hope that will make men ashamed;' a hope that does not glorify the merits and perfect satisfaction of Christ; a doctrine expressly dishonourable to the full and free pardon given us by God through Jesus Christ; a practice that supposes a new bunch of keys given to the church, besides that which the apostles received to open and shut the kingdom of heaven; a doctrine that introduces pride among the saints, and advances the opinion of their works beyond the measures of Christ, who taught us that 'when we have done all that is commanded, we are unprofitable servants,' and therefore certainly cannot supererogate[u], or do more than what is infinitely recompensed by the kingdom of glory, to which all our doings and 'all our sufferings are not worthy to be compared,' especially since the greatest saint cannot but say with David, "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, for in Thy sight no flesh living can be justified." It is a practice that hath turned penances into a fair, and the court of conscience into a Lombard[v], and the labours of love into the labours

[q] [Ob. A.D. MXXVI.]

[r] In lib. iv. sent. [fol. 159. ed. fol. Basil. 1540.]

[s] Verb. 'Indulgentiæ.' [f. cxl.]

[t] ['of' A.]

[u] Ut quid non prævides tibi in die judicii, quando nemo poterit per alium excusari, vel defendi; sed unusquisque sufficiens onus erit sibi ipsi.—Th. a Kempis, lib. i. de imit. [c. 24.]

[v] [i. e. 'a bank;' see Nares's Glossary.]

of pilgrimages, superstitious and useless wanderings from place to place; and religion into vanity, and our hope in God to a confidence in man, and our fears of hell to be a mere scare-crow to rich and confident sinners: and at last it was frugally employed by a great pope to raise a portion for a lady, the wife of Franceschetto Cibo, bastard son of pope Innocent the eighth, and the merchandise itself became the stakes of gamesters at dice and cards, and men did vile actions that they might win indulgences; by gaming making their way to heaven easier.

Now although the holy fathers of the church could not be supposed in direct terms to speak against this new doctrine of indulgences, because in their days it was not, yet they have said many things which do perfectly destroy this new doctrine and these unchristian practices. For besides that they teach repentance wholly reducing us to a good life; a faith that entirely relies upon Christ's merits and satisfactions; a hope wholly depending upon the plain promises of the gospel, a service perfectly consisting in the works of a good conscience, a labour of love, a religion of justice and piety and moral virtues; they do also expressly teach that pilgrimages to holy places and such like inventions, which are now the earnings and price of indulgences, are not required of us, and are not the way of salvation, as is to be seen in an oration made by S. Gregory Nyssen[x], wholly against pilgrimages to Jerusalem; in S. Chrysostom[y], S. Augustine[z], and S. Bernard[a]. The sense of these fathers is this, in the words of S. Augustine, "God said not, Go to the east and seek righteousness, sail to the west that you may receive indulgence; but indulge thy brother, and it shall be indulged to thee: you have need to enquire for no other indulgence to thy sins; if thou wilt retire into the closet of thy heart, there thou shalt find it." That is, all our hopes of indulgence is from God through Jesus Christ, and is wholly to be obtained by faith in Christ, and perseverance in good works, and entire mortification of all our sins.

To conclude this particular. Though the gains which the church of Rome makes of indulgences be a heap almost as great as the abuses themselves, yet the greatest patrons of this new doctrine could never give any certainty or reasonable comfort to the conscience of any person that could enquire into it. They never durst determine whether they were absolutions or compensations; whether they only take off the penances actually imposed by the confessor, or potentially, and all that which might have been imposed; whether all that may be paid in the court of men, or all that can or will be required by the laws and severity of God. Neither can they speak rationally to the great question, whether the treasure of the church

[x] [tom. iii. p. 651 sqq.]
[y] Homil. i. in ep. ad Philem. [tom. xi. p. 778.]
[z] Serm. de martyr. [serm. ccxxv. tom. v. append. col. 371 G.]
[a] Serm. i. de Advent. [col. 4 M.]

consists of the satisfactions of Christ only, or of the saints? For if of saints, it will by all men be acknowledged to be a defeasible estate, and being finite and limited, will be spent sooner than the needs of the church can be served; and if therefore it be necessary to add the merits and satisfaction of Christ, since they are an ocean of infinity, and can supply more than all our needs, to what purpose is it to add the little minutes and droppings of the saints? They cannot tell whether they may be given, if the receiver do nothing or give nothing for them; and though this last particular could better be resolved by the court of Rome than by the church of Rome, yet all the doctrines which built up the new fabric of indulgences, were so dangerous to determine, so improbable, so unreasonable, or at best so uncertain and invidious, that according to the advice of the bishop of Modena, the council of Trent left all the doctrines and all the cases of conscience quite alone, and slubbered the whole matter both in the question of indulgences and purgatory, in general and recommendatory terms; affirming that the power of giving indulgence is in the church, and that the use is wholesome: and that all hard and subtle questions, viz., concerning purgatory, (which although, if it be at all, it is a fire, yet is the fuel of indulgences, and maintains them wholly,) all that is suspected to be false, and all that is uncertain, and whatsoever is curious and superstitious, scandalous, or for filthy lucre, be laid aside. And in the mean time they tell us not what is and what is not superstitious, nor what is scandalous, nor what they mean by the general term of indulgence; and they establish no doctrine, neither curious nor incurious, nor durst they decree the very foundation of this whole matter, 'The church's treasure;' neither durst they meddle with it, but left it as they found it, and continued in the abuses, and proceeded in the practice, and set their doctors as well as they can to defend all the new and curious and scandalous questions, and to uphold the gainful trade. But however it be with them, the doctrine itself is proved to be a direct innovation in the matter of christian religion, and that was it which we have undertaken to demonstrate.

§ 4. In their doctrine and practice about purgatory.

THE doctrine of purgatory is the mother of indulgences, and the fear of that hath introduced these: for the world happened to be abused like the countryman in the fable, who being told he was likely to fall into a delirium in his feet, was advised for remedy to take the juice of cotton; he feared a disease that was not, and looked for a cure as ridiculous. But if the patent of indulgences be not from Christ and His apostles, if upon this ground the primitive church never built, the superstructures of Rome must fall; they can be no stronger than their supporter. Now then in order to the proving the doctrine of purgatory to be an innovation,

I. We consider, that the doctrines upon which it is pretended

reasonable, are all dubious, and disputable at the very best. Such are,

1. Their distinction of sins mortal and venial in their own nature.

2. That the taking away the guilt of sins does not suppose the taking away the obligation to punishment; that is, that when a man's sin is pardoned, he may be punished without the guilt of that sin as justly as with it; as if the guilt could be any thing else but an obligation to punishment for having sinned: which is a proposition of which no wise man can make sense; but it is certain that it is expressly against the word of God, who promises upon our repentance so to take away our sins that 'He will remember them no more[b].' And so did Christ to all those to whom He gave pardon; for He did not take our faults and guilt on Him any other way but by curing our evil hearts, and taking away the punishment[c]. And this was so perfectly believed by the primitive church, that they always made the penances and satisfaction to be undergone before they gave absolution; and after absolution they never imposed or obliged to punishment, unless it were to sick persons, of whose recovery they despaired not: of them indeed, in case they had not finished their canonical punishments, they expected they should perform what was enjoined them formerly. But because all sin is a blot to a man's soul, and a foul stain to his reputation; we demand, in what does this stain consist, in the guilt or in the punishment? If it be said that it consists in the punishment, then what does the guilt signify, when the removing of it does neither remove the stain nor the punishment, which both remain and abide together? But if the stain and the guilt be all one, or always together, then when the guilt is taken away, there can no stain remain; and if so, what need is there any more of purgatory[d]? For since this is pretended to be necessary only lest any stained or unclean thing should enter into heaven; if the guilt and the stain be removed, what uncleanness can there be left behind? Indeed Simon Magus (as Epiphanius reports, *hæres.* xx.[e]) did teach that after the death of the body there remained ψυχῶν κάθαρσις, 'a purgation of souls:' but whether the church of Rome will own him for an authentic doctor, themselves can best tell.

3. It relies upon this also, that God requires of us a full exchange of penances and satisfactions, which must regularly be paid here or hereafter, even by them who are pardoned here; which if it were true, we were all undone.

[b] [Ezek. xviii. 22.]

[c] Neque ab his quos sanas lente languor abscedit, sed illico quem restituis ex integro convalescit; quia consummatum est quod facis, et perfectum quod largiris.—S. Cyprian. de cœna Domini; vel potius Arnoldus. [ad calc. Cyprian., p. 43.]—P. Gelasius de vincul. anathem. negat pœnam deberi culpæ, si culpa corrigatur. [in concill. reg., tom. x. p. 163.]

[d] Delet gratia finalis peccatum veniale in ipsa dissolutione corporis et animæ. ... Hoc ab antiquis dictum est.—Albert. Mag. in compend. theol. verit., lib. iii. c. 13. [tom. xiii. p. 60.]

[e] [al. xxi. § 4. tom. i. p. 58 D.]

4. That the death of Christ, His merits and satisfaction do not procure for us a full remission before we die, nor (as it may happen) of a long time after.

All which being propositions new and uncertain, invented by the school divines, and brought *ex post facto*, to dress this opinion, and make it to seem reasonable; and being the products of ignorance concerning remission of sins by grace, of the righteousness of faith, and the infinite value of Christ's death, must needs lay a great prejudice of novelty upon the doctrine itself, which but by these cannot be supported. But to put it past suspicion and conjectures,

II. Roffensis[f] and Polydore Vergil[g] affirm, that whoso searcheth the writings of the Greek fathers, shall find that none, or very rarely any one of them, ever makes mention of purgatory; and that the Latin fathers did not all believe it, but by degrees came to entertain opinions of it: but for the catholic church, it was but lately known to her.

But before we say any more in this question, we are to premonish that there are two great causes of their mistaken pretensions in this article, from Antiquity.

The first is, that the ancient churches in their offices, and the fathers in their writings, did teach and practise respectively, Prayer for the dead. Now because the church of Rome does so too, and more than so, relates her prayers to the doctrine of purgatory, and for the souls there detained; her doctors vainly suppose that whenever the holy fathers speak of prayer for the dead, that they conclude for purgatory; which vain conjecture is as false as it is unreasonable. For it is true the fathers did pray for the dead, but how? That God would 'shew them mercy,' and 'hasten the resurrection,' and 'give a blessed sentence in the great day.' But then it is also to be remembered that they made prayers and offered for those who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory, even for the patriarchs and prophets, for the apostles and evangelists, for martyrs and confessors, and especially for the blessed Virgin Mary; so we find it in Epiphanius[h], S. Cyril[i], and in the canon of the Greeks, and so it is acknowledged by their own. Durandus[j]; and in their mass-book anciently they prayed for the soul of S. Leo; of which because by their latter doctrines they grew ashamed, they have changed the prayer for him into a prayer to God, by the intercession of S. Leo, in behalf of themselves; so by their new doctrine making him an intercessor for us, who by their old doctrine was supposed to need our prayers to intercede for him; of which pope Innocent[k] being asked a reason, makes a most pitiful excuse.

Upon what accounts the fathers did pray for the saints departed,

[f] Art. xviii. contr. Luther. [col. 496.]
[g] Invent. rerum, lib. viii. cap. 1. [p. 229.]
[h] Hæres. lxxv. [tom. i. p. 911.]
[i] Cateches. mystag. v. [§ 9. p. 328 A.]
[j] De ritibus, lib. ii. c. 35. [p. 619.]
[k] Innocent. P., De celebr. missar., cap. 'Cum Marthæ.' [tom. ii. p. 764.]

and indeed generally for all, it is not now seasonable to discourse; but to say this only, that such general prayers for the dead as those above reckoned, the church of England[l] did never condemn by any express article, but left it in the middle; and by her practice declares her faith of the resurrection of the dead, and her interest in the communion of saints, and that the saints departed are a portion of the catholic church, parts and members of the body of Christ; but expressly condemns the doctrine of purgatory, and consequently all prayers for the dead relating to it. And how vainly the church of Rome from prayer for the dead infers the belief of purgatory, every man may satisfy himself by seeing the writings of the fathers, where they cannot meet with one collect or clause for praying for the delivery of souls out of that imaginary place. Which thing is so certain, that in the very Roman offices, we mean the vigils said for the dead, which[m] are psalms and lessons taken from the scriptures, speaking of the miseries of this world, repentance, and reconciliation with God, the bliss after this life of them that die in Christ, and the resurrection of the dead, and in the anthems, versicles, and responses, there are prayers made recommending to God the soul of the newly defunct, praying 'he may be freed from hell and eternal death, that in the day of judgment he be not judged and condemned according to his sins, but that he may appear among the elect in the glory of the resurrection;' but not one word of purgatory or its pains.

The other cause of their mistake is, that the fathers often speak of a 'fire of purgation' after this life; but such a one that is not to be kindled until the day of judgment, and it is such a fire that destroys the doctrine of the intermedial purgatory. We suppose that Origen was the first that spoke plainly of it; and so S. Ambrose follows him in the opinion (for it was no more); so does S. Basil, S. Hilary, S. Hierome, and Lactantius, as their words plainly prove, as they are cited by Sixtus Senensis, affirming that all men, Christ only excepted, shall be burned with the fire of the world's conflagration at the day of judgment; even the blessed Virgin herself is to pass through this fire. There was also another doctrine very generally received by the fathers, which greatly destroys the Roman purgatory; Sixtus Senensis[n] says, and he says very true, that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Victorinus Martyr, Prudentius, S. Chrysostom, Arethas, Euthymius, and S. Bernard, did all affirm that before the day of judgment the souls

[l] Apologia confessionis Augustanæ expresse approbat clausulam illam εὐκτικὴν, 'Deus det ei pacatam quietem, et beatam ad vitam resurrectionem.'

[m] ['in which' A.]

[n] Lib. vi. Bibl. Sanct. annot. 345. [tom. ii. pp. 962 sq.]—Bernardum excusandum arbitror ob ingentem numerum illustrium ecclesiæ patrum, qui ante ipsum huic dogmati auctoritatem suo testimonio visi sunt præbuisse; præter citatos enumerat S. Jacobum apostolum, Irenæum, Clementem Romanum, Augustinum, Theodoretum, Œcumenium, Theophylactum, et Johannem xxii. pontif. Rom., quam sententiam non modo docuit et declaravit, sed ab omnibus teneri mandavit, ut ait Adrianus P. in iv. lib. sent. in fine quæst. de sacram. confirmationis. [fol. 26 b. ed. fol. Basil. 1540.]

of men are kept in secret receptacles, reserved unto the sentence of the great day, and that before then no man receives according to his works done in this life. We do not interpose in this opinion to say that it is true or false, probable or improbable; for these fathers intended it not as a matter of faith, or necessary belief, so far as we find. But we observe from hence that if their opinion be true, then the doctrine of purgatory is false. If it be not true, yet the Roman doctrine of purgatory, which is inconsistent with this so generally received opinion of the fathers, is at least new, no catholic doctrine, not believed in the primitive church; and therefore the Roman writers are much troubled to excuse the fathers in this article, and to reconcile them to some seeming concord with their new doctrine.

But besides these things, it is certain that the doctrine of purgatory before the day of judgment, in S. Augustine's time was not the doctrine of the church; it was not the catholic doctrine, for himself did doubt of it; "Whether it be so or not, it may be enquired; and possibly it may be found so, and possibly it may never;" so S. Augustine[o]. In his time therefore it was no doctrine of the church, and it continued much longer in uncertainty; for in the time of Otho Frisingensis[p], who lived in the year MCXLVI, it was gotten no further than to a *Quidam asserunt*, 'some do affirm that there is a place of purgatory after death.' And although it is not to be denied but that many of the ancient doctors had strange opinions concerning purgations, and fires, and intermedial states, and common receptacles, and liberations of souls and spirits after this life, yet we can truly affirm it, and can never be convinced to err in this affirmation, that there is not any one of the ancients within five hundred years whose opinion in this article throughout the church of Rome at this day follows.

But the people of the Roman communion have been principally led into a belief of purgatory by their fear and by their credulity; they have been softened and enticed into this belief by perpetual tales and legends, by which they love to be abused. To this purpose their priests and friars have made great use of the apparition of S. Hierome after death to Eusebius, commanding him to lay his sack upon the corps of three dead men, that they arising from death might confess purgatory, which formerly they had denied. The story is written in an epistle imputed to S. Cyril; but the ill luck of it was, that S. Hierome outlived S. Cyril, and wrote his life, and so confuted that story; but all is one for that, they believe it never the less. But there are enough to help it out; and if they be not firmly true[q], yet if they be firmly believed, all is well enough. In the

[o] Enchirid., cap. lxix. [tom. vi. col. 222 F.]—De civ. Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 26. [tom. vii. col. 647 sqq.]

[p] Lib. viii. Chron. cap. 26. [p. 172. ed. fol. Basil. 1569.]

[q] Hæc descripsimus, ut tamen in iis nulla velut canonica constituatur auctoritas. [vid. S. Aug.] lib. de viii. quæstt. Dulcitii, c. 1. [quæst. 3. tom. vi. col. 131 E.]

Speculum exemplorum[r] it is said, that a certain priest in an ecstasy saw the soul of Constantinus Turritanus in the eaves of his house tormented with frosts and cold rains, and afterwards climbing up to heaven upon a shining pillar. And a certain monk saw some souls roasted upon spits like pigs, and some devils basting them with scalding lard; but a while after they were carried to a cool place, and so proved purgatory. But bishop Theobald[s] standing upon a piece of ice to cool his feet, was nearer purgatory than he was aware, and was convinced of it when he heard a poor soul telling him that under that ice he was tormented, and that he should be delivered if for thirty days continual he would say for him thirty masses; and some such thing was seen by Conrade and Udalric[t] in a pool of water. For the place of purgatory was not yet resolved on, till S. Patrick had the key of it delivered to him; which when one Nicholas borrowed of him, he saw as strange and true things there as ever Virgil dreamed of in his purgatory, or Cicero in his dream of Scipio, or Plato in his Gorgias or Phædo, who indeed are the surest authors to prove purgatory. But because to preach false stories was forbidden by the council of Trent, there are yet remaining more certain arguments, even revelations made by angels, and the testimony of S. Odilio himself, who heard the devil complain (and he had great reason surely) that the souls of dead men were daily snatched out of his hands by the alms and prayers of the living; and the sister of S. Damianus being too much pleased with hearing of a piper, told her brother that she was to be tormented for fifteen days in purgatory.

Wē do not think that the wise men in the church of Rome believe these narratives, for if they did they were not wise; but this we know, that by such stories the people were brought into a belief of it; and having served their turn of them, the master-builders used them as false arches and centries, taking them away when the parts of the building were made firm and stable by authority. But even the better sort of them do believe them, or else they do worse, for they urge and cite the dialogues of S. Gregory, the oration of S. John Damascene *De defunctis*, the sermons of S. Augustine upon the feast of the commemoration of All-souls (which nevertheless was instituted after S. Augustine's death) and divers other citations, which the Greeks in their apology call διαφθορὰς καὶ παρεμβολὰς αἱρετιζόντων, 'the holds and the castles, the corruptions and insinuations of heretical persons.' But in this they are the less to be blamed, because better arguments than they have no men are tied to make use of.

But against this way of proceeding we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that, besides that the scriptures[u] expressly

[r] Dist. iii. exem. 3. [leg. 31. p. 205.] Exempl. 60. [p. 234. ed. 4to. Duac. 1603.]

[s] Histor. Lomb. [al. Legenda aurea, per Jacobum de Voragine; f. cccix. b.—fol. Westmynster, W. de Worde, 1498.]

[t] Legend. 185.

[u] [Deut. xviii. 11, &c.—Isa. viii. 19.]

forbid us to enquire of the dead for truth; the holy doctors of the church, particularly Tertullian, S. Athanasius, S. Chrysostom, Isidore, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear[v], and bring many reasons to prove that it is unfitting they should; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors, and the devils under that pretence might easily abuse the world with notice and revelations of their own; and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially to hear that prophet whom the Lord our God hath raised up amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to His church.

But because we are now representing the novelty of this doctrine, and proving that anciently it was not the doctrine of the church, nor at all esteemed a matter of faith whether there was or was not any such place or state, we add this, that the Greek church did always dissent from the Latins in this particular, since they had forged this new doctrine in the laboratories of Rome, and in the council of Basil published an apology directly disapproving the Roman doctrine of purgatory. How afterwards they were pressed in the council of Florence by pope Eugenius, and by their necessity; how unwillingly they consented, how ambiguously they answered, how they protested against having that half consent put into the instrument of union; how they were yet constrained to it by their chiefs, being obnoxious to the pope; how a while after they dissolved that union, and to this day refuse to own this doctrine, are things so notoriously known that they need no further declaration.

We add this only, to make the conviction more manifest; we have thought fit to annex some few but very clear testimonies of Antiquity, expressly destroying the new doctrine of purgatory. S. Cyprian[w] saith, *Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam locus pœnitentiæ est, nullus satisfactionis effectus,* 'when we are gone from hence, there is no place left for repentance, and no effect of satisfaction.' S. Dionysius[x] calls the extremity of death, τέλος ἱερῶν ἀγώνων, 'the end of all our agonies;' and affirms that 'the holy men of God rest in joy and in never failing hopes, and are come to the end of their holy combats.' S. Justin Martyr[y] affirms that "when the soul is departed from the body, εὐθὺς γίνεται, presently there is a separation made of the just and unjust; the unjust are by angels borne into places which they have deserved, but the souls of the just into paradise, where they have the conversation of angels and archangels." S. Ambrose[z] saith that "Death is a haven of rest, and makes not our condition worse; but according as it finds every man, so it reserves him to the judgment that is to come." The same is

[v] Vide Maldonat. in xvi. cap. S. Lucæ, [§ 98. col. 1139 D.]

[w] Ad Demetrian. sect. 16. [p. 196.]

[x] Eccles. hier., c. vii. [p. 139 C.]

[y] Quæst. et respons. ad orth. qu. lxxv. Justino imputat. [p. 470 A.]

[z] De bono mortis, cap. 4. [tom. i. coll. 395, 6.]

affirmed by S. Hilary[a], S. Macarius[b], and divers others; they speak but of two states after death, of the just and the unjust; these are placed in horrible regions reserved to the judgment of the great day, the other have their souls carried by choirs of angels into places of rest. S. Gregory Nazianzen[c] expressly affirms that "after this life there is no purgation;" "For after Christ's ascension into heaven the souls of all saints are with Christ," saith Gennadius[d]; "and going from the body they go to Christ, expecting the resurrection of their body, with it to pass into the perfection of perpetual bliss;" and this he delivers as the doctrine of the catholic church. "In what place soever a man is taken at his death, of light or darkness, of wickedness or virtue, ἐν ἐκείνῳ μένει τῷ βαθμῷ καὶ τάξει, in the same order and in the same degree; either in light, with the just, and with Christ the great king; or in darkness with the unjust and with the prince of darkness," said Olympiodorus[e]. And lastly, we recite the words of S. Leo[f], one of the popes of Rome, speaking of the penitents who had not performed all their penances, "But if any one of them for whom we pray unto the Lord, being interrupted by any obstacles, falls from the gift of the present indulgence" (viz., of ecclesiastical absolution) "and before he arrive at the appointed remedies" (that is, before he hath performed his penances or satisfactions) "ends his temporal life, that which remaining in the body he hath not received, when he is divested of his body he cannot obtain." He knew not of the new devices of paying in purgatory what they paid not here; and of being cleansed there, who were not clean here: and how these words, or any of the precedent, are reconcilable with the doctrines[g] of purgatory, hath not yet entered into our imagination.

To conclude this particular; we complain greatly that this doctrine, which in all the parts of it is uncertain, and in the late additions to it in Rome is certainly false, is yet with all the faults of it passed into an article of faith by the council of Trent. But besides what hath been said, it will be more than sufficient to oppose against it these clearest words of scripture, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; even so saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours:" if all the dead that die in Christ be at rest, and are in no more affliction or labours, then the doctrine of the horrible pains of purgatory is as false as it is uncomfortable. To these words we add the saying of Christ, and we rely upon it, "He that heareth My word, and believeth on Him that sent Me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but passeth from death unto life[h]." If so, then not into the judgment of purgatory: if the

[a] In psal. ii. [col. 52 D.]
[b] Homil. xxii. [p. 87 sq.]
[c] Orat. v. in plagam grandinis. [al. orat. xvi. tom. i. p. 305 A.] et orat. xlii. in Pasch. [p. 858 A.]
[d] De eccles. dogmat., cap. lxxix. [al. 46.]
[e] In Eccles., cap. xi. [tom. ii. p. 670 C.—Bibl. vett. patr. per Front. Duc. fol. Par. 1625.]
[f] Epist. lix. [lege xci. p. 161.]
[g] ['Roman doctrines' A.]
[h] [Rev. xiv. 13.]

servant of Christ passeth from death to life, then not from death to the terminable pains of a part of hell. They that have eternal life, suffer no intermedial punishment, judgment, or condemnation after death; for death and life are the whole progression, according to the doctrine of Christ, and Him we choose to follow.

§ 5. In their doctrine of Transubstantiation.

THE doctrine of Transubstantiation is so far from being primitive and apostolic, that we know the very time it began to be owned publicly for an opinion, and the very council in which it was said to be passed into a public doctrine, and by what arts it was promoted, and by what persons it was introduced.

For all the world knows that by their own parties, by Scotus[i], Ocham[j], Biel[k], Fisher bishop of Rochester[l], and divers others whom Bellarmine[m] calls most learned and most acute men, it was declared that the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the bible; that in the scriptures there is no place so express as (without the church's declaration) to compel us to admit of Transubstantiation, and therefore at least it is to be suspected of novelty. But further, we know it was but a disputable question in the ninth and tenth ages after Christ; that it was not pretended to be an article of faith till the Lateran council in the time of pope Innocent the third, twelve hundred years and more after Christ; that since that pretended[n] determination divers of the chiefest teachers of their own side have been no more satisfied of the ground of it than they were before, but still have publicly affirmed that the article is not expressed in scripture; particularly Johannes de Bassolis[o], cardinal Cajetan[p], and Melchior Canus[q], besides those above reckoned. And therefore if it was not expressed in scripture, it will be too clear that they made their articles of their own heads: for they could not declare it to be there, if it was not; and if it was there but obscurely, then it ought to be taught accordingly; and at most it could be but a probable doctrine, and not certain as an article of faith. But that we may put it past argument and probability, it is certain that as the doctrine was not taught in scripture expressly, so it was not at all taught as a catholic doctrine or an article of the faith by the primitive ages of the church.

Now for this we need no proof but the confession and acknowledgment of the greatest doctors of the church of Rome. Scotus

[i] In iv. lib. sent. d. 11. q. 3. [p. 618.]

[j] Ibid., q. 6. [But see 'Dissuasive,' part ii. book 2, sect. 3.]

[k] Lect. xl. in can. missæ. [fol. 85 sqq.]

[l] Cap. 1. contr. captiv. Babyl. [vid. p. 21, not. y, supra.]

[m] De euchar., lib. iii. cap. 23. sect. 'Secundo dicit.' [tom. iii. col. 752.]

[n] Venere tum quidem multa in consultationem, nec decerni tamen quicquam aperte potuit.—Platina in vita Innocent. III. [p. 216. 4to. Col. Ubior. 1600.]

[o] [p. 21. note f, supra.]

[p] Apud Suar., tom. iii. disp. 46. sect. 3. [p. 635.]

[q] Loc. com., lib. iii. cap. 3. fund. 2. [p. 151.]

says, that before the Lateran council, Transubstantiation was not an article of faith, as Bellarmine[r] confesses; and Henriquez[s] affirms that Scotus says it was not ancient; insomuch that Bellarmine accuses him of ignorance, saying he talked at that rate because he had not read the Roman council under pope Gregory the seventh, nor that consent of fathers which (to so little purpose) he had heaped together. *Rem transubstantiationis patres ne attigisse quidem,* said some of the English Jesuits in prison[t], 'the fathers have not so much as touched or meddled with the matter of Transubstantiation;' and in Peter Lombard's time it was so far from being an article of faith or a catholic doctrine, that they did not know whether it were true or no; and after he had collected the sentences of the fathers in that article, he confessed he could not tell whether there was any substantial change or no. His words are these[u], "If it be enquired what kind of conversion it is, whether it be formal or substantial, or of another kind; I am not able to define it: only I know that it is not formal, because the same accidents remain, the same colour and taste. To some it seems to be substantial, saying, that so the substance is changed into the substance, that it is done essentially; to which the former authorities seem to consent. But to this sentence others oppose these things: if the substance of bread and wine be substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ, then every day some substance is made the body or blood of Christ which before was not the body; and to-day something is Christ's body which yesterday was not; and every day Christ's body is increased, and is made of such matter of which it was not made in the conception." These are his words, which we have remarked not only for the argument's sake (though it be unanswerable) but to give a plain demonstration that in his time this doctrine was new, not the doctrine of the church: and this was written but about fifty years[x] before it was said to be decreed in the Lateran council[y], and therefore it made haste, in so short time to pass from a disputable opinion to an article of faith. But even after the council, Durandus[z], as good a catholic and as famous a doctor as any was in the church of Rome, publicly maintained[a] that 'even after consecration the very matter of bread remained;' and although he says that by reason of the authority of the church it is not to be held, yet it is not only possible it should be so, but it implies no contradiction that it should be Christ's body, and yet the matter of bread remain; and if this might be admitted, it would salve many difficulties which arise from saying that the substance of bread does not remain. But here his reason was overcome

[r] Lib. iii. de euch., cap. 23. sect. 'Unum tamen.' [tom. iii. col. 752.]

[s] Sum., lib. viii. cap. 20. [leg. 23. p. 447.]

[t] *Discurs. modest., p. 13.*

[u] Lib. iv. sent. dist. 11. lit. a. [p. 736.]

[x] A.D. MCLX.

[y] A.D. MCCXV.

[z] A.D. MCCLXX. secund. Buchol. [in A.M. 5241. sed loquentem de Durando Speculatore.] sed secundum Volaterranum MCCCXXXV.

[a] In lib. iv. sent. dist. 11. qu. 1. sect. 'Propter tertium.' [p. 714.]

by authority, and he durst not affirm that of which alone he was able to give (as he thought) a reasonable account. But by this it appears that the opinion was but then in the forge, and by all their understanding they could never accord it, but still the questions were uncertain, according to that old distich,

> Corpore de Christi lis est, de sanguine lis est,
> Deque modo lis est, non habitura modum;

and the opinion was not determined in the Lateran, as it is now held at Rome. But it is also plain that it is a stranger to antiquity; *De transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi rara est in antiquis scriptoribus mentio,* said Alphonsus à Castro[b], 'there is seldom mention made in the ancient writers of transubstantiating the bread into Christ's body.' We know the modesty and interest of the man; he would not have said it had been seldom, if he could have found it in any reasonable degree warranted; he might have said and justified it, there was no mention at all of this article in the primitive church: and that it was a mere stranger to antiquity, will not be denied by any sober person who considers that it was with so much uneasiness entertained, even in the corruptest and most degenerous times, and argued and unsettled almost thirteen hundred years after Christ.

And that it was so, will but too evidently appear by that stating and resolution of this question which we find in the canon law. For Berengarius[c] was by P. Nicolas commanded to recant his error in these words, and to affirm, *Verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi sensualiter, non solum in sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri,* 'that the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ sensually, not only in sacrament but in truth, is handled by the priest's hands, and broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful.' Now although this was publicly read at Rome before an hundred and fourteen bishops, and by the pope sent up and down the churches of Italy, France, and Germany, yet at this day it is renounced by the church of Rome, and unless it be well expounded (says the gloss[d]) will lead into a heresy greater than what Berengarius was commanded to renounce; and no interpretation can make it tolerable but such an one as is in another place of the canon law, *Statuimus, i. e. abrogamus;* nothing but a plain denying it in the sense of pope Nicolas. But however this may be, it is plain they understood it not as it is now decreed. But as it happened to the Pelagians in the beginning of their heresy, they spake rudely, ignorantly, and easily to be reproved; but being ashamed and disputed into a more sober understanding of their hypothesis, spake more warily, but yet differently from what they said at first: so it was and is in this question; at

[b] De hæres., lib. viii., verbo 'Indulgentia.' [col. 578 E.]

[c] Cap. 'Ego Berengarius.' De consecrat. dist. 2. [Decret., part. iii. dist. 2. cap. 42. col. 2103.]

[d] [ibid., in verb. 'dentibus.']

first they understood it not, it was too unreasonable in any tolerable sense to make any thing of it; but experience and necessity hath brought it to what it is.

But that this doctrine was not the doctrine of the first and best ages of the church, these following testimonies do make evident. The words of Tertullian[e] are these, "The bread being taken and distributed to His disciples, Christ made it His body, saying, This is My body, that is, the figure of My body."

The same is affirmed by Justin Martyr[f], "The bread of the eucharist was a figure which Christ the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of His passion." Origen[g] calls 'the bread and the chalice the images of the body and blood of Christ:' and again[h], "That bread which is sanctified by the word of God, so far as belongs to the matter" or substance "of it, goes into the belly, and is cast away in the secession or separation;" which to affirm of the natural or glorified body of Christ, were greatly blasphemous: and therefore the body of Christ which the communicants receive, is not the body in a natural sense, but in a spiritual, which is not capable of any such accident, as the elements are.

Eusebius[i] says that "Christ gave to His disciples the symbols of divine economy, commanding the image and type of His own body to be made;" and[k] that "the apostle received a command according to the constitution of the New testament, to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table by the symbols of His body and healthful blood."

S. Macarius[l] says, that "in the church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of His flesh and of His blood, and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ." By which words the sense of the above-cited fathers is explicated. For when they affirm that in this sacrament is offered the figure, the image, the antitype of Christ's body and blood, although they speak perfectly against Transubstantiation, yet they do not deny the real and spiritual presence of Christ's body and blood; which we all believe as certainly, as that it is not transubstantiated or present in a natural and carnal manner.

The same thing is also fully explicated by the good S. Ephrem[m], "The body of Christ received by the faithful, departs not from his sensible substance, and is undivided from a spiritual grace; for even baptism being wholly made spiritual, and being that which is the

[e] Advers. Marcion., lib. iv. cap. 40. [p. 457 D.]

[f] Contr. Tryph. Jud. [vid. p. 168.]

[g] In dialog. cont. Marcion. collectis ex Maximo, tempore Commodi et Severi Imp. [p. 57, not. y, supra.]

[h] In Matt. xiii. [leg. xv. tom. iii. p. 499.]

[i] Demonstr. evang., lib. i. [leg. viii.] cap. 1. [p. 380 D.]

[k] Et [lib. i.] cap. ult. [p. 39 A.]

[l] Homil. xxvii. [§ 17. p. 108 C.]

[m] De sacris Antioch. legibus, apud Photium, lib. i. cap. 229. [p. 252.]

same and proper of the sensible substance, I mean of water, saves, and that which is born doth not perish[n]."

S. Gregory Nazianzen[o] spake so expressly in this question as if he had undertaken on purpose to confute the article of Trent; "Now we shall be partakers of the paschal supper, but still in figure, though more clear than in the old law: for the legal passover (I will not be afraid to speak it) was a more obscure figure of a figure."

S. Chrysostom[p] affirms dogmatically that "before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but the divine grace sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is freed from the name of bread, but it is esteemed worthy to be called the Lord's body, although the nature of bread remains in it." And again[q], "As thou eatest the body of the Lord, so they" (the faithful in the Old testament) "did eat Manna; as thou drinkest blood, so they the water of the rock. For though the things which are made be sensible, yet they are given spiritually, not accordingly to the consequence of nature, but according to the grace of a gift; and with the body they also nourish the soul, leading unto faith."

To these very many more might be added; but instead of them the words of S. Austin may suffice, as being an evident conviction what was the doctrine of the primitive church in this question. This great doctor brings in Christ thus speaking as to His disciples[r], "You are not to eat this body which you see, or to drink that blood which My crucifiers shall pour forth; I have commended to you a sacrament, which being spiritually understood shall quicken you:" and again[s], "Christ brought them to a banquet, in which He commended to His disciples the figure of His body and blood;" . . "For He[t] did not doubt to say, This is My body, when He gave the sign of His body;" and[u], "That which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice, in which the flesh of Christ after His assumption is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrances."

But in this particular the canon law itself[x], and the Master of the sentences[y], are the best witnesses; in both which collections there are divers testimonies brought, especially from S. Ambrose and S. Austin, which whosoever can reconcile with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, may easily put the hyena and a dog, a pigeon and a

[n] [But see the original, p. 148, note a, above.]

[o] Orat. ii. in Pasch. [al. orat. xlv. tom. i. p. 863.]

[p] Ep. ad Cæsar. cont. hæres. Apollinarii, cit. per Damascen. et per collect. sent. pp. cont. Severianos, edit. per Turrianum. [p. 150. not. m, supra.]

[q] Homil. xxiii. in 1 Cor. [tom. x. p. 103.]

[r] In psal. xcviii. [§ 9.—tom. iv. col. 1066 A.]

[s] [In psalm. iii. tom. iv. col. 7 E.]

[t] Cont. Adimantum, cap. xii. [tom. viii. col. 124 E.]

[u] Lib. x. cont. Faust. Manich. [vid. p. 152, not. x, supra.]

[x] De consecrat. dist. ii. cap. 'Qui manducant,' [col. 2115.] et cap. 'Prima quidem,' [col. 2105.] et cap. 'Non hoc corpus', [ibid.] et cap. 'Ut quid paras', [col. 2108.]

[y] Sentent., lib. iv. dist. 11. [fol. 166 b, sqq.—fol. Basil. 1513.]

kite into couples, and make fire and water enter into natural and eternal friendships.

Theodoret and P. Gelasius speak more emphatically, even to the nature of things, and the very philosophy of this question. "Christ honoured the symbols and the signs," saith Theodoret[z], "which are seen, with the title of His body and blood, not changing the nature, but to nature adding grace." "For[a] neither do the mystical signs recede from their nature; for they abide in their proper substance, figure and form, and may be seen and touched," &c. And for a testimony that shall be esteemed infallible, we allege the words of pope Gelasius[b], "Truly the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are a divine thing; for that by them we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet it ceases not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine. And truly an image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the action of the mysteries."

Now from these premises we are not desirous to infer any odious consequences in reproof of the Roman church, but we think it our duty to give our own people caution and admonition. First, that they be not abused by the rhetorical words and high expressions alleged out of the fathers, calling the sacrament 'the body' or 'the flesh of Christ:' for we all believe it is so, and rejoice in it; but the question is, after what manner it is so; whether after the manner of the flesh, or after the manner of spiritual grace, and sacramental consequence: we with the holy scriptures and the primitive fathers, affirm the later; the church of Rome, against the words of scripture, and the explication of Christ[c], and the doctrine of the primitive church, affirm the former.—Secondly, that they be careful not to admit such doctrines under a pretence of being ancient; since, although the Roman error hath been too long admitted, and is ancient in respect of our days, yet it is an innovation in christianity, and brought in by ignorance, power and superstition, very many ages after Christ.—Thirdly, we exhort them that they remember the words of Christ, when He explicates the doctrine of 'giving us His flesh for meat and His blood for drink[d],' that He tells us "The flesh profiteth nothing, but the words which He speaks are spirit, and they are life."—Fourthly, that if those ancient and primitive doctors above-cited say true, and that the symbols still remain the same in their natural substance and properties even after they are blessed and when they are received, and that Christ's body and blood are only present to faith and to the spirit, that then whoever tempts them to give divine honour to these symbols or elements (as the

[z] Dialog. i. cap. 8. [tom. iv. p. 26.]
[a] Dial. ii. cap. 24. [ibid. p. 126.]
[b] De duabus naturis contra Eutych. et Nestor. [p. 671 A.] Videatur Picherellus in dissert. de Missa, et expositione verborum institutionis cœnæ Domini. [8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1629.—Cf. p. 51, not. p, supra.]
[c] [John vi. 63.]
[d] Ubi supra.

church of Rome does) tempts them to give to a creature the due and incommunicable propriety of God; and that then this evil passes further than an error in the understanding, for it carries them to a dangerous practice, which cannot reasonably be excused from the crime of idolatry. To conclude,

This matter of itself is an error so prodigiously great and dangerous, that we need not tell of the horrid and blasphemous questions which are sometimes handled by them concerning this divine mystery. As, if a priest going by a baker's shop, and saying with intention, *Hoc est corpus meum*, whether all the baker's bread be turned into the body of Christ? whether a church mouse does eat her maker? whether a man by eating the consecrated symbols does break his fast? For if it be not bread and wine, he does not; and if it be Christ's body and blood naturally and properly, it is not bread and wine. Whether it may be said the priest is in some sense the creator of God himself? whether his power be greater than the power of angels and archangels? for that it is so, is expressly affirmed by Cassenæus[e]. Whether (as a Bohemian priest[f] said) that a priest before he say his first mass, be the son of God, but afterward he is the father of God and the creator of His body? but against this blasphemy a book was written by John Huss, about the time of the council of Constance. But these things are too bad, and therefore we love not to rake in so filthy channels, but give only a general warning to all our charges, to take heed of such persons, who from the proper consequences of their articles grow too bold and extravagant; and of such doctrines, from whence these and many other evil propositions, ὁμιλίαι κακαὶ, frequently do issue; as the tree is, such must be the fruit. But we hope it may be sufficient to say, 1) That what the church of Rome teaches of Transubstantiation is absolutely impossible, and implies contradictions very many, to the belief of which no faith can oblige us, and no reason can endure. For Christ's body being in heaven, glorious, spiritual and impassible, cannot be broken. And since by the Roman doctrine nothing is broken, but that which cannot be broken, that is, the colour, the taste, and other accidents of the elements: yet if they could be broken, since the accidents of bread and wine are not the substance of Christ's body and blood; it is certain that on the altar, Christ's body naturally and properly cannot be broken. 2) And since they say that every consecrated wafer is Christ's whole body, and yet this wafer is not that wafer; therefore either this or that is not Christ's body, or else Christ hath two bodies, for there are two wafers. 3) But when Christ instituted the sacrament, and said, This is My body which is broken: because at that time Christ's body was not broken naturally and properly, the very words of insti-

[e] Gloria mundi, part. iv. num. 6. [p. 171. fol. Francof. 1603.]
[f] [p. 4, not. d, supra.]

tution do force us to understand the sacrament in a sense not natural but spiritual, that is, truly sacramental. 4) And all this is besides the plain demonstrations of sense, which tells us it is bread and it is wine naturally as much after as before consecration.' 5) And after all, the natural sense is such as our blessed Saviour reproved in the men of Capernaum, and called them to a spiritual understanding; the natural sense being not only unreasonable and impossible; but also to no purpose of the spirit, or any ways perfective of the soul; as hath been clearly demonstrated by many learned men against the fond hypothesis of the church of Rome in this article.

§ 6. They innovate in their doctrine of the half-communion.

Our next instance of the novelty of the Roman religion in their articles of division from us, is that of the half-communion. For they deprive the people of the chalice, and dismember the institution of Christ; and prevaricate His express law in this particular, and recede from the practice of the apostles; and though they confess it was the practice of the primitive church, yet they lay it aside, and curse all them that say they do amiss in it; that is, they curse them who follow Christ and His apostles and His church, while themselves deny to follow them.

Now for this we need no other testimony but their own words in the council of Constance[g]; "Whereas in certain parts of the world some temerariously presume to affirm that the christian people ought to receive the sacrament of the eucharist under both kinds, of bread and wine, and do every where communicate the laity not only in bread but in wine also,"—— hence it is that the council decrees and defines against this error, that "although Christ instituted after supper and administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds, of bread and wine, yet this notwithstanding," —— . "And although in the primitive church this sacrament was received of the faithful under both kinds,"——. Here is the acknowledgment, both of Christ's institution in both kinds, and Christ's ministering it in both kinds, and the practice of the primitive church to give it in both kinds; yet the conclusion from these premises is, "We command under the pain of excommunication that no priest communicate the people under both kinds, of bread and wine." The opposition is plain; Christ's testament ordains it, the church of Rome forbids it; it was the primitive custom to obey Christ in this, a later custom is by the church of Rome introduced to the contrary. To say that the first practice and institution is necessary to be followed, is called heretical; to refuse the later subintroduced custom incurs the sentence of excommunication: and this they have passed not only into a law, but into an article of faith; and if this be not teaching for doctrines the commandments of men, and worshipping God in vain with men's tradi-

[g] Sess. xiii. [tom. viii. col. 381.]

tions; then there is, and there was, and there can be, no such thing in the world.

So that now the question is not, whether this doctrine and practice be an INNOVATION, but whether it be not better it should be so; whether it be not 'better to drink new wine than old;' whether it be not better to obey man than Christ, "who is God blessed for ever;" whether a late custom be not to be preferred before the ancient, a custom dissonant from the institution of Christ before that which is wholly consonant to what Christ did and taught. This is such a bold affirmative of the church of Rome that nothing can suffice to rescue us from an amazement in the consideration of it: especially since, although the institution itself, being the only warranty and authority for what we do, is of itself our rule and precept, (according to that of the lawyer[h], *Institutiones sunt præceptiones quibus instituuntur et docentur homines;*) yet besides this, Christ added preceptive words, "Drink ye all of this[i];" He spake it to all that received, who then also represented all them who for ever after were to remember Christ's death.

But concerning the doctrine of Antiquity in this point, although the council of Constance confess the question, yet since that time they have taken on them a new confidence, and affirm that the half communion was always more or less the practice of the most ancient times. We therefore think it fit to produce testimonies concurrent with the saying of the council of Constance, such as are irrefragable, and of persons beyond exception. Cassander[k] affirms that "in the Latin church for above a thousand years the body of Christ and the blood of Christ were separately given, the body apart and the blood apart, after the consecration of the mysteries." So Aquinas[l] also affirms, "according to the ancient custom of the church, all men as they communicated in the body, so they communicated in the blood; which also to this day is kept in some churches." And therefore Paschasius Ratbertus[m] resolves it dogmatically that "neither the flesh without the blood nor the blood without the flesh is rightly communicated; because the apostles all of them did drink of the chalice." And Salmeron[n] being forced by the evidence of the thing, ingenuously and openly confesses that "it was a general custom to communicate the laity under both kinds."

It was so, and it was more; there was anciently a law for it, *Aut integra sacramenta percipiant aut ab integris arceantur*, said pope Gelasius[o], either all or none; "let them receive in both kinds, or in neither;" and he gives this reason, *Quia divisio unius et ejusdem*

[h] Accursius, præfat. super Instit. Justinian. [fol. 1576.]
[i] [Matt. xxvi. 27.]
[k] Consult., sect. xxii. [p. 981.]
[l] Comment. in vi. Joh. lect. 7. [fol. 42 G.]
[m] De corp. et sang. Domini, cap. xix. [p. 1603.—Opp. fol. Paris. 1618.]
[n] Tract. xxxv. [tom. ix. p. 294.]
[o] Apud Gratian. de consecr., dist. ii. cap. 'Comperimus.' [col. 2087.]

mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire, 'the mystery is but one and the same, and therefore it cannot be divided without great sacrilege.' The reason concludes as much of the receiver as the consecrator, and speaks of all indefinitely.

Thus it is acknowledged to have been in the Latin church[p], and thus we see it ought to have been; and for the Greek church there is no question, for even to this day they communicate the people in the chalice. But this case is so plain, and there are such clear testimonies out of the fathers recorded in their own canon law[q], that nothing can obscure it but to use too many words about it; we therefore do exhort our people to take care that they suffer not themselves to be robbed of their portion of Christ as He is pleased sacramentally and graciously to communicate Himself unto us.

§ 7. In that they suffer not their public prayers to be in a language vulgarly understood.

As the church of Rome does great injury to christendom in taking from the people what Christ gave them in the matter of the sacrament, so she also deprives them of very much of the benefit which they might receive by their holy prayers if they were suffered to pray in public in a language they understand; but that's denied to the common people, to their very great prejudice and injury.

Concerning which, although it is as possible to reconcile adultery with the seventh commandment as service in a language not understood to the fourteenth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians; and that therefore if we can suppose that the apostolical age did follow the apostolical rule, it must be concluded that the practice of the church of Rome is contrary to the practice of the primitive church; yet besides this, we have thought fit to declare the plain sense and practice of the succeeding ages in a few testimonies, but so pregnant as not to be avoided.

Origen[r] affirms that "the Grecians in their prayers use the Greek and the Romans the Roman language, and so every one according to his tongue prayeth unto God, and praiseth Him as he is able." S. Chrysostom urging the precept of the apostle for prayers in a language understood by the hearer, affirms that which is but reasonable, saying, "If a man speaks in the Persian tongue and understands not what himself says, to himself he is a barbarian, and therefore so he is to him that understands no more than he does." And what profit can he receive who hears a sound and discerns it not? It were as good he were absent as present. For if he be the better to be there because he sees what is done, and guesses at something in general, and consents to him that ministers[s]: it is true this may

[p] Vide Ochagav. de sacr., tract. ii. de euchar. q. 18. [p. 433.]

[q] De consecrat., dist. ii. cap. 'Si non sunt,' et cap. 'Quia passus,' et cap. 'Prima quidem,' et cap. 'Tunc eis,' et cap. 'Accesserunt.' [sc. 15, 36, 44, 90, 92.]

[r] Lib. viii. contra Celsum. [cap. 37. tom. i. p. 769.]

[s] Affectus consequitur intellectum; ubi autem nullus earum rerum quæ pe-

be, but this therefore is so, because he understands something: but he is only so far benefited as he understands, and therefore all that which is not understood does him no more benefit that is present, than to him that is absent, and consents to the prayers in general, and to what is done for all faithful people. But "if indeed ye meet for the edification of the church, those things ought to be spoken which the hearers understand," saith S. Ambrose[t]. And so it was in the primitive church; blessings and all other things in the church were done in the vulgar tongue, saith Lyra[u]; nay, not only the public prayers, but the whole Bible was anciently by many translations made fit for the people's use. S. Hierome[x] affirms that himself translated the bible into the Dalmatian tongue; and Ulphilas[y] a bishop among the Goths, translated it into the Gothic tongue; and that it was translated into all languages we are told by S. Chrysostom[z], S. Austin[a], and Theodoret[b].

But although what twenty fathers say can make a thing no more certain than if S. Paul had alone said it, yet both S. Paul and the fathers are frequent to tell us that a service or prayers in an unknown tongue do not edify: so S. Basil[c], S. Chrysostom[d], S. Ambrose[e], and S. Austin[f]; and this is consented to by Aquinas[g], Lyra[h], and Cassander[i]: and besides that, these doctors affirm that in the primitive church the priest and people joined in their prayers, and understood each other, and prayed in their mother tongue. We find a story (how true it is let them look to it, but it is) told by Æneas Sylvius[k], who was afterwards pope Pius the second, that when Cyrillus bishop of the Moravians, and Methodius, had converted the Slavonians, Cyril being at Rome desired leave to use the language of that nation in their divine offices; concerning which when they were disputing, a voice was heard as if from heaven, "Let every spirit praise the Lord, and every tongue confess unto Him;" upon which it was granted according to the bishop's desire. But now they are not so kind at Rome; and although the fathers at Trent confessed in their decree that the mass contains in it great matter of erudition and edification of the people, yet they did not think it fit that it should be said in

tuntur vel dicuntur habetur intellectus, aut generaliter tantum, ibi exiguus assurgit affectus.—Azor. Inst. moral., tom. i. lib. ix. c. 34. q. 8. [col. 1441 A. fol. Par. 1602.]

[t] [Pseud-Ambros. in 1 Cor. xiv. tom. ii. append. col. 157 D.]

[u] In 1 Cor. xiv. [tom. vi. col. 322.]

[x] Epist. ad Sophron. [præfat. in psalmos, tom. i. col. 838.]

[y] Sozom. hist. eccl., lib. vi. cap. 37. [p. 274. Socrat., lib. iv. cap. 33. p. 256.]

[z] Hom. i. in Joann. viii. [al. hom. ii. § 2. tom. viii. p. 10 B.]

[a] De doctr. christ., cap. v. [lib. ii. tom. iii. part. i. col. 21 B.]

[b] Serm. v. de Græcar. affect. curat. [tom. iv. p. 839.]

[c] Lib. Qui ex var. script. locis. [vid. p. 600, not. t, infra.]—Quæst. cclxxviii. [scil. inter Regg. brev. tract.—tom. ii. p. 513 D.]

[d] In 1 Cor. hom. xxxv. [tom. x. pp. 324 sqq.]

[e] [Pseud-Ambros.] Super 1 Cor. xiv. [tom. ii. append. col. 156 B.]

[f] Super psalm. xviii. conc. 2. [tom. iv. col. 84.]

[g] In 1 Cor. xiv. [tom. xvi. fol. 83 b.]

[h] Ibid. [tom. vi. col. 322.]

[i] Liturg., cap. xviii. [qu. xxxvi. p. 86 sq.]

[k] Histor. Bohem., cap. xiii. [p. 91.]

the vulgar tongue: so that it is very good food, but it must be locked up; it is an excellent candle, but it must be put under a bushel: and now the question is, whether it be fit that the people pray so as to be edified by it; or is it better that they be at the prayers, when they shall not be edified? whether it be not as good to have a dumb priest to do mass as one that hath a tongue to say it? for he that hath no tongue, and he that hath none to be understood, is alike insignificant to me. *Quid prodest locutionum integritas quam non sequitur intellectus audientis? cum loquendi nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt propter quos ut intelligant loquimur*, said S. Austin[l], 'What does it avail that man speaks all, if the hearers understand none? and there is no cause why a man should speak at all, if they for whose understanding you do speak understand it not.' God understands the priest's thoughts when he speaks not, as well as when he speaks; He hears the prayer of the heart, and sees the word of the mind, and a dumb priest can do all the ceremonies, and make the signs; and he that speaks aloud to them that understand him not, does no more. Now since there is no use of vocal prayer in public, but that all together may signify their desires, and stir up one another, and join in the expression of them to God; by this device a man who understands not what is said can only pray with his lips, for the heart cannot pray but by desiring, and it cannot desire what it understands not. So that in this case prayer cannot be an act of the soul; there is neither affection nor understanding, notice or desire; the heart says nothing, and asks for nothing, and therefore receives nothing. Solomon[m] calls that 'the sacrifice of fools,' when men consider not; and they who understand not what is said, cannot take it into consideration. But there needs no more to be said in so plain a case.—We end this with the words of the civil and canon law. Justinian the emperor made a law in these words[n], "We will and command that all bishops and priests celebrate the sacred oblation, and the prayers thereunto added in holy baptism, not in a low voice, but with a loud and clear voice which may be heard by the faithful people;" that is, be understood, for so it follows, "that thereby the minds of the hearers may be raised up with greater devotion to set forth the praises of the Lord God; for so the apostle teacheth in the first to the Corinthians." It is true that this law was razed out of the Latin versions of Justinian: the fraud and design was too palpable, but it prevailed nothing; for it is acknowledged by Cassander and Bellarmine[o], and is in the Greek copies of Haloander. —The canon law is also most express, from an authority of no less than a pope and a general council, as themselves esteem; Innocent the third, in the great council of Lateran[p], above twelve hundred

[l] De doctr. christ., lib. iv. cap. 10. [tom. iii. part. 1. col. 73 F.]

[m] [Eccles. v. 1.]

[n] Novell. cxxiii. [al. cxxxvii. cap. 6.]

[o] De missa, lib. ii. c. 13. [leg. 12.] sect. 'Ad novellam.' [tom. iii. col. 1092.]

[p] Cap. ix. [tom. vii. col. 28.]

years after Christ, in these words; "Because in most parts within the same city and diocese the people of divers tongues are mixed together, having under one and the same faith divers ceremonies and rites, we straitly charge and command that the bishops of such cities and dioceses provide men fit, who may celebrate divine service according to the diversity of ceremonies and languages, and administer the sacraments of the church, instructing them both by word and by example."

Now if the words of the apostle, and the practice of the primitive church, the sayings of the fathers, and the confessions of wise men amongst themselves; if the consent of nations, and the piety of our forefathers; if right reason, and the necessity of the thing; if the needs of the ignorant, and the very inseparable conditions of holy prayers; if the laws of princes, and the laws of the church, which do require all our prayers to be said by them that understand what they say; if all these cannot prevail with the church of Rome to do so much good to the people's souls as to consent they should understand what in particular they are to ask of God: certainly there is a great pertinacy of opinion, and but a little charity to those precious souls for whom Christ died, and for whom they must give account.

Indeed the old Tuscan rites, and the soothsayings of the Salian priests, *Vix sacerdotibus suis intellecta, sed quæ mutari vetat religio*[q], 'were scarce understood by their priests themselves, but their religion forbad to change them.' Thus anciently did the Osseni, heretics of whom Epiphanius[r] tells, and the Heracleonitæ of whom S. Austin[s] gives account; they taught to pray with obscure words: and some others in Clemens Alexandrinus supposed that words spoken in a barbarous or unknown tongue, δυνατωτέρας, are 'more powerful.' The Jews also in their synagogues at this day read Hebrew, which the people but rarely understand; and the Turks in their mosques read Arabic, of which the people know nothing. But Christians never did so, till they of Rome resolved to refuse to do benefit to the souls of the people in this instance, or to bring them from intolerable ignorance.

§ 8. In requiring the adoration of images.

THE church of Rome hath to very bad purposes introduced and imposed upon christendom the worship and veneration of images, kissing them, pulling off their hats, kneeling, falling down and praying before them, which they call 'giving them due honour and veneration.' What external honour and veneration that is which they call due, is expressed by the instances now reckoned, which the council of Trent in their decree enumerate and establish: what the inward honour and worship

[q] Quintil. [Inst. or.] lib. i. [c. 6.]

[r] Verb. 'Osseni.' [hæres. xix. § 4. tom. i. p. 42.]

[s] Ad Quodvultdeum. [de hæres., cap. xvi. tom. viii. col. 8 D.]

is which they intend to them, is intimated in the same decree. By the images they worship Christ and His saints, and therefore by these images they pass that honour to Christ and His saints which is their due; that is, as their doctors explain it, *latria* or 'divine worship' to God and Christ, *hyperdulia* or 'more than service' to the blessed Virgin Mary, and 'service' or *doulia* to other canonized persons. So that upon the whole the case is this: whatever worship they give to God and Christ and His saints, they gave it first to the image, and from the image they pass it unto Christ and Christ's servants. And therefore we need not to enquire what actions they suppose to be fit or due. For whatsoever is due to God, to Christ, or His saints, that worship they give to their respective images; all the same in external semblance and ministry: as appears in all their great churches, and public actions, and processions, and temples and festivals, and endowments, and censings, and pilgrimages, and prayers and vows made to them.

Now besides that these things are so like idolatry that they can no way be reasonably excused (of which we shall in the next chapter[t] give some account;) besides that they are too like the religion of the heathens, and so plainly and frequently forbidden in the Old testament, and are so infinitely unlike the simple and wise, the natural and holy, the pure and the spiritual religion of the gospel; besides that they are so infinite a scandal to the Jews and Turks, and reproach christianity itself amongst all strangers that live in their communion, and observe their rites; besides that they cannot pretend to be lawful but with the laborious artifices of many metaphysical notions and distinctions which the people who most need them do least understand, and that therefore the people worship them without these distinctions, and directly put confidence in them; and that it is impossible that ignorant persons, who in all christian countries make up the biggest number, should do otherwise, when otherwise they cannot understand it; and besides that the thing itself with or without distinctions is a superstitious and forbidden, an unlawful and unnatural worship of God, who will not be worshipped by an image: we say that besides all this, this whole doctrine and practice is an innovation in the christian church, not practised not endured in the primitive ages, but expressly condemned by them, and this is our present undertaking to evince.

The first notice we find of images brought into christian religion was by Simon Magus; indeed that was very ancient, but very heretical and abominable; but that he brought some in to be worshipped, we find in Theodoret[u] and S. Austin[x]; S. Irenæus[y] tells that the Gnostics or Carpocratians did make images, and said that the form

[t] Chap. ii. sect. 12.

[u] Lib. i. hæret. fabul. [tom. iv. p. 288.—See below, Dissuas. part ii. book 2. § 6.]

[x] De hæres. [cap. i. tom. viii. col. 6. A.]

[y] Lib. i. cap. 24. [p. 100.]—Vide etiam Epiphan., tom. ii. lib. i. hæres. 27. [vol. i. p. 108.] et S. August. de hæres. [cap. vii. tom. viii. col. 7 C.]

of Christ as He was in the flesh was made by Pilate; and these images they worshipped, as did the gentiles. These things they did, but against these things the Christians did zealously and piously declare. "We have no image in the world," said S. Clemens of Alexandria[z]; "it is apparently forbidden to us to exercise that deceitful art, for it is written, Thou shalt not make any similitude of any thing in heaven above," &c. And Origen[a] wrote a just treatise against Celsus, in which he not only affirms that Christians did not make or use images in religion, but that they ought not, and were by God forbidden to do so. To the same purpose also Lactantius discourses to the emperor, and confutes the pretences and little answers of the heathen in that manner, that he leaves no pretence for Christians under another cover to introduce the like abomination.

We are not ignorant that those who were converted from gentilism, and those who loved to imitate the customs of the Roman princes and people, did soon introduce the historical use of images, and according to the manner of the world did think it honourable to depict or make images of those whom they had in great esteem; and that this being done by an esteem, relying on religion, did, by the weakness of men and the importunity of the tempter, quickly pass into inconvenience and superstition; yet even in the time of Julian the emperor S. Cyril[b] denies that the Christians did give veneration and worship to the image even of the cross itself, which was one of the earliest temptations; and S. Epiphanius[c] (it is a known story) tells that when in the village of Bethel he saw a cloth-picture "as it were of Christ or some saint, in the church, against the authority of scripture," he cut it in pieces, and advised that some poor man should be buried in it; affirming that such "pictures are against religion, and unworthy of the church of Christ." The epistle was translated into Latin by S. Hierome, by which we may guess at his opinion in the question.

The council of Eliberis[d] is very ancient, and of great fame; in which it is expressly forbidden that what is worshipped should be depicted on the walls, and that therefore pictures ought not to be in churches. S. Austin[e] complaining that he knew of many in the church who were worshippers of pictures, calls them superstitious; and adds that the church condemns such customs, and strives to correct them; and S. Gregory[f], writing to Serenus bishop of Massilia,

[z] Lib. vii. strom. [cap. 18. p. 825.] et in paræneticо. [siv. cohort. ad gent. § 3. p. 45.—See below, part ii. book 2. § 6.]

[a] Contr. Cels., lib. vii. [§ 66. tom. i. p. 741.] et lib. viii. [§ 17. p. 755.]

[b] [vid. cont. Jul., lib. vi. p. 194 sqq.]

[c] Ep. ad Joh. Hieros. [tom. ii. p. 317.]

[d] Can. xxxvi.—Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur. —[tom. i. col. 254.]

[e] De morib. eccles., lib. i. cap. 34. [tom. i. col. 713.] Idem de fide et symbolo, cap. vii. [tom. vi. col. 157.] et contr. Adimant., cap. xiii. [tom. viii. col. 126.]

[f] [lib. ix. indict. ii. epist. 105. tom. ii. col. 1006.]

says he would not have had him to break the pictures and images which were there set for an historical use, but commends him for prohibiting any one to worship them, and enjoins him still to forbid it. But superstition by degrees creeping in, the worship of images was decreed in the seventh synod, or the second Nicene. But the decrees of this synod being by pope Adrian sent to Charles the great, he convocated a synod of German and French bishops at Francfort[f], who discussed the acts passed at Nice, and condemned them. And the acts of this synod although they were diligently suppressed by the pope's arts, yet Eginardus, Hincmarus, Aventinus, Blondus, Adon, Aymonius, and Regino, famous historians[g], tell us that the bishops of Francfort condemned the synod of Nice, and commanded it should not be called a general council; and published a book under the name of the emperor, confuting that unchristian assembly; and not long since, this book and the acts of Francfort were published by bishop Tillius, by which not only the infinite fraud of the Roman doctors is discovered, but the worship of images is declared against and condemned.

A while after this, Ludovicus the son of Charlemagne sent Claudius a famous preacher to Taurinum in Italy, where he preached against the worshipping of images, and wrote an excellent book to that purpose. Against this book Jonas bishop of Orleans[h] after the death of Ludovicus and Claudius did write: in which he yet durst not assert the worship of them, but confuted it out of Origen; whose words he thus cites, "Images are neither to be esteemed by inward affection, nor worshipped with outward show;" and out of Lactantius these, "Nothing is to be worshipped that is seen with mortal eyes; let us adore, let us worship nothing, but the name alone of our only parent, who is to be sought for in the regions above, not here below:" and to the same purpose he also alleges excellent words out of Fulgentius and S. Hierom; and though he would have images retained, and therefore was angry at Claudius who caused them to be taken down, yet he himself expressly affirms that they ought not to be worshipped; and withal adds that though they kept the images in their churches for history and ornament, yet that in France the worshipping of them was had in great detestation. And though it is not to be denied but that in the sequel of Jonas his book he does something prevaricate in this question; yet it is evident that in France this doctrine was not accounted catholic for almost nine hundred years after Christ; and in Germany it was condemned for almost twelve hundred years, as we find in Nicetas[i].

We are not unskilled in the devices of the Roman writers, and

[f] Anno Dom. DCCLXIV. [leg. DCCXCIV. tom. iv. col. 904 D.]

[g] [vid. Bellarm. de imagin., lib. ii. cap. 14. tom. ii. col. 990 sqq.]

[h] [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. ix. part. i. p. 96.]

[i] Lib. ii. in vita Isaac Angeli, A.D. MCLX. [In corp. hist. Byzant., tom. xii. p. 212 B.]

with how much artifice they would excuse this whole matter, and palliate the crime imputed to them, and elude the scriptures expressly condemning this superstition: but we know also that the arts of sophistry are not the ways of salvation. And therefore we exhort our people to follow the plain words of scripture, and the express law of God in the second commandment; and add also the exhortation of S. John[k], "Little children, keep yourselves from idols."

To conclude; it is impossible but that it must be confessed that the worship of images was a thing unknown to the primitive church, in the purest times of which they would not allow the making of them, as (amongst divers others) appears in the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus[l], Tertullian[m], and Origen[n].

§ 9. In picturing God the Father and the blessed Trinity.

As an appendage to this, we greatly reprove the custom of the church of Rome in picturing God the Father, and the most holy and undivided Trinity; which besides that it ministers infinite scandal to all sober-minded men, and gives the new Arians in Polonia, and Antitrinitarians, great and ridiculous entertainment, exposing that sacred mystery to derision and scandalous contempt; it is also (which at present we have undertaken particularly to remark) against the doctrine and practice of the primitive catholic church.

S. Clemens of Alexandria[o] says that in the discipline of Moses God was not to be represented in the shape of a man, or of any other thing: and that Christians understood themselves to be bound by the same law, we find it expressly taught by Origen[p], Tertullian[q], Eusebius[r], Athanasius[s], S. Hierome[t], S. Austin[u], S. Theodoret[x], Damascene[y], and the synod of Constantinople, as is reported in the sixth action of the second Nicene council[z]. And certainly if there were not a strange spirit of contradiction or superstition or deflexion from the christian rule greatly prevailing in the church of Rome, it were impossible that this practice should be so countenanced by them, and defended so, to no purpose, with so much scandal, and against the natural reason of mankind, and the very law of nature itself; for the heathens were sufficiently by the light of nature taught to abominate all pictures or images of God;

[k] [1 John v. 51.]
[l] Strom., lib. vi. [§ 18. p. 825.] et in Protrept. [siv. cohort. ad gent. § 3. p. 45.]
[m] Lib. ii. c. 22. advers. Marcion. [p. 392.] et de Idolatr., c. 3. [p. 87.]
[n] Lib. iv. contr. Celsum. [§ 31. tom. i. p. 524.]
[o] Stromat., lib. i. [§ 15. p. 358, 9.]
[p] Lib. vii. contra Celsum. [§ 66. tom. i. p. 741.]
[q] De corona militis. [cap. x. p. 106.]
[r] Lib. i. c. 5. præp. evang. [p. 14.]
[s] Orat. contra gentes. [tom. i. p. 13 sqq.]
[t] In c. xl. Isa. [tom. iii. col. 306.]
[u] De fide et symbol., c. vi. [tom. vi. col. 157 D.]
[x] ['Theodoret' A, 'Saint Theodoret' C.] in Deut. q. i. [tom. i. p. 259.]
[y] Lib. iv. de orthod. fide, c. 16. [tom. i. p. 280.]
[z] [vid. p. 153, nott. b, c, supra.]

Sed nulla effigies, simulacraque nulla deorum ;
Majestate locum et sacro implevere timore [a].

They in their earliest ages 'had no pictures, no images of their gods; their temples were filled with majesty, and a sacred fear.' And the reason is given by Macrobius[b], "Antiquity made no image," viz., of God, "because the supreme God, and the mind that is born of Him," that is, His Son, the eternal Word, "as it is beyond the soul, so it is above nature, and therefore it is not lawful that figments should come thither."

Nicephorus Callistus[c] relating the heresy of the Armenians and Jacobites, says "they made images of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," *quod perquam absurdum est;* 'nothing is more absurd' than to make pictures or images of the persons of the holy and adorable Trinity: and yet they do this in the church of Rome; for in the windows of their churches, even in country villages, where the danger cannot be denied to be great, and the scandal insupportable; nay, in their books of devotion, in their very mass-books and breviaries, in their portuises[d] and manuals they picture the holy Trinity with three noses, and four eyes, and three faces in a knot, to the great dishonour of God and scandal of christianity itself. We add no more (for the case is too evidently bad) but reprove the error with the words of their own Polydore Vergil[e], "since the world began, never was any thing more foolish than to picture God, who is present every where."

§ 10. In arrogating to the pope an universal bishopric.

THE last instance of innovations introduced in doctrine and practice by the church of Rome that we shall represent, is that of the pope's universal bishopric; that is, not only that he is bishop of bishops, superior to all and every one; but that his bishopric is a plenitude of power; and as for other bishops, "of his fulness they all receive," a part of the ministry and solicitude; and not only so, but that he only is a bishop by immediate divine dispensation, and others receive from him whatsoever they have: for to this height many of them are come at last. Which doctrine,—although as it is in sins, where the carnal are most full of reproach, but the spiritual are of greatest malignity; so it happens in this article: for though it be not so scandalous as their idolatry, so ridiculous as their superstitions, so unreasonable as their doctrine of Transubstantiation, so easily reproved as their half-communion, and service in an unknown

[a] [Sed nulla effigies simulacrave nota deorum
Majestate locum &c.]—Sil. Ital. [lib. iii. lin. 30.]

[b] Lib. i. in somn. Scip., cap. 2. [p. 10.]

[c] Lib. xviii. c. 53. [tom. ii. p. 884 A.]

[d] ['Portass,'(also written, portace, portas, portos, portous, portuis,) 'a breviary, a prayer-book.' Johnson.—The derivation is much disputed.]

[e] Lib. ii. de invent., c. 23. [p. 69.]

tongue;—yet it is of as dangerous and evil effect, and as false, and as certainly an innovation, as any thing in their whole conjugation of errors.

When Christ founded His church, He left it in the hands of His apostles, without any prerogative given to one, or eminency above the rest, save only of priority and orderly precedency, which of itself was natural, necessary, and incident. The apostles governed all, their authority was the sanction, and their decrees and writings were the laws of the church. They exercised a common jurisdiction, and divided it according to the needs and emergencies and circumstances of the church. In the council of Jerusalem, S. Peter gave not the decisive sentence, but S. James who was the bishop of that see. Christ sent all His apostles, as His Father sent Him, and therefore He gave to every one of them the whole power which He left behind; and to the bishops congregated at Miletum[f], S. Paul gave them caution to take care of the whole flock of God, and affirms to them all that the "Holy Ghost had made them bishops:" and in the whole New testament there is no act or sign of superiority, or that one apostle exercised power over another; but to them whom Christ sent He in common intrusted the church of God: according to that excellent saying of S. Cyprian[g], "The other apostles are the same that S. Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship of honour and power;" and they are all shepherds, and the flock is one, and therefore it ought to be fed by all the apostles with unanimous consent.

This unity and identity of power without question and interruption did continue and descend to bishops in the primitive church, in which it was a known doctrine that the bishops were successors of the apostles; and what was not in the beginning could not be in the descent, unless it were innovated and introduced by a new authority. Christ gave ordinary power to none but the apostles; and the power being to continue for ever in the church, it was to be succeeded to; and by the same authority, even of Christ, it descended to them who were their successors, that is, to the bishops, as all antiquity[h] does

[f] [Acts xx. 28.]

[g] Epist. de unit. ecclesiæ ad Novatian. [p. 107.]—Habetur [Gratian. decret.] caus. xxiv. qu. 1. [col. 1516.]

[h] Irenæ. lib. iv. capp. 43, 44. [al. 26. § 2, 5. pp. 262, 3.]—S. Cyprian., lib. i. ep. 6. [al. ep. lxix. p. 182 sq.] et lib. ii. ep. 10. [al. ep. xlv. p. 88.] et lib. iv. ep. 9. [al. ep. xl. p. 167.]—S. Ambros. de dignit. sacerd., cap. i. [tom. ii. app. col. 358.]—S. Aug. de baptism. contra Donat., lib. vii. cap. 43. [tom. ix. col. 197 D.] et ibid. Clarus a Muscula. [Ben. 'Mascula.'] Idem de verb. Dom. ser. xxiv. [al. serm. cii. tom. v. col. 535.]—Conc. Rom. sub Sylvestr. [Concil. reg., tom. ii. p. 146.]—Const. apost., lib. viii. cap. ult. [fol. 157 a.]—Anacl. P. ep. ii. [p. 147.]—Clemens P., ep. i. [Concil. reg., tom. i. p. 95.]—S. Hieron. ep. xiii. [al. xlix. tom. iv. part. 2. col. 565.] et ep. liv. [al. xxvii. col. 65.]—Euthym. in ps. xliv. [al. xlv.—Max. bibl. vett. patr., tom. xix. p. 317 B.]—S. Gregor. in evang., hom. xxvi. [§ 5. tom. i. col. 1555.]—[S. Hieron.] ad Heliodor. ep. i. [al. ep. v. tom. iv. part. 2. col. 11.]—S. Chrysost., serm. [?]—Damascen. de imaginibus, orat. ii. [cap. 12. tom. i. p. 336.]—S. Greg. Naz., orat. xxi. de laud. Basil. [al. orat. xliii. § 76. tom. i. p. 829.]

consent and teach. Not S. Peter alone, but every apostle, and therefore every one who succeeds them in their ordinary power, may and must remember the words of S. Paul, "We are embassadors" or legates "for Christ;" Christ's vicars, not the pope's delegates; and so all the apostles are called in the preface of the mass, *quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti præesse pastores;* they are 'pastors of the flock and vicars of Christ;' and so also they are in express terms called by S. Ambrose[i], and therefore it is a strange usurpation that the pope arrogates that to himself by impropriation, which is common to him with all the bishops of christendom.

The consequent of this is, that by the law of Christ one bishop is not superior to another: Christ gave the power to all alike: He made no head of the bishops; He gave to none a supremacy of power, or universality of jurisdiction. But this the pope hath long challenged, and to bring his purposes to pass, hath for these six hundred years by-gone invaded the rights of bishops, and delegated matters of order and jurisdiction to monks and friars; insomuch that the power of bishops was greatly diminished at the erecting of the Cluniac and Cistercian monks about the year ML.: but about the year MCC., it was almost swallowed up by privileges granted to the begging friars, and there kept by the power of the pope: which power got one great step more above the bishops, when they got it declared that the pope is above a council of bishops: and at last it was turned into a new doctrine by Cajetan (who for his prosperous invention was made a cardinal) that all the whole apostolic or episcopal power is radical and inherent in the pope, in whom is the fulness of the ecclesiastical authority, and that bishops receive their portion of it from him; and this was first boldly maintained in the council of Trent by the Jesuits, and it is now the opinion of their order; but it is also that which the pope challenges in practice, when he pretends to a power over all bishops, and that this power is derived to him from Christ; when he calls himself the universal bishop and the vicarial head of the church, the church's monarch, he from whom all ecclesiastical authority is derived, to whose sentence in things divine every Christian under pain of damnation is bound to be subject[k].

Now this is it which as it is productive of infinite mischiefs, so it is an innovation and an absolute deflection from the primitive catholic doctrine, and yet is the great ground-work and foundation of their church. This we shall represent in these following testimonies. Pope Eleutherius[l] in an epistle to the bishops of France says that Christ committed the universal church to the bishops; and S. Ambrose[m] says that the bishop holdeth the place of Christ, and is His

[i] In epist. i. ad Corinth., cap. 3. [tom. ii. append. col. 121 E.] et in epist. ad Roman., c. i. [col. 28 C.]

[k] Extrav. com., lib. i. tit. 9. de major. et obed. cap. 'Unam sanctam.' [col. 184 sqq.]

[l] [Harduin. concil., tom. i. col. 104.] Referente archiepisc. Granatensi in concil. Trid.

[m] Ubi supra.

substitute. But famous are the words of S. Cyprian[n], "The church of Christ is one through the whole world, divided by Him into many members, and the bishopric is but one, diffused in the agreeing plurality of many bishops." And again, "To every pastor a portion of the flock is given, which let every one of them rule and govern." By which words it is evident that the primitive church understood no prelation of one and subordination of another, commanded by Christ, or by virtue of their ordination; but only what was for order's sake introduced by princes, and consent of prelates. And it was to this purpose very full which was said by pope Symmachus[o], "As it is in the holy Trinity, whose power is one and undivided," (or to use the expression in the Athanasian creed, none is before or after other, none is greater or less than another,) "so there is one bishopric amongst divers bishops, and therefore why should the canons of the ancient bishops be violated by their successors?" Now these words being spoken against the invasion of the rights of the church of Arles by Anastasius, and the question being in the exercise of jurisdiction and about the institution of bishops, does fully declare that the bishops of Rome had no superiority by the laws of Christ over any bishop in the catholic church, and that his bishopric gave no more power to him than Christ gave to the bishop of the smallest diocese.

And therefore all the church of God, whenever they reckoned the several orders and degrees of ministry in the catholic church, reckon the bishop as the last and supreme, beyond whom there is no spiritual power but in Christ; for, "as the whole hierarchy ends in Jesus, so does every particular one in its own bishop[p]." Beyond the bishop there is no step till you rest in the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls; under Him every bishop is supreme in spirituals, and in all power which to any bishop is given by Christ. S. Ignatius[q] therefore exhorts that "all should obey their bishop, and the bishop obey Christ, as Christ obeyed His Father." There are no other intermedial degrees of divine institution; but (as Origen teaches) the apostles, and they who after them are ordained by God, that is, the bishops, have the supreme place in the church: and the prophets have the second place. The same also is taught by P. Gelasius[r], by S. Hierome[s], and Fulgentius[t], and indeed by all the fathers who spake any thing in this matter; insomuch that when Bellarmine[u] is in this question pressed out of the book of Nilus by the authority of the fathers standing against him, he answers, *papam patres non habere in*

[n] [De unit. eccles., p. 108.]

[o] Apud Baron., tom. vi. A.D. 499. n. 36. [col. 702.—fol. Mogunt. 1601.]

[p] Dionys. Areop. de eccles. hierarch. de sacerd. perfect. [p. 112 C.]

[q] Epist. ad Smyrnens. [cap. viii.] et ad Philadelph. [cap. iii. et alibi.]

[r] [Gratian. decret.] dist. xcvii. c. 'Duo sunt.' [leg. dist. xcvi. c. 10. col. 509.]

[s] In Jerem., hom. vii. [? in cap. xxii. tom. iii. col. 628.] et advers. Lucif. [passim, tom. iv. part. 2. col. 291 seqq.]

[t] In concil. Paris., l. i. c. 3. [i. e. Parisetti? see Gratian. d. xcvi. c. 10, and reff. in margin; and in his 'Index librorum' &c., 'Concilii alicujus fragmenta quædam post Anseli collectionem in codice Hieronymi Parisetti.']

[u] [De Rom. pontif., lib. ii. cap. 27. tom. i. col. 824.]

ecclesia, sed filios omnes, 'the pope acknowledges no fathers in the church, for they are all his sons.'

Now although we suppose this to be greatly sufficient to declare the doctrine of the primitive catholic church concerning the equality of power in all bishops by divine right, yet the fathers have also expressly declared themselves that one bishop is not superior to another, and ought not to judge another or force another to obedience. They are the words of S. Cyprian[x] to a council of bishops, "None of us makes himself a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical power drives his colleagues to a necessity of obedience, since every bishop according to the license of his own liberty and power hath his own choice, and cannot be judged by another, nor yet himself judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only and alone hath the power of setting us in the government of His church, and judging of what we do." This was spoken and intended against P. Stephen, who did then begin *dominari in clero,* 'to lord it over God's heritage,' and to excommunicate his brethren, as Demetrius did in the time of the apostles themselves; but they both found their reprovers; Demetrius was chastised by S. John for this usurpation, and Stephen by S. Cyprian, and this also was approved by S. Austin[y].—We conclude this particular with the words of S. Gregory bishop of Rome[z], who because the patriarch of Constantinople called himself universal bishop, said it was a proud title, profane, sacrilegious, and antichristian: and therefore he little thought that his successors in the same see should so fiercely challenge that antichristian title; much less did the then bishop of Rome in those ages challenge it as their own peculiar; for they had no mind to be, or to be esteemed, antichristian. *Romano pontifici oblatum est, sed nullus unquam eorum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*[a]; his predecessors (it seems) had been tempted with an offer of that title, but none of them ever assumed that name of singularity, as being 'against the law of the gospel, and the canons of the church.'

Now this being a matter of which Christ spake not one word to S. Peter, if it be a matter of faith and salvation, as it is now pretended, it is not imaginable He would have been so perfectly silent. But though He was silent of any intention to do this, yet S. Paul was not silent that Christ did otherwise; for "He hath set in His church *primum apostolos,* first of all apostles;" not, first S. Peter

[x] In concil. Carthag. [p. 229.]

[y] De bapt. contr. Donatist., lib. iii. c. 3. [tom. ix. col. 110 F.]

[z] Lib. iv. ep. 76, 78, 31, 34, 38, 39, &c., lib. vi. ep. 24. [al. lib. v. epp. 18, 21, 19, &c., et vii. 27.]

[a] Lib. iv. ep. 32. [al. v. 20. tom. ii. col. 748.] Quis est iste, qui contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi usurpare nomen præsumit?—Videatur epistola S. Hieron. ad Evagrium, [al. ad Evangelum, tom. iv. part. 2, col. 802 sqq.]—Concil. Chalced. act. 16. [tom. ii. col. 638 sqq.]—Concil. Nicæn. can. 6. et can. 9. [tom. i. col. 326 sq.] et Concil. C. P. can. 3. [ibid., col. 809.] et Novel. Justin. cxxxi. [capp. 2—4. et alibi; col. 275.]

and secondarily apostles, but all the apostles were first. It is also evident that S. Peter did not carry himself so as to give the least overture or umbrage to make any one suspect he had any such pre-eminence; but he was (as S. Chrysostom[b] truly says) μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιῶν γνώμης, 'he did all things with the common consent,' οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς, 'nothing by special authority or principality:' and if he had any such, it is more than probable that the apostles who survived him had succeeded him in it, rather than the bishop of Rome: and it being certain (as the bishop of Canaries[c] confesses) that 'there is in scripture no revelation that the bishop of Rome should succeed Peter' in it; and we being there told that S. Peter was at Antioch, but never that he was at Rome; it being confessed by some of their own parties, by cardinal Cusanus[d], Soto[e], Driedo[f], Canus, and Segovius, that this succession was not addicted to any particular church, nor that Christ's institution of this does any other way appear; that it cannot be proved that the bishop of Rome is prince of the church: it being also certain that there was no such thing known in the primitive church, but that the holy fathers both of Africa and the east did oppose P. Victor and P. Stephen when they began to interpose with a presumptive authority in the affairs of other churches; and that the bishops of the church did treat with the Roman bishop as with a brother, not as their superior: and that the general council held at Chalcedon did give to the bishops of C.P. equal rights and pre-eminence with the bishops of Rome: and that the Greek churches are at this day, and have been a long time, great opponents of this pretension of the bishops of Rome: and after all this, since it is certain that Christ, who foreknows all things, did also know that there would be great disputes and challenges of this pre-eminence, did indeed suppress it in His apostles[g], and said not it should be otherwise in succession, and did not give any command to His church to obey the bishops of Rome as His vicars, more than what He commanded concerning all bishops; it must be certain that it cannot be necessary to salvation to do so, but that it is more than probable that He never intended any such thing, and that the bishops of Rome have to the great prejudice of christendom made a great schism, and usurped a title which is not their due, and challenged an authority to which they have no right, and have set themselves above others who are their equals, and impose an article of faith of their own contriving, and have made great preparation for Antichrist, if he ever get into that seat, or be in already; and made it necessary for all of the Roman communion to believe and obey him in all things.

[b] In act. apost. hom. iii. [tom. ix. p. 23 D.]

[c] Canus, loc., lib. vi. c. 8. [p. 340.]

[d] Concord. cath., lib. ii. c. 34. [p. 774.]

[e] Sent., lib. iv. dist. 24. q. 2. art. 5. [p. 594 sqq.]

[f] De eccl. dogm., lib. iv. c. 3. [tom. i. p. 223 b, sqq.]

[g] [Luke xxii. 25; Matt. xx. 26, 27.]

§ 11. A miscellany of many other doctrines and practices wherein that church has innovated.

THERE are very many more things in which the church of Rome hath greatly turned aside from the doctrines of scripture and the practice of the catholic apostolic and primitive church.

Such are these: the invocation of saints: the insufficiency of scriptures without traditions of faith unto salvation: their absolving sinners before they have by canonical penances, and the fruits of a good life, testified their repentance: their giving leave to simple presbyters by papal dispensation, to give confirmation or chrism: selling masses for ninepences: circumgestation of the eucharist to be adored: the dangerous doctrine of the necessity of the priest's intention in collating sacraments, by which device they have put it into the power of the priests to damn whom he please of his own parish: their affirming that the mass is a proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead: private masses, or the Lord's supper without communion; which is against the doctrine and practice of the ancient church of Rome itself; and contrary to the tradition of the apostles, if we may believe pope Calixtus[h]; and is also forbidden under pain of excommunication, *Peracta consecratione omnes communicent qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus, sic autem etiam apostoli statuerint, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia,* 'when the consecration is finished, let all communicate that will not be thrust from the bounds of the church; for so the apostles appointed, and so the holy church of Rome does hold.' The same also was decreed by P. Soter and P. Martin in a council of bishops, and most severely enjoined by the canons of the apostles, as they are cited in the canon law[i].

There are divers others, but we suppose that those innovations which we have already noted may be sufficient to verify this charge of novelty. But we have done this the rather, because the Roman emissaries endeavour to prevail amongst the ignorant and prejudicate by boasting of antiquity, and calling their religion the 'old religion' and the 'catholic;' so ensnaring others by ignorant words, in which is no truth; their religion as it is distinguished[j] from the religion of the church of England and Ireland, being neither the old nor the catholic religion, but new and superinduced by arts known to all who with sincerity and diligence have looked into their pretences.

But they have taught every priest that can scarce understand his breviary (of which in Ireland there are but too many) and very many

[h] [Gratian. decret.] de consecrat. dist. ii. cap. 'Peracta.' Vide etiam, ib. cap. 'In cœna,' et cap. 'Si quis.' [sc. cap. 10, 7, 8. coll. 2085, 9.]

[i] De consecrat. dist. i. c. 62. [col. 2076.] 'Omnes fidel.'—Omnes fideles qui conveniunt in solennitatibus sacris ad ecclesiam, et scripturas apostolorum et evangelia audiant, qui autem non perseverant in oratione usque dum missa peragatur, nec sanctam communionem percipiunt, velut inquietudines ecclesiæ commoventes convenit communione privari.

[j] ['as it distinguishes' A.]

of the people, to ask, where our religion was before Luther? whereas it appears by the premises, that it is much more easy for us to shew our religion before Luther, than for them to shew theirs before Trent. And although they can shew too much practice of their religion in the degenerate ages of the church, yet we can and do clearly shew ours in the purest and first ages; and can and do draw lines pointing to the times and places where the several rooms and stories of their Babel was builded, and where polished, and where furnished.

But when the keepers of the field slept, and the enemy had sown tares, and they had choked the wheat, and almost destroyed it; when the world complained of the infinite errors in the church, and being oppressed by a violent power, durst not complain so much as they had cause; and when they who had cause to complain were yet themselves very much abused, and did not complain in all they might; when divers excellent persons, S. Bernard, Clemangis, Grosthead, Marsilius, Ocham, Alvarus, abbat Goachim, Petrarch, Savanarola, Valla, Erasmus, Mantuan, Gerson, Ferus, Cassander, Andreas Fricius, Modrevius, Hermannus Coloniensis, Wasseburgius archdeacon of Verdun, Paulus Langius[k], Staphilus, Telesphorus de Cusentia, doctor Talheymius, Francis Zabarel the cardinal, and pope Adrian himself, with many others; not to reckon Wiclef, Hus, Hierome of Prague, the Bohemians, and the poor men of Lyons, whom they called heretics, and confuted with fire and sword; when almost all christian princes did complain heavily of the corrupt state of the church and of religion, and no remedy could be had, but the very intended remedy made things much worse; then it was that divers christian kingdoms, and particularly the church of England,

> Tum primum senio docilis, tua sæcula Roma
> Erubuit, pudet exacti jam temporis, odit
> Præteritos fœdis cum religionibus annos,

being ashamed of the errors, superstitions, heresies, and impieties which had deturpated the face of the church; looked in the glass of scripture and pure antiquity; and washed away those stains with which time and inadvertency and tyranny had besmeared her; and being thus cleansed and washed, is accused by the Roman parties of novelty, and condemned because she refuses to run into the same excess of riot and deordination. But we cannot deserve blame who return to our ancient and first health, by preferring a new cure before an old sore.

[k] In chronic. Citizensi. [in Pistorii Rer. German. scriptt. per Struvium, tom. i. fol. Ratisb. 1726.]

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF ROME, AS IT IS AT THIS DAY DISORDERED, TEACHES DOCTRINES, AND USES PRACTICES, WHICH ARE IN THEMSELVES, OR IN THEIR TRUE AND IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES, DIRECT IMPIETIES, AND GIVE WARRANTY TO A WICKED LIFE.

§ 1. Such is their doctrine of repentance.

OUR first instance is in their doctrines of repentance. For the Roman doctors teach that unless it be by accident, or in respect of some other obligation, a sinner is not bound presently to repent of his sin as soon as he hath committed it. Some time or other he must do it; and if he take care so to order his affairs that it be not wholly omitted, but so that it be done one time or other, he is not by the precept or grace of repentance bound to do more. Scotus and his scholars say that a sinner is bound, viz., by the precept of the church, to repent on holy-days, especially the great ones. But this is thought too severe by Soto and Medina, who teach that a sinner is bound to repent but once a year, that is, against Easter. These doctors indeed do differ concerning the church's sense; which according to the best of them is bad enough; full as bad as it is stated in the charge: but they agree in the worst part of it, viz., that though the church calls upon sinners to repent on holy-days, or at Easter; yet that by the law of God they are not tied to so much, but only to repent in the danger or article of death. This is the express doctrine taught in the church of Rome by their famous Navar[a]; and for this he quotes pope Adrian and cardinal Cajetan, and finally affirms it to be 'the sense of all men.' The same also is taught by Reginaldus[b], saying 'It is true, and the opinion of all men, that the time in which a sinner is bound by the commandment of God to be contrite for his sins, is the imminent article of natural or violent death.'

We shall not need to aggravate this sad story by the addition of other words to the same purpose in a worse degree; such as those words are of the same Reginaldus, "There is no precept that a sinner should not persevere in enmity against God; there is no negative precept forbidding such a perseverance." These are the words of this man, but the proper and necessary consequent of that which they all teach, and to which they must consent. For since it is certain that he who hath sinned against God and his conscience is in a state of enmity, we say he therefore ought to repent presently, because until he hath repented he is an enemy to God. This they confess, but they suppose it concludes nothing; for though they consider and confess this, yet they still saying a man is not bound by God's law to repent till the article of death, do consequently say

[a] [Azpilcueta Navarrus,] enchir., c. i. n. 31. [n. 27 sqq. p. 83.]

[b] Praxis fori pœnit., lib. v. c. 2. sect. 4. n. 23. [tom. i. p. 206.]

the same thing that Reginaldus does, and that a man is not bound to come out of that state of enmity till he be in those circumstances that it is very probable if he does not then come out he must stay in it for ever. It is something worse than this yet that Sotus[c] says, "Even to resolve to defer our repentance, and to refuse to repent for a certain time, is but a venial sin;" but Medina[d] says it is none at all.

If it be replied to this, that though God hath left it to a sinner's liberty to repent when he please, yet the church hath been more severe than God hath been, and ties a sinner to repent by collateral positive laws; for having bound every one to confess at Easter, consequently she hath tied every one to repent at Easter, and so by her laws, can lie in the sin without interruption but twelve months, or thereabouts; yet there is a secret in this, which nevertheless themselves have been pleased to discover for the ease of tender consciences, viz., that the church ordains but the means, the exterior solemnity of it, and is satisfied if you obey her laws by a ritual repentance; but the holiness and the inward repentance which in charity we should have supposed to have been designed by the law of festivals, *non est id quod per præceptum de observatione festorum injungitur*[e], 'is not that which is enjoined by the church in her law of holydays.' So that still sinners are left to the liberty which they say God gave; even to satisfy ourselves with all the remaining pleasures of that sin for a little while, even during our short mortal life: only we must be sure to repent at last.

We shall not trouble ourselves or our charges with confuting this impious doctrine: for it is evident that this gives countenance and too much warranty to a wicked life; and that of itself is confutation enough, and is that which we intended to represent.

If it be answered that this is not the doctrine of their church, but of some private doctors; we must tell you that, if by the doctrine of their church they mean such things only as are decreed in their councils, it is to be considered that but few things are determined in their councils; nothing but articles of belief, and the practice of sacraments relating to public order: and if they will not be reproved for any thing but what we prove to be false in the articles of their simple belief, they take a liberty to say and to do what they list, and to corrupt all the world by their rules of conscience. But that this is also the doctrine of their church, their own men tell us, *Communis omnium, &c.*, 'it is the doctrine of all their men;' so they affirm, as we have cited their own words above: who also undertake to tell us in what sense their church intends to tie sinners to actual repent-

[c] Dom. a Soto, in quart. sent., dist. xvii. qu. 2. art. 6. concl. secunda. [vid. Reginald. ut supra, n. 21.]

[d] Non est dubium quin id licitum sit. —Cod. de pœniten. tract. 1. q. 6. p. 18. edit. Salmantic. A.D. 1553. [p. 37. fol. Ingoldst. 1581.]

[e] Reginald. [Prax. for. pœnit.] lib. de contrit., [sc. lib. v.] c. 2. sect. 4. [n. 22, tom. i. p. 206.]

ance; not as soon as the sin is committed, but at certain seasons, and then also to no more of it than the external and ritual part. So that if their church be injuriously charged, themselves have done it, not we. And besides all this, it is hard to suppose or expect that the innumerable cases of conscience which a whole trade of lawyers and divines amongst them have made, can be entered into the records of councils and public decrees. In these cases we are to consider, who teaches them? Their gravest doctors, in the face of the sun, under the intuition of authority in the public conduct of souls, in their allowed sermons, in their books licensed by a curious and inquisitive authority, not passing from them but by warranty from several hands intrusted to examine them, *ne fides ecclesiæ aliquid detrimenti patiatur*, 'that nothing be published but what is consonant to the catholic faith.' And therefore these things cannot be esteemed private opinions[f]: especially since if they be, yet they are the private opinions of them all, and that we understand to be public enough: and are so their doctrine, as what the scribes and pharisees taught their disciples, though the whole church of the Jews had not passed it into a law. So this is the Roman doctrine, though not the Roman law: which difference we desire may be observed in many of the following instances, that this objection may no more interpose for an escape, or excuse; but we shall have occasion again to speak to it, upon new particulars.

But this though it be infinitely intolerable, yet it is but the beginning of sorrows; for the guides of souls in the Roman church have prevaricated in all the parts of repentance most sadly and dangerously.

The next things therefore that we shall remark are their doctrines concerning contrition: which when it is genuine and true, that is, a true cordial sorrow for having sinned against God; a sorrow proceeding from the love of God, and conversion to Him, and ending in a dereliction of all our sins, and a walking in all righteousness; both the psalms and the prophets, the Old testament and the New, the Greek fathers and the Latin, have allowed as sufficient for the pardon of our sins through faith in Jesus Christ (as our writers have often proved in their sermons, and books of conscience): yet first, the church of Rome does not allow it to be of any value unless it be joined with a desire to confess their sins to a priest; saying that a man by contrition is not reconciled to God without their sacramental or ritual penance, actual or votive; and this is decreed by the council of Trent[g]: which thing besides that it is against scripture and the promises of the gospel, and not only "teaches for doctrine the commandments of men," but evacuates the goodness of God by their

[f] Non illico ut homo se reum sentit culpæ, pœnitentiæ lege pœnitere constringitur; hæc profecto conclusio more et usu ecclesiæ satis videtur constabilita. —Dom. a Soto, in quart. sent. dist. xvii. qu. 2. art. 6. [concl. 2. p. 420.]

[g] Sessio iv. [leg. xiv.] can. 4. [tom. x. col. 98.]

traditions, and weakens and discourages the best repentance, and prefers repentance towards men before that which the scripture calls "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ."

But the malignity of this doctrine, and its influence it hath on an evil life, appears in the other corresponding part of this doctrine. For as 'contrition' without their ritual and sacramental confession will not reconcile us to God: so 'attrition' as they call it, or contrition imperfect, proceeding from fear of damnation, together with their sacrament, will reconcile the sinner. Contrition without it will not, attrition with it will reconcile us; and therefore by this doctrine, which is expressly decreed at Trent, there is no necessity of contrition at all; and attrition is as good to all intents and purposes of pardon: and a little repentance will prevail as well as the greatest, the imperfect as well as the perfect. So Guilielmus de Rubione[h] explains this doctrine: he that confesses his sins, grieving but a little, obtains remission of his sins by the sacrament of penance ministered to him by the priest absolving him. So that although God working contrition in a penitent, hath not done his work for him without the priest's absolution, in desire at least; yet if the priest do his part, he hath done the work for the penitent, though God had not wrought that excellent grace of contrition in the penitent.

But for the contrition itself: it is a good word, but of no severity or affrightment by the Roman doctrine; "One contrition, one act of it though but little and remiss, can blot out any even the greatest sin," (always understanding it in the sense of the church, that is, in the sacrament of penance,) saith cardinal Tolet[i]. "A certain little inward grief of mind is required to the perfection of repentance," said Maldonat[k]. And "to contrition, a grief in general for all our sins is sufficient, but it is not necessary to grieve for any one sin more than another," said Franciscus de Victoria[l]; the greatest sin and the smallest as to this, are all alike; and as for the contrition itself, "any intension or degree whatsoever, in any instant whatsoever, is sufficient to obtain mercy and remission," said the same author[m].

Now let this be added to the former, and the sequel is this, that if a man live a wicked life for threescore or fourscore years together, yet if in the article of his death, sooner than which God hath not commanded him to repent, he be a little sorrowful for his sins, then resolving for the present that he will do so no more; and though this sorrow hath in it no love of God, but only a fear of hell, and a hope that God will pardon him; this, if the priest absolves him, does instantly pass him into a state of salvation. The priest with two

[h] In iv. sent. dist. 18. q. 1. [fol. 179 a.]

[i] Lib. iii. instruct. sacerdot., cap. 5. n. 4. [p. 547.]

[k] Sum., qu. xvi. art. 1. [p. 231.]

[l] De contrit., num. 107. [leg. 116. fol. 62 a.—8vo. Antv. 1580.]

[m] Quæcunque intensio contra peccatum, in quocunque instanti, sufficiet ad consequendam misericordiam et remissionem.—Ibid., n. 106. [leg. 117. fol. 62 b.]

fingers and a thumb can do his work for him; only he must be greatly disposed and prepared to receive it: greatly, we say, according to the sense of the Roman church; for he must be attrite, or it were better if he were contrite; one act of grief, a little one, and that not for one sin more than another, and this at the end of a long wicked life, at the time of our death, will make all sure.

Upon these terms it is a wonder that all wicked men in the world are not papists; where they may live so merrily, and die so securely, and are out of all danger, unless peradventure they die very suddenly, which because so very few do, the venture is esteemed nothing, and it is a thousand to one on the sinner's side.

§ 2. And confession.

We know it will be said that the Roman church enjoins confession, and imposes penances; and these are a great restraint to sinners, and gather up what was scattered before. The reply is easy, but it is very sad: for,

1) For confession; it is true, to them who are not used to it, as it is at the first time, and for that once, it is as troublesome as for a bashful man to speak orations in public; but where it is so perpetual and universal, and done by companies and crowds, at a solemn set time; and when it may be done to any one besides the parish-priest, to a friar that begs, or to a monk in his dorter[n], done in the ear, it may be, to a person that hath done worse, and therefore hath no awe upon me but what his order imprints, and his viciousness takes off; when we see women and boys, princes and prelates do the same every day: and as oftentimes they are never the better, so they are not at all ashamed; but men look upon it as a certain cure, like pulling off a man's clothes to go and wash in a river; and make it by use and habit, by confidence and custom, to be no certain pain; and the women blush or smile, weep or are unmoved, as it happens under their veil, and the men under the boldness of their sex; when we see that men and women confess to-day and sin to-morrow, and are not affrighted from their sin the more for it, because they know the worst of it, and have felt it often, and believe to be eased by it; certain it is that a little reason and a little observation will suffice to conclude that this practice of confession hath in it no affrightment, not so much as the horror of the sin itself hath to the conscience. For they who commit sins confidently, will with less regret (it may be) confess it in this manner, where it is the fashion for every one to do it. And when all the world observes how loosely the Italians, Spaniards, and French do live in their carnivals; giving to themselves all liberty and licence to do the vilest things at that time, not only because they are for a while to take their leave of them, but because they are (as they suppose) to be so soon eased of their crimes by confession, and the circular and never-failing hand of the

[n] ['dortoir,' fr. 'dormitory.']

priest; they will have no reason to admire the severity of confession: which as it was most certainly intended as a deletory[o] of sin, and might do its first intention if it were equally managed; so now certainly it gives confidence to many men to sin, and to most men to neglect the greater and more effective parts of essential repentance.

We shall not need to observe how confession is made a minister of state, a pick-lock of secrets, a spy upon families, a searcher of inclinations, a betraying to temptations; for this is wholly by the fault of the men, and not of the doctrine; but even the doctrine itself, as it is handled in the church of Rome, is so far from bringing peace to troubled consciences, that it intromits more scruples and cases than it can resolve.

For besides that itself is a question, and they have made it dangerous by pretending that it is by divine right and institution (for so some of the schoolmen[p] teach, and the canonists say the contrary[q], and that it is only of human and positive constitution) and by this difference in so great a point have made the whole economy of their repentance, which relies upon the supposed necessity of confession, to fail, or to shake vehemently, and at the best to be a foundation too uncertain to build the hopes of salvation on it; besides all this, we say their rules and doctrines of confession enjoin some things that are of themselves dangerous, and lead into temptation. An instance of this is in that which is decreed in the canons of Trent[r], that the penitent must not only confess every mortal sin which after diligent enquiry he remembers, but even his very sinful thoughts in particular, and his secret desires, and every circumstance which changes the kind of the sin, or (as some add) does notably increase it: and how this can be safely done, and who is sufficient for these things, and who can tell his circumstances without tempting his confessor, or betraying and defaming another person (which is forbidden) and in what cases it may be done or in what cases omitted; and whether the confession be valid upon infinite other considerations, and whether it be to be repeated in whole or in part, and how often, and how much; these things are so uncertain, casual and contingent, and so many cases are multiplied upon every one of these, and these so disputed and argued by their greatest doctors, by Thomas, and

[o] [sic edd.—A confusion appears to have crept in between 'deletery,' from the greek; and 'deletory,' from the latin.]

[p] Vide Biel, lib. iv. dist. 17. q. 1. [tom. ii. p. 550.] et Scotum, ibid. [tom. ix. p. 299.] et Bonavent., ib. n. 72. [tom. v. p. 250.]

[q] Melius dicitur, eam institutam fuisse a quadam universalis ecclesiæ traditione, quam ex novi vel veteris testamenti auctoritate; et tamen negatur hæc traditio esse universalis. Confessio non est necessaria apud Græcos, quia non emanavit ad illos traditio talis.—De pœnit. dist. v. in principio, Gloss. ibid. [col. 1958] Vide etiam Panormitan. super Decreta, lib. v. cap. 'Quod autem,' [De pœnit. cap. 4. fol. 250.] c. 'Omnis utriusque sexus,' sect. 18. 'extrav. Gloss.' [Ibid. cap. 12. fol. 255 b.—fol. Lugd. 1586.] Maldonatus fatetur omnes canonistas in hanc sententiam consensisse.—Disp. de sacram., tom. ii. c. 2. de confess. orig. [p. 35.]

[r] Sess. iv. [leg. xiv.] can. 7. [tom. x. col. 98.]

Scotus, and all the schoolmen, and by the casuists; that, as Beatus Rhenanus complains, it was truly observed by the famous John Geilerius that according to their cases, enquiries, and conclusions, it is impossible for any man to make a right confession. So that although the shame of private confession be very tolerable and easy, yet the cases and scruples which they have introduced are neither easy nor tolerable; and though (as it is now used) there be but little in it to restrain sin, yet there is very much danger of increasing it, and of receiving no benefit by it.

§ 3. Of penances and satisfactions.

2) But then for penances and satisfactions, of which they boast so much as being so great restraints to sin, these as they are publicly handled are nothing but words and ineffective sounds. For first, if we consider what the penances themselves are which are enjoined, they are reduced from the ancient canonical penances to private and arbitrary, from years to hours, from great severity to gentleness and flattery, from fasting and public shame to the saying over their beads, from cordial to ritual, from smart to money, from heartiness and earnest[s] to pageantry and theatrical images of penance; and if some confessors happen to be severe, there are ways enough to be eased. For the penitent may have leave to go to a gentler, or he may get commutations, or he may get some body else to do them for him[t]: and if his penances be never so great, or never so little, yet it may be all supplied by indulgences; of which there are such store in the Lateran at Rome, that, as pope Boniface said, no man is able to number them; yet he confirmed them all.

In the church of *Sancta Maria de Popolo* there are for every day in the year two thousand and eight hundred years of pardon, besides fourteen thousand and fourteen carentanes[u]; which in one year amount to more than a million: all which are confirmed by the popes Paschal the first, Boniface the eighth, and Gregory the ninth. In the church of S. Vitus and Modestus, there are for every day in the year seven thousand years, and seven thousand carentanes of pardon, and a pardon of a third part of all our sins besides; and the price of all this is but praying before an altar in that church. At the sepulchre of Christ in Venice there is hung up a prayer of S. Augustine, with an indulgence of fourscore and two thousand years, granted by Boniface the eighth (who was of all the popes the most bountiful of the church's treasure) and Benedict the eleventh, to him that shall say it, and that for every day *toties quoties*. The divine pardon of Sica gave a plenary indulgence to every one that being confessed and communicated should pray there in the Franciscan church of *Sancta Maria de gli Angeli*, and this pardon is *ab omni pœna et culpa*. The

[s] ['earnestness' C.]

[t] Eman. Sà, V. Satisfact. n. 10. [p. 343.] Tolet., lib. iii. instr. sacerd., cap. 11. n. 6. [p. 571.]

[u] [Quadragena, quarentena, carena, are the same word originally; see Du Cange.]

English of that we easily understand; but the meaning of it we do not, because they will not own that these indulgences do profit any one whose guilt is not taken away by the sacrament of penance. But this is not the only snare in which they have inextricably entangled themselves; but be it as they please for this, whatever it was, it was since enlarged by Sixtus the fourth, and Sixtus the fifth, to all that shall wear S. Francis' cord. The saying a few *Pater nosters* and *Aves* before a privileged altar, can in innumerable places procure vast portions of this treasure; and to deliver a soul out of purgatory, whom they list, is promised to many upon easy terms, even to the saying of their beads over with an appendent medal of the pope's benediction. Every priest at his third or fourth mass is as sure as may be to deliver the souls of his parents; and a thousand more such stories as these are to be seen every where and every day.

Once for all: there was a book printed at Paris by Francis Regnault, A.D. 1536, May 25, called "The hours of the most blessed Virgin Mary, according to the use of Sarum;" in which for the saying three short prayers written in Rome, in a place called 'The chapel of the holy cross of seven Romans,' are promised four-score and ten thousand years of pardon of deadly sin. Now the meaning of these things is very plain. By these devices they serve themselves, and they do not serve God. They serve themselves by this doctrine; for they teach[v] that what penance is ordinarily imposed, does not take away all the punishment that is due; for they do not impose what was anciently enjoined by the penitential canons, but some little thing instead of it: and it may be that what was anciently enjoined by the penitential canons is not so much as God will exact, (for they suppose that He will forgive nothing but the guilt and the eternity, but He will exact all that can be demanded on this side hell, even to the last farthing He must be paid some way or other, even when the guilt is taken away,) but therefore to prevent any failing that way, they have given indulgences enough to take off what was due by the old canons, and what may be due by the severity of God; and if these fail, they may have recourse to the priests, and they by their masses can make supply: so that their disciples are well, and the want of ancient discipline shall do them no hurt.—But then how little they serve God's end by treating the sinner so gently, will be very evident. For by this means they have found out a way, that though it may be God will be more severe than the old penitential canons; and although these canons were much more severe than men are now willing to suffer; yet neither for the one or the other shall they need to be troubled: they have found out an easier way to go to heaven than so. An indulgence will be no great charge, but that will take off all the supernumerary penances which ought to have been imposed by the ancient discipline of the church, and may

[v] Tolet. instr. sacerd., lib. iii. cap. 11. n. 6. [vid. nn. 1 et 15.]

be required by God. A little alms to a priest, a small oblation to a church, a pilgrimage to the image or reliques of a saint, wearing S. Francis' cord, saying over the beads with an hallowed appendent, entering into a fraternity, praying at a privileged altar, leaving a legacy for a soul-mass, visiting a privileged cemetery, and twenty other devices, will secure the sinner from suffering punishment here or hereafter, more than his friendly priest is pleased gently to impose.

To them that ask, what should any one need to get so many hundred thousand years of pardon as are ready to be had upon very easy terms? they answer as before, that whereas it may be for perjury the ancient canons enjoined penance all their life[v], that will be supposed to be twenty or forty years, or suppose an hundred; if the man have been perjured a thousand times, and committed adultery so often, and done innumerable other sins, for every one of which he deserves to suffer forty years' penance; and how much more in the account of God he deserves, he knows not: if he be attrite, and confessed so[w], that the guilt is taken away, yet as much temporal punishment remains due as is not paid here: but the indulgences of the church will take off so much as it comes to, even of all that would be suffered in purgatory. Now it is true that purgatory (at least as is believed) cannot last a hundred thousand years; but yet God may by the acerbity of the flames in twenty years equal the canonical penances of twenty thousand years: to prevent which, these indulgences of so many thousand years are devised. A wise and thrifty invention sure, and well contrived, and rightly applotted according to every man's need, and according as they suspect his bill shall amount to.

This strange invention, as strange as it is, will be owned; for this is the account of it which we find in Bellarmine[x]: and although Gerson and Dominicus a Soto are ashamed of these prodigious indulgences, and suppose that the pope's questuaries did procure them, yet it must not be so disowned; truth is truth, and it is notoriously so, and therefore a reason must be found out for it, and this is it which we have accounted. But the use we make of it is this; that since they have declared that when sins are pardoned so easily, yet the punishment remains so very great, and that so much must be suffered here or in purgatory; it is strange that they should not only in effect pretend to shew more mercy than God does, or the primitive church did; but that they should directly lay aside the primitive discipline, and while they declaim against their adversaries for saying they are not necessary, yet at the same time they should devise tricks to take them quite away, so that neither penances shall much smart here, nor purgatory (which is a device to make men be Mulatas, as the Spaniard calls half-christians, a device to make a man go to

[v] Vid. concil. Tribur., c. 54. [tom. vi. col. 455.]—Burchard., lib. xix. [p. 267.] Tertul. lib. de pœnitentia. [§ 9. p. 127.]

[w] [sic punct. B, C.]

[x] De indulgent., lib. i. c. 9. sect. 'Existit autem.' [tom. iii. col. 1528.]

heaven and to hell too) shall not torment them hereafter. However it be, yet things are so ordered that the noise of penances need not trouble the greatest criminal, unless he be so unfortunate as to live in no country and near no church, and without priest, or friend, or money, or notice of any thing that is so loudly talked of in christendom. If he be, he hath no help but one; he must live a holy and a severe life, which is the only great calamity which they are commanded to suffer in the church of England; but if he be not, the case is plain, he may by these doctrines take his ease.

§ 4. Their doctrine about pardon and indulgences, contrition and satisfaction.

We doubt not but they who understand the proper sequel of these things, will not wonder that the church of Rome should have a numerous company of proselytes, made up of such as the beginnings of David's army were. But that we may undeceive them also, for to their souls we intend charity and relief by this address, we have thought fit to add one consideration more, and that is, that it is not fit that they should trust to this, or any thing of this; not only because there is no foundation of truth in these new devices, but because even the Roman doctors themselves, when they are pinched with an objection, let their hold go, and to escape do in remarkable measures destroy their own new building.

The case is this; to them who say that "if there were truth in these pretensions, then all these and the many millions of indulgences more, and the many other ways of releasing souls out of purgatory, the innumerable masses said every day, the power of the keys so largely employed, would in a short time have emptied purgatory of all her sad inhabitants, or it may be very few would go thither, and they that unfortunately do, cannot stay long; and consequently, besides that this great softness and easiness of procedure would give confidence to the greatest sinners, and the hopes of purgatory would destroy the fears of hell, and the certainty of doing well enough in an imperfect life would make men careless of the more excellent: besides these things, there will need no continuation of pensions to pray for persons dead many years ago:" to them, I say, who talk to them at this rate, they have enough to answer;—

Deceive not yourselves, there are more things to be reckoned for than so; for when you have deserved great punishments for great sins, and the guilt is taken off by absolution, and (you suppose) the punishment by indulgences or the satisfaction of others; it may be so, and it may be not so.

1. For first, it is according as your indulgence is. Suppose it for forty years, or it may be a hundred, or a thousand, (and that is a great matter,) yet peradventure according to the old penitential rate you have deserved the penance of forty thousand years; or at least you may have done so by the more severe account of God: if the penance of forty years be taken off by your indulgence, it does as

much of the work as was promised or intended; but you can feel little ease if still there remains due the penance of threescore thousand years. No man can tell the difference when what remains shall be so great as to surmount all the evils of this life; and the abatement may be accounted by pen and ink, but will signify little in the perception: it is like the casting out of a devil out of a miserable demoniac, when there still remains fifty more as bad as he that went away; the man will hardly find how much he is advanced in his cure.

2. But secondly, you have with much labour and some charge purchased to yourself so many Quadragenes[y], or Lents of pardon; that is, you have bought off the penances of so many times forty days. It is well; but were you well advised? it may be your Quadragenes are not Carenes[y], that is, are not a quitting the severest penances of fasting so long in bread and water: for there is great difference in the manner of keeping a penitential Lent, and it may be you have purchased but some lighter thing; and then if your demerit arise to so many Carenes, and you purchased but mere Quadragenes, without a minute and a table of particulars you may stay longer in purgatory than you expected.

3. But therefore your best way is to get a plenary indulgence; and that may be had on reasonable terms: but take heed you do not think yourself secure, for a plenary indulgence does not do all that it may be you require; for there is an indulgence more full, and another most full[z], and it is not agreed upon among the doctors whether a plenary indulgence is to be extended beyond the taking off those penances which were actually enjoined by the confessor, or how far they go further. And they that read Turrecremata, Navar, Cordubensis, Fabius Incarnatus, Petrus de Soto, Armilla aurea[a], Aquinas, Tolet, Cajetan, in their several accounts of indulgences, will soon perceive that all this is but a handful of smoke; when you hold it, you hold it not.

4. But further yet; all indulgences are granted upon some inducement, and are not *ex mero motu*, or acts of mere grace without cause; and if the cause be not reasonable, they are invalid: and whether the cause be sufficient will be very hard to judge. And if there be for the indulgence, yet if there be not a reasonable cause for the quantity of the indulgence, you cannot tell how much you get: and the preachers of indulgences ought not to declare how valid they are *assertive*, that is, by any confidence; but *opinative*, or *recitative*, they can only tell what is said, or what is their own opinion.

5. When this difficulty is passed over, yet it may be the person is not capable of them; for if he be not in the state of grace, all is nothing; and if he be, yet if he does not perform the condition of the

[y] [See p. 232, note u, above.]

[z] Vide Joan. de Turrecremata in comment. dist. 1. de pœnitent. [tom. v. p. 95. fol. Ven. 1578.]

[a] [Auctore Barthol. Fumo, 8vo. Ven. 1554.]

indulgence actually, his mere endeavour or good desire is nothing. And when the conditions are actually done, it must be enquired whether in the time of doing them you were in charity; whether you be so at least in the last day of finishing them: it is good to be certain in this, lest all evaporate and come to nothing. But yet suppose this too, though the work you are to do as the condition of the indulgence be done so well that you lose not all the indulgence; yet for every degree of imperfection in that work you will lose a part of the indulgence, and then it will be hard to tell whether you get half so much as you propounded to yourself. But here pope Adrian[b] troubles the whole affair again: for if the indulgence be only given according to the worthiness of the work done, then that will avail of itself without any grant from the church; and then it is hugely questionable whether the pope's authority be of any use in this whole matter.

6. But there is yet a greater heap of dangers and uncertainties; for you must be sure of the authority of him that gives the indulgence, and in this there are many doubtful questions; but when they are over, yet it is worth enquiry (for some doctors are fearful in this point) whether the intromission of venial sins, without which no man lives, does hinder the fruit of the indulgence; for if it does, all the cost is lost.

7. When an indulgence is given, put case to abide forty days on certain conditions, whether these forty days are to be taken collectively or distributively[c]; for because it is confessed that the matter of indulgences is *res odibilis*, 'a hateful and an odious matter,' it is not to be understood in the sense of favour, but of greatest severity; and therefore it is good to know beforehand what to trust to, to enquire how the bull is penned, and what sense of law every word does bear; for it may be any good man's case. If an indulgence be granted to a place for so many days in every year, it were fit you enquire for how many years that will last; for some doctors say that if a definite number of years be not set down, it is intended to last but twenty years: and therefore it is good to be wise early.

8. But it is yet of greater consideration; if you take out a bull of indulgence relating to the article of death, in case you recover that sickness in which you thought you should use it, you must consider whether you must not take out a new one for the next fit of sickness; or will the first, which stood for nothing, keep cold, and without any sensible error serve when you shall indeed die?

9. You must also enquire and be rightly informed whether an indulgence granted upon a certain festival will be valid if the day be changed (as they were all at once by the Gregorian calendar) or if

[b] [Sarpi,] Hist. concil. Trident., lib. i. p. 20. Londin. edit. [fol. 1629.]

[c] Fab. Incarnat. Scrutin. sacerd., De indulgent. [part. ii. tract. 5. p. 219 sqq. —8vo. Lugd. 1611.]

you go into another country where the feast is not kept the same day, as it happens in moveable feasts, and on S. Bartholomew's day, and some others.

10. When your lawyers have told you their opinion of all these questions, and given it under their hands, it will concern you to enquire yet further whether a succeeding pope have not or cannot revoke an indulgence granted by his predecessor; for this is often done in matters of favour and privileges; and the German princes[d] complained sadly of it; and it was complained in the council of Lyons[e], that Martin the legate of pope Innocent the eighth[f] revoked and dissipated all former grants[g]; and it is an old rule, *Papa nunquam sibi ligat manus*, 'the pope never binds his own hands.' But here some caution would do well.

11. It is worth enquiry whether in the year of jubilee all other indulgences be suspended; for though some think they are not, yet Navar and Emanuel Sà affirm that they are; and if they chance to say true, (for no man knows whether they do or no,) you may be at a loss that way. And when all this is done, yet

12. Your indulgences will be of no avail to you in reserved cases, which are very many. A great many more very fine scruples might be moved, and are so; and therefore when you have gotten all the security you can by these, you are not safe at all. But therefore be sure still to get masses to be said.

So that now the great objection is answered; you need not fear that saying masses will ever be made unnecessary by the multitude of indulgences; the priest must still be employed and entertained *in subsidium*, since there are so many ways of making the indulgence good for nothing. And as for the fear of emptying purgatory by the free and liberal use of the keys, it is very needless; because the pope cannot evacuate purgatory[h], or give so many indulgences as to take out all souls from thence; and therefore if the popes, and the bishops, and the legates, have been already too free, it may be there is so much in arrear, that the treasure of the church is spent, or the church is in debt for souls; or else, though the treasure be inexhaustible, yet so much of her treasure ought not to be made use of, and therefore it may be that your souls shall be postponed, and must stay and take its turn God knows when. And therefore we cannot but commend the prudence of cardinal Albornotius, who by his last

[d] Centum gravam. Germ. [Apud Goldast. constit. imperial., tom. i. p. 456 sq.]

[e] [A.D. 1245.—tom. vii. col. 401 C.—Cf. cap. xiv. col. 390 E. et alibi.]

[f] [leg. 'fourth.']

[g] Idem facere voluit Paulus quintus in Venetorum causa. [For an account of this dispute between the papal power and Venice, see Ranke, Hist. of the Popes, book vi. § 12.—"Pope Paul V. viewed his rights in a thoroughly lawyer-like manner; . . . The occasional concessions or connivances of his predecessors he ascribed, not to the stringent necessity of the case, but to their own weakness and negligence, and felt himself bound to atone for their faults."—For other authorities, see ch. iii. § 2, below.]

[h] Fabius Incarnatus, Scrutin. sacerdot. De indulgent. sect. antepen. edit. Barcinon. 1628. [vid. p. 215 sqq. 8vo. Lugd. 1611.]

will[1] took order for fifty thousand masses to be said for his soul; for he was a wise man, and loved to make all as sure as he could.

But then to apply this to the consciences of the poor people of the Roman communion. Here is a great deal of treasure of the church pretended, and a great many favours granted, and much ease promised, and the wealth of the church boasted of, and the people's money gotten; and that this may be a perpetual spring, it is clear amongst their own writers that you are not sure of any good by all that is past, but you must get more security, or this may be nothing. But how easy were it for you now to conclude that all this is but a mere cozenage, an art to get money? But that's but the least of the evil, it is a certain way to deceive souls: for since there are so many thousands that trust to these things, and yet in the confession of your own writers there are so many fallibilities in the whole and in every part, why will you suffer yourselves so weakly and vainly to be cozened out of your souls with promises that signify nothing, and words without virtue, and treasures that make no man rich, and indulgences that give confidence to sin, but no ease to the pains which follow?

Besides all this, it is very considerable that this whole affair is a state of temptation, for they that have so many ways to escape will not be so careful of the main stake as the interest of it requires. He that hopes to be relieved by many others, will be tempted to neglect himself; there is a ἓν μέγα, an *unum necessarium*, even that we "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling." A little wisdom and an easy observation were enough to make all men that love themselves, wisely to abstain from such diet which does not nourish, but fills the stomach with wind and imagination. But to return to the main enquiry.

We desire that it be considered how dangerously good life is undermined by the propositions collaterally taught by their great doctors in this matter of indulgences; besides the main and direct danger and deception.

1. "Venial sins preceding or following the work enjoined for getting indulgences, hinder not their fruit; but if they intervene in the time of doing them, then they hinder[1]." By this proposition there is infinite uncertainty concerning the value of any indulgence; for if venial sins be daily incursions, who can say that he is one day clean from them? and if he be not, he hath paid his price for that which profits not, and he is made to rely upon that which will not support him. But though this being taught doth evacuate the indulgence, yet it is not taught to prevent the sin; for before and after if you commit venial sins, there is no great matter in it; the incon-

[1] Apud Geñes. Sepulvedam in vita Ægidii Albornotii cardinal. [In opp. Sepulv., tom. iv. p. 87.—4to. Matrit. 1780.]

[1] Fab. Incarn. ubi supra. [vid. p. 225.]

venience is not great, and the remedy is easy; you are told of your security as to this point beforehand.

2. Pope Adrian taught a worse matter, "He that will obtain indulgence for another, if he does perform the work enjoined, though himself be in deadly sin, yet for the other he prevails[k]:" as if a man could do more for another than he could do for himself; or as if God would regard the prayers of a vile and a wicked person when he intercedes for another, and at the same time if he prays for himself his prayer is an abomination. God first is entreated for ourselves, and when we are more excellent persons, admits us to intercede, and we shall prevail for others; but that a wicked person who is under actual guilt, and obliged himself to suffer all punishment, can ease and take off the punishment due to others by any externally-good work done 'ungraciously,' is a piece of new divinity without colour of reason or religion. Others in this are something less scandalous, and affirm that though it be not necessary that when the indulgence is granted the man should be in the state of grace, yet it is necessary that at some time or other he should be; at any time (it seems) it will serve. For thus they turn divinity and the care of souls into mathematics and clockwork, and dispute minutes and periods with God, and are careful to tell their people how much liberty they may take, and how far they may venture, lest they should lose any thing of their sins' pleasure which they can possibly enjoy and yet have hopes of being saved at last.

3. But there is worse yet. If a man willingly commits a sin in hope and expectation of a jubilee, and of the indulgences afterwards to be granted, he does not lose the indulgence, but shall receive it: which is expressly affirmed by Navar[l], and Antonius Cordubensis[m]; and Bellarmine[n], though he asks the question, denies it not. By which it is evident that the Roman doctrines and divinity teach contrary to God's way; who is most of all angry with them that 'turn His grace into wantonness,' and sin that grace may abound.

4. If any man by reason of poverty cannot give the prescribed alms, he cannot receive the indulgence. Now since it is sufficiently known[o] that in all or most of the indulgences a clause is sure to be included that something be offered to the church, to the altar, to a religious house, &c., the consequent of this will be soon seen, that indulgences are made for the rich, and the treasures of the church are to be dispensed to them that have treasures of their own, for *habenti dabitur*. But then God help the poor; for them purgatory is prepared, and they must burn: for the rich it is pretended, but the smell of fire will not pass upon them.

[k] Apud Petrum de Soto, lect. de instit. sacerd., de necessariis ad effectum indulg. [p. 238.]

[l] In tract. de Jubilæo, notab. xxxiv. n. 4. et 6. [tom. ii. append., p. 577 sq.]

[m] Qu. 37. de indulg., prop. 3. [p. 472.]

[n] Lib. i. de indulg., c. 10. Sect. 'Altera dubitatio.' [tom. iii. col. 1533.]

[o] Scrutin. sacerd. ubi supra. [vid. p. 217.]

From these premises we suppose it but too evident that the Roman doctors prevaricate in the whole doctrine of repentance, which indeed in Christ Jesus is the whole economy of justification and salvation; it is the hopes and staff of all the world, the remedy of all evils past, present, and to come: and if our physic be poisoned, if our staff be broken, if our hopes make us ashamed, how shall we appear before Christ at His coming?

But we say that in all the parts of it their doctrine is infinitely dangerous.

1. 'Contrition' is sufficient if it be but one little act, and that in the very article of death; and before that time it is not necessary by the law of God: nay, it is indeed sufficient, but it is also insufficient, for without confession in act or desire it suffices not. And though it be thus insufficiently sufficient, yet it is not necessary: for attrition is also sufficient, if a priest can be had; and then any little grief proceeding out of the fear of hell will do it, if the priest do but absolve.

2. 'Confession' might be made of excellent use, and is so among the pious children of the church of England; but by the doctrines and practices in the church of Rome it is made not the remedy of sins by proper energy, but the excuse, the alleviation, the confidence, the ritual, external and sacramental remedy, and serves instead of the labours of a holy and a regular life; and yet is so entangled with innumerable and inextricable cases of conscience, orders, human prescripts, and great and little artifices, that scruples are more increased than sins are lessened.

3. For satisfactions and penances, which, if they were rightly ordered, and made instrumental to kill the desires of sin or to punish the criminal, or were properly the fruits of repentance, that is, parts of a holy life, good works done in charity, and the habitual permanent grace of God were so prevailing, as they do the work of God; yet when they are taken away, not only by the declension of primitive discipline, but by new doctrines and indulgences, regular and offered commutations for money, and superstitious practices, which are sins themselves, and increase the numbers and weights of the account, there is a great way made for the destruction of souls, and the discountenancing the necessity of holy life; but nothing for the advantage of holiness, or the becoming like to God.

And now at last for a cover to this dish, we have thought fit to mind the world, and to give caution to all that mean to "live godly in Christ Jesus," to what an infinite scandal and impiety this affair hath risen in the church of Rome, we mean in the instance of their *Taxa cameræ seu cancellariæ apostolicæ*, 'the tax of the apostolical chamber or chancery;' a book publicly printed and exposed to common sale; of which their own Espencæus [p] gives this account, that it is a book in which a man may learn more wickedness than in all the

[p] Digres. iii. ad cap. 1. epist. ad Titum. [p. 479.]

summaries of vices published in the world: and yet to them that will pay for it, there is to many given a licence, to all an absolution for the greatest and most horrid sins; there is a price set down for his absolution that hath killed his father or his mother, brother, sister, or wife, or that hath lien with his sister or his mother. We desire all good Christians to excuse us for naming such horrid things;

Nomina sunt ipso pene timenda sono.

But the licences are printed at Paris in the year MD. by Tossan Denis. Pope Innocent the eighth either was author or enlarger of these rules of this chancery-tax, and there are glosses upon them in which the scholiast himself who made them affirms that he must for that time conceal some things to avoid scandal. But how far this impiety proceeded, and how little regard there is in it to piety or the good of souls, is visible by that which Augustinus de Ancona[q] teaches, that "the pope ought not to give indulgences to them who have a desire of giving money but cannot, as to them who actually give." And whereas it may be objected[r] that then poor men's souls are in a worse condition than the rich; he answers[s] that "as to the remission of the punishment acquired by the indulgence, in such a case it is not inconvenient that the rich should be in a better condition than the poor:" for in that manner do they imitate God, who is "no respecter of persons."

§ 6. Satisfaction, THESE observations we conceive to be sufficient to deter every well meaning person from running into or abiding in such temptations. Every false proposition that leads to impiety is a stock and fountain of temptations; and these which we have reckoned in the matter of repentance, having influence upon the whole life, are yet much greater, by corrupting the whole mass of wisdom and spiritual propositions.

There are indeed many others: we shall name some of them, but shall not need much to insist on them; such as are,

1. That one man may satisfy for another[t]: it is the general doctrine of their church; the divines and lawyers consent in it, and publicly own it. The effect of which is this, that some are made rich by it, and some are careless; but *Qui non solvit in ære, luat in corpore,* is a canonical rule; and though it was spoken in the matter of public penances, and so relates to the exterior court, yet it is also practised and avowed in satisfactions or penances relating to the inward court of conscience, and penance sacramental; and the rich man is made negligent in his duty, and is whipped upon

[q] De potest. papæ, q. 3. ad 3. [leg. q. xxx. art. 3. sc. 'Ad tertium.' p. 183.]
[r] [Ibid., § 2.]
[s] [p. 184. 'Ad secundum.']
[t] Sa, aphor. verb. 'Satisfa.' num. 10. [p. 343.]—Scrutin. sacerd. tract. de Indulg. sect. penult. [vid. p. 212 sqq.]—Suarez, part. [i. e. tom.] iv. in 3, disp. xxxviii. sect. 9. [p. 563.]

another man's back, and his purse only is the penitent: and which is worst of all, here is a pretence of doing that which is too near blasphemy but to say; for by this doctrine, it is not to be said of Christ alone, that "He was wounded for our transgressions," that He only satisfied for our sins; for in the church of Rome it is done frequently, and pretended daily, that by another man's 'stripes we are healed.'

and habitual sins,

2. They teach that a habit of sin is not a sin, distinct from those former actions by which the habit was contracted. The secret intention of which proposition, and the malignity of it, consists in this, that it is not necessary for a man to repent speedily; and a man is not bound by repentance to interrupt the procedure of his impiety, or to repent of his habit, but of the single acts that went before it. For as for those that come after, they are excused if they be produced by a strong habit; and the greater the habit, the less is the sin: but then as the repentance need not for that reason be hasty and presently; so because it is only to be of single acts, the repentance itself need not be habitual, but it may be done in an instant; whereas to mortify a habit of sin (which is the true and proper repentance) there is required a longer time, and a procedure in the methods of a holy life. By this and such like propositions and careless sentences, they have brought it to that pass that they reckon a single act of contrition at any time to be sufficient to take away the wickedness of a long life. Now that this is the avowed doctrine of the Roman guides of souls, will sufficiently appear in the writings of their chiefest[u], of which no learned man can be ignorant. The thing was of late openly and professedly disputed against us, and will not be denied. And that this doctrine is infinitely destructive of the necessity of a good life, cannot be doubted of, when themselves do own the proper consequents of it, even the unnecessariness of present repentance, or before the danger of death; of which we have already given accounts. But the reason why we remark it here is that which we now mentioned, because that by the doctrine of vicious habits, having in them no malignity or sin but what is in the single preceding acts, there is an excuse made for millions of sins: for if by an evil habit the sinner is not made worse, and more hated by God, and his sinful acts made not only more, but more criminal; it will follow that the sins are very much lessened: for they being not so voluntary in their exercise and distinct emanation, are not in present so malicious; and therefore he that hath gotten a habit of drunkenness or swearing, sins less in every act of drunkenness, or profane oath, than he that acts them seldom, because by his habit he is more inclined and his sins are almost natural, and less considered, less chosen, and

[u] Granat. in materia de peccatis, tract. 8. disp. 1. sect. ult. F. [?]—Knot against Chillingworth in his 'Infidelity unmasked,' pp. 105—107, &c. [leg. 605, &c. sc. ch. viii. § 11 sqq.]

not disputed against; but pass by inadvertency, and an untroubled consent, easily and promptly, and almost naturally, from that principle. So that by this means, and in such cases when things are come to this pass, they have gotten an imperfect warrant to sin a great deal, and a great while, without any new great inconvenience: which evil state of things ought to be infinitely avoided by all Christians that would be saved, by all means; and therefore all such teachers, and all such doctrines, are carefully to be declined, who give so much easiness, not only to the remedies but to the sins themselves. But of this we hope it may be sufficient to have given this short warning.

distinction of mortal and venial sins,

3. The distinction of mortal and venial sins, as it is taught in the church of Rome, is a great cause of wickedness and careless conversation. For although we do, with all the ancient doctors, admit of the distinction of sins mortal and venial, yet we also teach that in their own nature, and in the rigour of the divine justice, every sin is damnable, and deserves God's anger, and that in the unregenerate they are so accounted, and that in hell the damned suffer for small and great in a common mass of torment; yet by the divine mercy and compassion, the smaller sins which come by surprise, or by invincible ignorance, or inadvertency or unavoidable infirmity, shall not be imputed to those who love God, and delight not in the smallest sin, but use caution and prayers, watchfulness and remedies against them. But if any man delights in small sins, and heaps them into numbers, and by deliberation or licentiousness they grow numerous, or are in any sense chosen or taken in by contempt of the divine law, they do put us from the favour of God, and will pass into severe accounts. And though sins are greater or less by comparison to each other, yet the smallest is a burden too great for us without the allowances of the divine mercy.

But the church of Rome teaches that there is a whole kind of sins which are venial in their own nature, such which if they were all together, all in the world conjoined, could not equal one mortal sin, nor destroy charity[v], nor put us from the favour of God; such for which no man can perish, *etiamsi nullum pactum esset de remissione*[x], 'though God's merciful covenant of pardon did not intervene.' And whereas Christ said, "Of every idle word a man shall speak he shall give account at the day of judgment;" and, "By your words ye shall be justified, and by your words ye shall be condemned;" Bellarmine[y] expressly affirms, "It is not intelligible how an idle word should in its own nature be worthy of the eternal wrath of God, and eternal

[v] Bellarm., lib. i. de amiss. gratiæ, cap. 13. sect. 'Alterum est.' [tom. iv. col. 114.] Et de sacram. eucha., lib. iv. c. 19. sect. 'Respondeo.' [tom. iii. col. 863.]

[x] [De amiss. grat., lib. i.] c. 14. sect. 'Adde postremo.' [tom. iv. col. 119.]

[y] De purgator., lib. i. cap. 11. sect. 'Probatur ultimo.' [tom. ii. col. 746.]

flames." Many other desperate words are spoken by the Roman doctors in this question, which we love not to aggravate, because the main thing is acknowledged by them all.

by which they contract their repentance and their sins,

But now we appeal to the reason and consciences of all men whether this doctrine of sins venial in their own nature be not greatly destructive to a holy life, when it is plain that they give rest to men's consciences for one whole kind of sins; for such which because they occur every day, in a very short time (if they be not interrupted by the grace of repentance) will swell to a prodigious heap. But concerning these we are bidden to be quiet; for we are told that all the heaps of these in the world cannot put us out of God's favour. Add to this, that it being in thousands of cases impossible to tell which are and which are not venial in their own nature and in their appendent circumstances, either the people are cozened by this doctrine into an useless confidence; and for all this talking in their schools, they must nevertheless do to venial sins as they do to mortal, that is, mortify them, fight against them, repent speedily of them, and keep them from running into mischief; and then all their kind doctrines in this article signify no comfort or ease, but all danger and difficulty and useless dispute; or else if really they mean that this easiness of opinion be made use of, then the danger is imminent, and carelessness is introduced, and licentiousness in all little things is easily indulged; and men's souls are daily lessened without repair, and kept from growing towards christian perfection, and from 'destroying the whole body of sin;' and in short, 'despising little things, they perish by little and little[z].'

and mistake in cases of conscience.

This doctrine also is worse yet in the handling. For it hath infinite influence to the disparagement of holy life, not only by the uncertain, but as it must frequently happen by the false determination of innumerable cases of conscience. For it is a great matter both in the doing and the thing done, both in the caution and the repentance, whether such an action be a venial or a mortal sin. If it chance to be mortal and your confessor says it is venial, your soul is betrayed. And it is but a chance what they say in most cases; for they call what they please venial, and they have no certain rule to answer by; which appears too sadly in their innumerable differences which is amongst all their casuists in saying what is and what is not mortal; and of this there needs no greater proof than the reading the little summaries made by their most leading guides of conscience[a], Navar, Cajetan, Tolet, Emanuel Sà, and others; where one says such a thing is mortal, and two say it is venial.

And lest any man should say or think this is no great matter, we

[z] [vid. Ecclus. xix. 1.]

[a] ['consciences' A.]

desire that it be considered that in venial sins there may be very much fantastic pleasure, and they that retain them do believe so; for they suppose the pleasure is great enough to outweigh the intolerable pains of purgatory; and that it is more eligible to be in hell a while than to cross their appetites in such small things. And however it happen in this particular, yet because the doctors differ so infinitely and irreconcilably in saying what is and what is not venial, whoever shall trust to their doctrine saying that such a sin is venial, and to their doctrine that says it does not exclude from God's favour, may by these two propositions be damned before he is aware.

We omit to insist upon their express contradicting the words of our blessed Saviour, who taught His church expressly that 'we must work in the day-time, for the night cometh and no man worketh;' let this be as true as it can in the matter of repentance and mortification, and working out our pardon for mortal sins; yet it is not true in venial sins if we may believe their great S. Thomas[b], whom also Bellarmine[c] follows in it; for he affirms that by the acts of love and patience in purgatory, venial sins are remitted; and that the acceptation of those punishments, proceeding out of charity, is a virtual kind of penance. But in this particular we follow not S. Thomas nor Bellarmine in the church of England and Ireland, for we believe in Jesus Christ, and follow Him. If men give themselves liberty as long as they are alive to commit one whole kind of sins, and hope to work it out after death by acts of charity and repentance which they would not do in their life-time; either they must take a course to sentence the words of Christ as savouring of heresy, or else they will find themselves to have been at first deceived in their proposition, and at last in their expectation. Their faith hath failed them here, and hereafter they will be ashamed of their hope.

§ 7. Their teaching now of late, that a probable opinion, for which the authority of one doctor is sufficient, may in practice be safely followed.

THERE is a proposition, which indeed is new, but is now the general doctrine of the leading men in the church of Rome; and it is the foundation on which their doctors of conscience rely in their decision of all cases in which there is a doubt or question made by themselves; and that is, that "if an opinion or speculation be probable, it may in practice be safely followed;" and if it be enquired what is sufficient to make an opinion probable, the answer is easy, *Sufficit opinio alicujus gravis doctoris, aut bonorum exemplum*[d], 'the opinion of any one grave doctor is sufficient to make a matter probable;' nay, 'the example and practice of good men,' that is, men who are so reputed; if they have

[b] In iv. sent. dist. 21. q. 1. art. 2. [sic Bellarm. Sed? art. 1.]

[c] Lib. i. cap. 14. de Purgator. sect. 'Est ergo opinio vera.' [tom. ii. col. 763.]

[d] Emanuel Sà, aphor. verb. 'Dubium.' [p. 101.]—Escobar, Theol. moral. [prœm.] exam. iii. c. 3. 'De conscientia probabili,' &c. [p. 24.]

done it, you may do so too and be safe. This is the great rule of their cases of conscience.

And now we ought not to be pressed with any one's saying that such an opinion is but the private opinion of one or more of their doctors. For although in matters of faith this be not sufficient to impute a doctrine to a whole church, which is but the private opinion of one or more; yet because we are now speaking of the infinite danger of souls in that communion, and the horrid propositions by which their disciples are conducted, to the disparagement of good life, it is sufficient to allege the public and allowed sayings of their doctors, because these sayings are their rule of living, and because the particular rules of conscience use not to be decreed in councils, we must derive them from the places where they grow, and where they are to be found.

But besides, you will say that this is but the private opinion of some doctors; and what then? Therefore it is not to be called the doctrine of the Roman church. True, we do not say it is an article of their faith, but a rule of manners. This is not indeed in any public decree; but we say that although it be not, yet neither is the contrary. And if it be but a private opinion, yet is it safe to follow it, or is it not safe? for that's the question, and therein is the danger. If it be safe, then this is their rule, "A private opinion of any one grave doctor may be safely followed in the questions of virtue and vice." But if it be not safe to follow it, and that this does not make an opinion probable, or the practice safe; who says so? Does the church? No. Does Dr. Cajus, or Dr. Sempronius say so? Yes; but these are not safe to follow, for they are but private doctors: or if it be safe to follow them though they be no more, and the opinion no more but probable; then I may take the other side, and choose which I will, and do what I list in most cases, and yet be safe by the doctrine of the Roman casuists: which is the great line and general measure of most men's lives; and that is it which we complain of. And we have reason; for they suffer their casuists to determine all cases severely and gently, strictly and loosely, that so they may entertain all spirits, and please all dispositions, and govern them by their own inclinations, and as they list to be governed, by what may please them, not by that which profits them; that none may go away scandalized or grieved from their penitential chairs.

But upon this account it is a sad reckoning which can be made concerning souls in the church of Rome. Suppose one great doctor amongst them (as many of them do) shall say it is lawful to kill a king whom the pope declares heretic. By the doctrine of probability, here is his warranty. And though the church do not declare that doctrine, that is, the church do not make it certain in speculation, yet it may be safely done in practice: here is enough to give peace of conscience to him that does it, nay, if the contrary be more safe, yet if the other be but probable by reason or authority, you

may do the less safe and refuse what is more. For that also is the opinion of some grave doctors[g]: If one doctor says it is safe to swear a thing as of our knowledge, which we do not know, but believe it is so; it is therefore probable that it is lawful to swear it, because a grave doctor says it, and then it is safe enough to do so.

And upon this account who could find fault with pope Constantine the fourth[h], who when he was accused in the Lateran council for holding the see apostolic when he was not in orders, justified himself[i] by the example of Sergius bishop of Ravenna and Stephen bishop of Naples. Here was *exemplum bonorum;* honest men had done so before him, and therefore he was innocent. When it is observed by cardinal Campegius[k], and Albertus Pighius did teach, that a priest lives more holily and chastely that keeps a concubine than he that hath a married wife, and then shall find in the pope's law[l] that a priest is not to be removed for fornication; who will not or may not practically conclude that since by the law of God marriage is holy, and yet to some men fornication is more lawful, and does not make a priest irregular, that therefore to keep a concubine is very lawful? especially since abstracting from the consideration of a man's being in orders or not, 'fornication itself is probably no sin at all;' for so says Durandus[m], "simple fornication of itself is not a deadly sin according to the natural law, and excluding all positive law;" and Martinus de Magistris[n] says, "to believe simple fornication to be no deadly sin, is not heretical, because the testimonies of scripture are not express." These are grave doctors, and therefore the opinion is probable and the practice safe. When the good people of the church of Rome hear it read that pope Clement the eighth in the index of prohibited books, says that the Bible published in vulgar tongues ought not to be read and retained; no, not so much as a compend of the history of the Bible; and Bellarmine says that it is not necessary to salvation to believe that there are any scriptures at all written, and that cardinal Hosius saith[o], perhaps it had been better for the church if no scriptures had been written: they cannot but say that this doctrine is probable, and think themselves safe when they walk without the light of God's word, and rely wholly upon the pope, or their priest, in what he is pleased to tell them; and that they are no way obliged to keep that commandment of

[g] Eman. Sâ, aphorism. verb. 'Dubium.'—Escobar, 'de conscientia probabili.' [not. præced.]

[h] Apud Nauclerum, generat. xxi. [? xxiv.] xxvi. [p. 669.]

[i] [Anastas. biblioth. in vit. p. Stephan. iv.]

[k] Dist. lxxxii. Can. [5.] 'Presbyter,' in glossa. [Decret. Gratian. col. 432.]

[l] 3 Qu. 7. Lata Extravag. [? q. 7. c. 'Lator.' (sc. c. 44.) gloss. 'In corporali.' Gratian. Decret. col. 763.] De bigamis, 'Quia circa.' [Decretal. Gregor., lib. i. tit. 21. cap. 6. col. 290.] Communiter dicitur quod clericus pro simplici fornicatione deponi non debet, dist. xxi. [leg. lxxxi. c. 6.] 'Maximianus,' Glossa in Gratian. [col. 419.]

[m] Sent., lib. iv. dist. 33. [§ 10. p. 848.]

[n] Lib. de Temp. qu. 2. de luxuria. [et qu. 3.—f. 47 sq.]

[o] Vide Dan. Tilen. de Verbo non scripto, lib. iv. c. 8. [§ 14. p. 347.]

Christ, "Search the scriptures." Cardinal Toletᵖ says that "if a nobleman be set upon, and may escape by going away, he is not tied to it, but may kill him that intends to strike him with a stick;" thatᵠ "if a man be in a great passion, and so transported that he considers not what he says; if in that case he does blaspheme, he does not always sinʳ;" thatˢ "if a man be beastly drunk, and then commit fornication, that fornication is no sin;" thatᵗ "if a man desires carnal pollution, that he may be eased of his carnal temptations, or for his health, it were no sin;" thatᵘ "it is lawful for a man to expose his bastards to the hospital, to conceal his own shame." He says it out of Soto, and he from Thomas Aquinas, thatˣ "if the times be hard or the judge unequal, a man that cannot sell his wine at a due price may lawfully make his measures less than is appointed; or mingle water with his wine, and sell it for pure, so he do not lie; and yet if he does, it is no mortal sin, nor obliges him to restitution." Emanuel Sàʸ affirms that "if a man lie with his intended wife before marriage, it is no sin, or a light one;" nay, *quinetiam expedit si multum illa differatur*, 'it is good to do so, if the benediction or publication of marriage be much deferred;' "that infants in their cradles may be made priests, is the common opinion of divines and canonists," saith Toletᶻ; and "that in their cradles they can be made bishops, said the Archdeaconᵃ and the Provostᵇ; and though some say the contrary, yet the other is the more true," saith the cardinal. Vasquez saithᶜ that "not only an image of God, but any creature in the world, reasonable or unreasonable, may without danger be worshipped together with God, as His image;" that "we ought to adore the relics of saints, though under the form of worms;" andᵈ "that it is no sin to worship a ray of light in which the devil is invested, if a man supposes him to be Christ; and in the same manner if he supposes it to be a piece of a saint, which is not, he shall not want the merit of his devotion." And to conclude, pope Celestine the third (as Alphonsus a Castro reports himself to have seen a decretal of his to that purpose) affirmed that if one of the married couple fell into heresy, the marriage is dissolved, and that the other may marry another; and the marriage is nefarious, and they are *irritæ nuptiæ*, 'the espousals are void,' if a catholic and a heretic marry together, said the fathers of the synod *in Trullo*ᵉ. And though all of this be not owned gene-

ᵖ Instruct. sacerd., lib. v. c. 6. n. 15. [al. 28. p. 741.]
ᵠ Lib. iv. c. 13. n. 4. [al. 7. p. 644.]
ʳ [i. e. 'mortally.']
ˢ Lib. v. c. 10. n. 3. [al. 9. p. 761.]
ᵗ Lib. v. c. 13. n. 10. [al. 4. p. 772.]
ᵘ Lib. v. c. 11. n. 5. [al. 10. p. 766.]
ˣ Lib. viii. c. 49. n. 4. [al. 5. p. 1271.]
ʸ Aphor. tit. 'Debitum conjugale.' 6. [p. 78.—'Ante benedictionem,' is the expression; not before the sacrament of marriage, say the writers who answered Taylor's book.]
ᶻ [Scrut. sac.] l. i. c. 61. [n. 9. p. 264.]
ᵃ [See page 355, note n, below.]
ᵇ [Joannes Præpositus, Atrebas; De sacramento ordinis, dub. xvi.]
ᶜ De adorat., lib. iii. disp. i. c. 2. [init. p. 393.]
ᵈ Ibid., c. 5. sect. 33. [p. 411.]
ᵉ Concil. C. P. vi. can. 76. [al. 72. tom. iii. col. 1687.]

rally, yet if a Roman catholic marries a wife, that is, or shall turn, heretic, he may leave her, and part bed and board, according to the doctrine taught by the canon law itself[e], by the lawyers and divines, as appears in Covaruvias[f], Mathias Aquarius[g], and Bellarmine[h].

These opinions are indeed very strange to us of the church of England and Ireland, but no strangers in the church of Rome; and because they are taught by great doctors, by popes themselves, by cardinals, and the canon law respectively, do at least become very probable, and therefore they may be believed and practised without danger, according to the doctrine of 'probability.' And thus the most desperate things that ever were said by any, though before the declaration of the church they cannot become articles of faith; yet besides that they are doctrines publicly allowed, they can also become rules of practice, and securities to the conscience of their disciples.

To this we add, that which is usual in the church of Rome, the *praxis ecclesiæ*, 'the practice of the church.' Thus if an indulgence be granted upon condition to visit such an altar in a distant church, the nuns that are shut up, and prisoners that cannot go abroad, if they address themselves to an altar of their own with that intention, they shall obtain the indulgence; *id enim confirmat ecclesiæ praxis*, says Fabius[i], 'the practice of the church' in this case gives first a probability in speculation, and then a certainty in practice. This instance though it be of no concern, yet we use it as a particular to shew the principle upon which they go. But it is practicable in many things of greatest danger and concern. If the question be whether it be lawful to worship the image of the cross, or of Christ, with divine worship; first there is a doctrine of S. Thomas for it, and Vasquez, and many others; therefore it is probable, and therefore is safe in practice; *et sic est ecclesiæ praxis*, 'the church also practises so,' as appears in their own offices: and S. Thomas[j] makes this use of it; *Illi exhibemus cultum latriæ, in quo ponimus spem salutis: sed in cruce Christi ponimus spem salutis; cantat enim ecclesia,*

O crux ave, spes unica,
Hoc passionis tempore;
Auge piis justitiam,
Reisque dona veniam:

ergo crux Christi est adoranda adoratione latriæ; 'we give divine worship,' says he, 'to that in which we put our hopes of salvation: but in the cross we put our hopes of salvation; for so the church sings, (it is 'the practice of the church') 'Hail O cross, our only hope

[e] Cap. fin. de conver. conjug., c. 2. de divortiis. [Decretal., lib. iv. tit. 19. c. 2. tom. ii. col. 687.]

[f] De matrim., part. ii. cap. 7. sect. 5. n. 4. [tom. ii. p. 180.—opp. fol. Lugd. 1606.]

[g] In sent. iv. d. 39. art. 1. concl. ult. [d. xxxix. concl. 5 sqq. p. 66.]

[h] Lib. i. de matrim., c. 14. sect. 'Secundo sine consensu.' [tom. iii. col. 1750.]

[i] Scrutin. sacerd. de Indulg. [?]

[j] 3 part. q. 25. [art. 4.]—Vide etiam Pontif. cap. de benedictione novæ crucis, f. 163. [leg. 162. fol. Ven. 1561.]

in this time of suffering; increase righteousness to the godly, and give pardon to the guilty:' therefore the cross of Christ is to be adored with divine adoration.'

By this principle you may embrace any opinion of their doctors safely, especially if the practice of the church do intervene, and you need not trouble yourself with any further enquiry: and if an evil custom get amongst men, that very custom shall legitimate the action, if any of their grave doctors allow it, or good men use it; and Christ is not your rule, but the examples of them that live with you, or are in your eye and observation, that's your rule. We hope we shall not need to say any more in this affair; the pointing out this rock may be warning enough to them that would not suffer shipwreck, to decline the danger that looks so formidably.

§ 8. That prayers are accepted by God *ex opere operato.*

As these evil doctrines have general influence into evil life; so there are some others which if they be pursued to their proper and natural issues, that is, if they be believed and practised, are enemies to the particular and specific parts of piety and religion. Thus the very prayers of the faithful are, or may be, spoiled by doctrines publicly allowed and prevailing in the Roman church.

For first, they teach that prayers themselves *ex opere operato*, or 'by the natural work itself,' do prevail; "for it is not essential to prayer for a man to think particularly of what he says; it is not necessary to think of the things signified by the words;" so Suarez[k] teaches, "Nay, it is not necessary to the essence of prayer that he who prays should think *de ipsa locutione*, of the speaking itself." And indeed it is necessary that they should all teach so, or they cannot tolerably pretend to justify their prayers in an unknown tongue. But this is indeed their public doctrine; for prayers in the mouth of the man that says them, "are like the words of a charmer, they prevail even when they are not understood," says Salmeron. Or as Antoninus[l], "they are like a precious stone, of as much value in the hand of an unskilful man as of a jeweller." And therefore attention to, or devotion in our prayers, is not necessary: "for the understanding of which," saith cardinal Tolet[m], "when it is said that you must say your prayers or offices attently, reverently and devoutly, you must know that attention or advertency to your prayers is manifold; 1) that you attend to the words, so that you speak them not too fast, or to begin the next verse of a psalm before he that recites with you hath done the former verse; and this attention is necessary. But 2) there is an attention which is by understanding the sense, and that is not necessary; for if it were, very extremely few would do their duty,

[k] De orat., lib. iii. c. 4. [sc. in op. De virt. et stat. relig., tom. ii. p. 140 sqq.]

[l] Sum. part. iii. tit. 23. [? tit. xiii. § 7 sq.]—Vide etiam Jacobum de Graffiis de orat. [vid. Decis. aur., lib. ii. c. 35, de audit. miss. n. 9 sq.]

[m] Lib. ii. instruct. sacerd., c. 13. n. 5 et 6. [al. 9 sq. p. 476.]

when so very few do at all understand what they say. 3) There is an attention relating to the end of prayer, that is, that he that prays considers that he is present before God, and speaks to Him; and this indeed is very profitable, but it is not necessary; no, not so much." So that by this doctrine no attention is necessary, but to attend that the words be all said, and said right. But even this attention "is not necessary that it should be actual, but it suffices to be virtual, that is, that he who says his office intend to do so, and do not change his mind, although he does not attend: and he who does not change his mind, that is, unless observing himself not to attend, he still turn his mind to other things, he attends;" meaning, he attends sufficiently, and as much as is necessary; though indeed, speaking naturally and truly, he does not attend. If any man in the church of England and Ireland had published such doctrine as this, he should quickly and deservedly have felt the severity of the ecclesiastical rod; but in Rome it goes for good catholic doctrine.

Now although upon this account devotion is (it may be) good, and it is good to attend to the words of our prayer, and the sense of them; yet that it is not necessary, is evidently consequent to this. But it is also expressly affirmed by the same hand[n], "there ought to be devotion, that our mind be inflamed with the love of God, though if this be wanting, without contempt, it is no deadly sin." *Ecclesiæ satisfit per opus externum, nec aliud jubet,* saith Reginaldus[o], 'if ye do the outward work, the church is satisfied, neither does she command any thing else.' Good doctrine this! And it is an excellent church that commands nothing to him that prays, but to say so many words.

Well, but after all this, if devotion be necessary or not, if it be present or not, if the mind wander or wander not, if you mind what you pray or mind it not, there is an easy cure for all this; for pope Leo granted remission of all negligences in their saying their offices and prayers to them, who after they have done shall say this prayer, "To the holy and undivided Trinity, to the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified; to the fruitfulness of the most blessed and most glorious Virgin Mary, and to the university of all saints, be eternal praise, honour, virtue, and glory, from every creature; and to us remission of sins for ever and ever, Amen. Blessed are the bowels of the Virgin Mary, which bore the Son of the eternal God; and blessed are the paps which suckled Christ our Lord. *Pater noster: Ave Maria.*" This prayer, to this purpose, is set down by Navar[p], and cardinal Toletq.

This is the sum of the doctrine concerning the manner of saying the divine offices in the church of Rome; in which greater care is taken to obey the precept of the church than the commandments of God; "For the precept of hearing mass is not to intend the words,

[n] Ibid., n. 7. [al. 11. p. 477.]
[o] Ubi supra.
[p] [De cons. d. v. not. 19. c. 'quando.']
[q] Ubi supra, cap. 13. [n. 14. p. 477.]

but to be present at the sacrifice, though the words be not so much as heard, and they that think the contrary think so without any probable reason," saith Tolet[r]. It seems there was not so much as the authority of one grave doctor to the contrary; for if there had, the contrary opinion might have been probable; but all agree upon this doctrine, all that are considerable.

So that between the church of England and the church of Rome the difference in this article is plainly this, they pray with their lips, we with the heart; we pray with the understanding, they with the voice; we 'pray,' and they 'say prayers.' We suppose that we do not please God if our hearts be absent; they say it is enough if their bodies be present at their greatest solemnity of prayer, though they hear nothing that is spoken, and understand as little. And which of these be the better way of serving God may soon be determined if we remember the complaint which God made of the Jews, "this people draweth near Me with their lips, but their hearts are far from Me:" but we know that we are commanded to "ask in faith," which is seated in the understanding and requires the concurrence of the will, and holy desires; which cannot be at all but in the same degree in which we have a knowledge of what we ask. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man prevails;" but what our prayers want of this, they must needs want of blessing and prosperity. And if we lose the benefit of our prayers, we lose that great instrumentality by which Christians are receptive of pardon, and strengthened in faith, and confirmed in hope, and increase in charity, and are protected by providence, and are comforted in their sorrows, and derive help from God. "Ye ask and have not, because ye ask amiss," that is S. James his rule; they that pray not as they ought, shall never obtain what they fain would.

Hither is to be reduced their fond manner of prayer, consisting in vain repetitions of names and little forms of words. The Psalter of our Lady is an hundred and fifty *Ave Marias*, and at the end of every tenth they drop in the Lord's prayer; and this, with the creed at the end of the fifty, makes a perfect rosary. This indeed is the main entertainment of the people's devotion; for which cause Mantuan called their religion

Religionem ——
Quæ filo insertis numerat sua murmura baccis,

'a religion that numbers their murmurs by berries filed upon a string;' this makes up so great a part of their religion, that it may well be taken for one half of its definition. But because so few do understand what they say, but all repeat and stick to their numbers, it is evident they think to be heard for that: for that or nothing; for besides that, they neither do nor understand: and all that we shall

[r] Ibid., n. 6. [al. 12. p. 476.]

now say to it is, that our blessed Saviour reproved this way of devotion in the practice and doctrines of the heathens. Very like to which is that which they call the Psalter of Jesus; in which are fifteen short ejaculations, as 'have mercy on me,' 'strengthen me,' 'help me,' 'comfort me,' &c., and with every one of these the name of Jesus is to be said thirty times, that is in all four hundred and fifty times. Now we are ignorant how to distinguish this from the *βαττολογία* or 'vain repetition' of the gentiles[s]; for they did just so, and Christ said they did not do well; and that is all that we pretend to know of it. They thought to be heard the rather for so doing; and if the people of the Roman church do not think so, there is no reason why they should do so. But without any further arguing about the business, they are not ashamed to own it; for the author of the preface to the Jesus Psalter, printed by Fouler at Antwerp, promises to the repetition of that sweet Name 'great aid against temptations, and a wonderful increase of grace.'

§ 9. Such is their practice of invocating dead saints as deliverers.

But this mischief is gone further yet: for as Cajetan[t] affirms, 'prayers ought to be well done,' *saltem non male*, 'at least not ill;' but besides that what we have now remarked is so 'not well,' that it is 'very ill,' that which follows is directly bad, and most intolerable. For the church of Rome in her public and allowed offices prays to dead men and women, who are or whom they suppose to be beatified; and these they invocate as preservers, helpers, guardians, deliverers in their necessity; and they expressly call them their 'refuge,' their 'guard and defence,' their 'life and health.' Which is so formidable a devotion, that we for them, and for ourselves too if we should imitate them, are to dread the words of scripture[u], "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man." We are commanded to call upon God in the time of trouble; and it is promised that He will deliver us, and we shall glorify Him. We find no such command to call upon saints; neither do we know who are saints, excepting a very few; and in what present state they are we cannot know, nor how our prayers can come to their knowledge; and yet if we did know all this, it cannot be endured at all that Christians, who are commanded to call upon God and upon none else, and to make all our prayers through Jesus Christ, and never so much as warranted to make our prayers through saints departed, should yet choose saints for their particular patrons, or at all rely upon them, and make

[s] Ohe, jam desine Deos, uxor, gratulando obtundere,
. . . . . nisi illos ex tuo ingenio judicas,
Ut nil credas intelligere nisi idem dictum sit centies.
[Ter.] Heautontim. act. v. scen. 1. [lin. 6.]

[t] Summa Cajetan. v. 'Oratio.' [p. 452. 8vo. Lugd. 1567.]

[u] [Jerem. xvii. 5; Psal. cxv. 9; xlvi. 3; cxviii. 8; l. 15; Heb. iv. 16; Matt. xi. 28; John vi. 37.]

prayers to them in such forms of words which are only fit to be spoken to God; prayers which have no testimony, command, or promise in the word of God, and therefore which cannot be made in faith or prudent hope.

Neither will it be enough to say that they only desire the saints to pray for them; for though that be of itself a matter indifferent, if we were sure they do hear us when we pray, and that we should not by that means secretly destroy our confidence in God, or lessen the honour of Christ our advocate; of which because we cannot be sure, but much rather the contrary, it is not a matter indifferent: yet besides this, in the public offices of the church of Rome there are prayers to saints made with confidence in them, with derogation to God's glory and prerogative, with diminution to the honour of Christ, with words in sound and in all appearance the same with the highest that are usually expressed in our prayers to God, and His Christ: and this is it we insist upon, and reprove, as being a direct destruction of our sole confidence in God, and too near to blasphemy to be endured in the devotions of Christians. We make our words good by these allegations;

First, we shall not need here to describe out of their didactical writings what kind of prayers and what causes of confidence they teach towards the blessed Virgin Mary and all saints: only we shall recite a few words of Antoninus[v] their great divine and archbishop of Florence, "It is necessary that they to whom she converts her eyes, being an advocate for them, shall be justified and saved." And whereas it may be objected out of John[w] that the apostle says, "If any sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous;" he answers that "Christ is not our Advocate alone, but a Judge; and since the just is scarce secure, how shall a sinner go to Him as to an advocate? Therefore God hath provided us of an advocatess, who is gentle and sweet, in whom nothing that is sharp is to be found." And to those words of S. Paul, "Come boldly to the throne of grace;" he says that "Mary is the throne of Christ, in whom He rested; to her therefore let us come with boldness, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of need;" and adds that "Mary is called 'full of grace[x],' because she is the means and cause of grace, by transfusing grace to mankind;" and many other such dangerous propositions: of which who please to be further satisfied (if he can endure the horror of reading blasphemous sayings) he may find too great abundance in the *Mariale* of Bernardine[y], which is confirmed by public authority, Jacobus Perez de Valentia[z], and in

[v] Sum., part. iv. tit. 15. [sine pag. fol. Argent. 1496.]

[w] [1 John ii. 1, 2.]

[x] [Luke i. 28. κεχαριτωμένη· 'gratia plena,' vulg.; 'highly favoured,' auth. vers.]

[y] Bernardin. de Bustis, de concept. Mariæ, i. part. serm. i. part. 2. [sine pag. fol. Argent. 1502.]

[z] In cantic. Mar. 'Magnificat.' [ed. Paris. 1506 et sæpius; vid. Fabric.]

Ferdinand Quirinus de Salazar[a], who affirms that "the Virgin Mary by offering up Christ to God the Father, was worthy to have (after a certain manner) that the whole salvation and redemption of mankind should be ascribed to her; and that this was common to Christ and the blessed Virgin His mother, that she did offer and give the price of our redemption TRULY and PROPERLY; and that she is deservedly called the redeemer, the repairer, the mediator, the author and cause of our salvation." Many more horrid blasphemies are in his notes upon that chapter; and in his defence of the immaculate conception, published with the privilege of Philip the third of Spain, and by the authority of his order. But we insist not upon their doctrines delivered by their great writers, though every wise man knows that the doctrines of their church are delivered in large and indefinite terms, and descend not to minute senses, but are left to be explicated by their writers, and are so practised and understood by the people; and at the worst, the former doctrine of probability[b] will make it safe enough: but we shall produce the public practice of their church.

And first, it cannot be supposed that they intend nothing but to desire their prayers, for they rely also on their merits, and hope to get their desires, and to prevail by them also. For so it is affirmed by the Roman catechism[c], made by the decree of the council of Trent, and published by the pope's command, "The saints are therefore to be invocated because they continually make prayers for the health of mankind, and God gives us many benefits by their merit and favour;" and[d] "it is lawful to have recourse to the favour or grace of the saints, and to use their help; for they undertake the patronage of us." And the council of Trent[e] does not only say it is good to fly 'to their prayers,' but 'to their aid,' and 'to their help;' and that is indeed the principal, and the very meaning of the other. We pray that the saints should intercede for us, *id est, ut merita eorum nobis suffragentur,* 'that is, that their merits should help us,' said the Master of the Sentences[f]. *Atque id confirmat ecclesiæ praxis,* to use their own so frequent expression in many cases.

> Continet hoc templum sanctorum corpora pura,
> A quibus auxilium suppleri poscere cura,

this distich is in the church of S. Laurence in Rome; 'This church contains the pure bodies of saints, from whom take care to require that help be supplied to you.' But the practice of the church tells their secret meaning best. For besides what the common people are taught to do, as to pray to S. Gall for the health and fecundity of their geese, to S. Wendeline for their sheep, to S. Anthony for their

[a] Comment. in viii. Proverb. in vers. 19. [col. 627 B.—fol. Paris. 1619.]
[b] [§ vii. p. 246 sqq. supra.]
[c] Tit. de Sanctis. [p. 228.—fol. Rom. 1566.]
[d] [p. 227.]
[e] Sess. ix. [? xxv.—tom. x. col. 168 A.]
[f] [lib. iv. dist. 45 ad fin.]

hogs, to S. Pelagius for their oxen; and that several trades have their peculiar saints; and the physicians are patronized by Cosmas and Damian, the painters by S. Luke, the potters by Goarus, the huntsmen by Eustachius, the harlots (for that also is a trade at Rome) by S. Afra and S. Mary Magdalene: they do also rely upon peculiar saints for the cure of several diseases; S. Sebastian and S. Roch have a special privilege to cure the plague, S. Petronilla the fever, S. John and S. Bennet the abbot to cure all poison, S. Apollonia the toothache, S. Otilia sore eyes, S. Apollinaris the French pox, (for it seems he hath lately got that employment, since the discovery of the West Indies): S. Vincentius hath a special faculty in restoring stolen goods, and S. Liberius (if he please) does infallibly cure the stone, and S. Felicitas (if she be heartily called upon) will give the teeming mother a fine boy. It were strange, if nothing but intercession by these saints were intended, that they cannot as well pray for other things as these; or that they have no commission to ask of these any thing else, or not so confidently; and that if they do ask, that S. Otilia shall not as much prevail to help a fever as a cataract; or that if S. Sebastian be called upon to pray for the help of a poor female sinner who by sad diseases pays the price of her lust, he must go to S. Apollinaris in behalf of his client.

But if any of the Roman doctors say that they are not tied to defend the superstitions of the vulgar, or the abused: they say true, they are not indeed, but rather to reprove them, as we do, and to declare against them; and the council of Trent very goodly forbids all superstitions in this article, but yet tells us not what are superstitions, and what not; and still the world goes on in the practice of the same intolerable follies, and every nation hath a particular guardian-saint, and every city, every family, and almost every house, and every devouter person almost chooses his own patron-saint, whose altars they more devoutly frequent, whose image they more religiously worship, to whose relics they more readily go in pilgrimage, to whose honour they say more *Pater nosters*, whose festival they more solemnly observe; spoiling their prayers by their confidences in unknown persons, living in an unknown condition, and diminishing that affiance in God and our Lord Jesus Christ by importune and frequent addresses to them that cannot help.

But that these are not the faults of their people only, running wilfully into such follies, but the practice of their church, and warranted and taught by their guides, appears by the public prayers themselves; such as these, "O generous Mary, beauteous above all, obtain pardon for us, apply grace unto us, prepare glory for us. Hail, thou rose, thou Virgin Mary[s]," &c. "Grant to us to use true wisdom, and with the elect to enjoy grace, that we may with melody praise thee; and do thou drive our sins away: O Virgin Mary, give

[s] Ex cursu horarum beatæ Mariæ.

us joys." These, and divers others like these, are in the Anthem of our Lady. In the Rosary of our Lady this hymn is to be said:

> Reparatrix et salvatrix desperantis animæ,
> Irroratrix et largitrix spiritualis gratiæ,
> Quod requiro, quod suspiro, mea sana vulnera,
> Et da menti te poscenti gratiarum munera,
> Ut sim castus et modestus, &c.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Corde prudens, ore studens veritatem dicere,
> Malum nolens, Deum volens pio semper opere;

that is, "Thou repairer and saviour of the despairing soul, the dew-giver and bestower of spiritual grace; heal my wounds, and give to the mind that prays to thee the gifts of grace, that I may be chaste, modest, wise in heart, true in my sayings, hating evil, loving God in holy works;" and much more to the same purpose. There also the blessed Virgin Mary, after many glorious appellatives, is prayed to in these words, "Join me to Christ, govern me always, enlighten my heart, defend me always from the snare of the enemy, deliver us from all evil, and from the pains of hell."

So that it is no wonder that pope Leo the tenth[h] calls her a goddess; and Turcelin[i] the Jesuit, *Divinæ majestatis potestatisque sociam: .. huic olim cœlestium mortaliumque principatum detulit; ad hujus arbitrium (quoad*[k] *hominum tutela postulat) terras, maria, cœlum, naturamque moderatur; hac annuente, et per hanc, divinos thesauros .. et cœlestia dona largitur;* 'the companion or partner of the divine majesty and power: to her He long since gave the principality of all heavenly and mortal things; at her will (so far as the guardianship of men requires) He rules the earth and seas, heaven and nature; and she consenting, He gives divine treasures and celestial gifts.' Nay, in the mass books penned MDXXXVIII., and used in the Polonian churches, they call the B. Virgin Mary[l] *Viam ad vitam, totius mundi gubernatricem, peccatorum cum Deo reconciliatricem, fontem remissionis peccatorum, lumen luminum,* 'the way to life, the governess of all the world, the reconciler of sinners with God, the fountain of remission of sins, light of light,' and at last salute her with an *Ave universæ Trinitatis mater*[m], 'hail thou mother of the whole Trinity.'

We do not pick out these only as the most singular or the worst forms; for such as these are very numerous, as is to be seen in their breviaries, missals, Hours of our Lady, Rosary of our Lady, the Litany of our Lady called *Litania Mariæ*, the *Speculum rosariorum*[n],

[h] Ad Recanatenses de Lauretana imagine, apud Bembum, lib. viii. ep. 17. [p. 189.—8vo. Col. Agr. 1584.]

[i] In epist. dedicat. histor. Lauretan. [8vo. Col. Agr. 1662.]

[k] [al. 'quod.']

[l] Fol. 323—325.

[m] Fol. 327. Vide epist. Andr. Dudithii quinque eccles. episc. edit. A.D. 1590. sine loci et typographi nomine.

[n] [A copy of this curious little volume, formerly in Mr. Douce's collection, is now in the Bodleian Library.]

the hymns of saints, portuises[o] and manuals. These only are the instances which amongst many others presently occur. Two things only we shall add, instead of many more that might be represented.

The first is, that in a hymn which they (from what reason or etymology we know not, neither are we concerned) call a Sequence, the council of Constance did invocate the B. Virgin in the same manner as councils did use to invocate the Holy Ghost; they call her 'the Mother of grace, the remedy to the miserable, the fountain of mercy, and the light of the church;' attributes proper to God, and incommunicable; they sing her praises and pray to her for graces, they sing to her with the heart, they call themselves her sons, they declare her to be their health and comfort in all doubts, and call on her for light from heaven, and trust in her for the destruction of heresies and the repression of schisms, and for the lasting confederations of peace.

The other thing we tell of is that there is a Psalter of our Lady[p], of great and ancient account in the church of Rome; it hath been several times printed, at Venice, at Paris, at Leipsic; and the title is, 'The Psalter of the Blessed Virgin, compiled by the seraphical doctor S. Bonaventure, bishop of Alba, and presbyter cardinal of the holy church of Rome.' But of the book itself the account is soon made; for it is nothing but the psalms of David, a hundred and fifty in number are set down; altered indeed, to make as much of it as could be sense so reduced: in which the name of Lord is left out, and that of Lady put in; so that whatever David said of God and Christ, the same prayers and the same praises they say of the blessed Virgin Mary; and whether all that can be said without intolerable blasphemy, we suppose needs not much disputation.

The same things, but in a less proportion and frequency, they say to other saints.

O Maria Magdalena,
audi vota laude plena,
apud Christum chorum istum
clementer concilia;
ut fons summæ pietatis
qui te lavit a peccatis,
servos suos, atque tuos
mundet data venia[q]:

'O Mary Magdalen, hear our prayers, which are full of praises; and most clemently reconcile this company unto Christ: that the fountain of supreme piety, who cleansed thee from thy sins, giving pardon, may cleanse us who are His servants and thine.' These things are too bad already, we shall not aggravate them by any further commentary, but apply the premises.

Now therefore we desire it may be considered that there are as

[o] [vid. p. 218, not. d, supra.]

[p] [In opp. S. Bonavent., tom. vi. p. 501.—fol. Rom. 1596.]

[q] In canticis quæ vocant Sequentias; Dominic. ante ascensionem Domini. [De resurr. Christi, fol. xlii.—4to. sine loc. aut ann.]

the effects of Christ's death for us three great products, which are the rule and measure of our prayers and our confidence, first Christ's merits, secondly His satisfaction, thirdly His intercession. By these three we come boldly to the throne of grace, and pray to God "through Jesus Christ." But if we pray to God through the saints too, and rely upon their 1) merits, 2) satisfaction, 3) and intercession; is it not plain that we make them equal with Christ, in kind, though not in degree? For it is publicly avowed and practised in the church of Rome[r] to rely upon the saints' intercession, and this intercession to be made valid by the merits of the saints; "We pray thee, O S. Jude the apostle, that by thy merits thou wouldst draw me from the custom of my sins, and snatch me from the power of the devil, and advance me to the invisible powers;" and they say as much to others. And for their satisfactions, the treasure of the church for indulgences is made up with them, and the satisfactions of Christ. So that there is nothing remaining of the honour due to Christ our Redeemer, and our confidence in Him, but the same in every[s] kind is by the church of Rome imputed to the saints: and therefore the very being and economy of christianity is destroyed by these prayers; and the people are not, cannot be, good Christians in these devotions; and what hopes are laid up for them who repent to no purpose, and pray with derogation to Christ's honour, is a matter of deepest consideration. And therefore we desire our charges not to be seduced by little tricks and artifices of useless and laborious distinctions, and protestations against evidence of fact, and with fear and trembling to consider what God said by the prophet[t], "My people have done two great evils, they have forsaken Me," *fortem, vivum,* 'the strong and the living' God; *fontem vivum* so some copies read it, "the living fountain, and have digged for themselves cisterns," that is, little fantastic helps, "that hold no water," that give no refreshment; or, as St. Paul[u] expresses it, they "worship" and invocate "the creature," παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, "besides the Creator;" so the word properly signifies, and so it is used by the apostle in other places[v]. And at least let us remember those excellent words of S. Austin[w], *Tutius et jucundius loquor ad meum Jesum, quam ad aliquem sanctorum spirituum Dei,* 'I can speak safer and more pleasantly or cheerfully to my Lord Jesus, than to any of the saints and spirits of God.' For that we have commandment, for this we have none; for that we have example in scriptures, for this we have none; there are many promises made to that, but to this there is none at all; and therefore we cannot in faith pray to them, or at all rely upon them for helps.

[r] Vide Speculum rosarior., Sequentias, et Breviar. Rom.

[s] ['very' A.]

[t] [Jerem. ii. 13.]

[u] [Rom. i. 25.]

[v] [1 Cor. iii. 11; Gal. i. 8.—2 Kings xvii.]

[w] Lib. ii. cap. 2. de visitatione infirmorum; ascript. S. Aug. [tom. vi. append. col. 256 G.]

Which consideration is greatly heightened by that prostitution of devotion usual in the church of Rome, παυδημεὶ, to every upstart, to every old and new saint. And although they have a story among themselves that it is ominous for a pope to canonize a saint, and he never survives it above a twelvemonth, as Pierre Mathieu observes in the instances of Clement the fourth and Adrian the sixth; yet this hinders not but that they are tempted to do it frequently[x]. But concerning the thing itself the best we can say is what Christ said of the Samaritans, "They worship they know not what[y]." Such are S. Fingare[z], S. Anthony of Padua, S. Christopher, Charles Borromæus, Ignatius Loyola, Xaverius, and many others of whom cardinal Bessarion[a] complained that many of them were such persons whose life he could not approve, and such concerning whom they knew nothing but from their parties, and by pretended revelations made to particular and hypochondriacal persons. It is a famous saying of S. Gregory, that the bodies of many persons are worshipped on earth whose souls are tormented in hell: and Augustinus Triumphus[b] affirms that all who are canonized by the pope cannot be said to be in heaven. And this matter is beyond dispute; for Prateolus[c] tells that Herman, the author of the heresy of the Fratricelli, was for twenty years together after his death honoured for a saint, but afterwards his body was taken up and burnt. But then since (as Ambrosius Catharinus and Vivaldus observe) if one saint be called in question, then the rest may; what will become of the devotions which are paid to such saints which have been canonized within these last five centuries, concerning whom we can have but slender evidence that they are in heaven at all? And therefore the cardinal of Cambray, Petrus de Alliaco[d], wishes that so many new saints were not canonized. They are indeed so many that in the church of Rome the holy days which are called their 'greater doubles' are threescore and four, besides the feasts of Christ and our Lady, and the holydays which they call 'half-double festivals,' together with the Sundays, are above one hundred and thirty. So that besides many holydays kept in particular places, there are in the whole year about two hundred holydays, if we may believe their own Gavantus[e]; which besides that it is an intolerable burden to the poor labourer, who must keep so many of them that on the rest he can scarce earn his bread, they do also turn religion into superstition, and habituate the people to idleness and disorderly festivities, and impious celebrations of the day with un-

[x] ['too frequently,' A.]

[y] [John iv. 22.]

[z] Vide libr. de sanctis hibernicis, nuper latine edit. per D. Picardum Parisiensem. ['Florilegium insulæ sanctorum,' fol. Par. 1624. p. 211.]

[a] Apud Bodin. in method. histor., lib. iv. [p. 54.—8vo. Bas. 1579.]

[b] Apud Aug. Triumphum de Ancona, q. xiv. ad 4. [p. 97.] et quæst. xvii. ad 4. [p. 110.—fol. Rom. 1582.]

[c] [De vitt. hæret., lib. viii. § 11.] verb. Hermannus. [p. 206.—fol. Colon. 1569.]

[d] Lib. de reform. eccles. [Apud Orth. Grat. Fascic. rer. expetend., p. 412.—fol. Lond. 1690.]

[e] De festis sanctor. [§ 7.—In Thesaur. sacr. rit., tom. ii. p. 216 sqq.]

christian merriments and licentiousness.—We conclude this with those words of S. Paul[f], 'How shall we call on Him on whom we have not believed?' Christ said, "Ye believe in God, believe also in Me." But He never said, ye have believed in Me, believe also in My saints. No, for "there is but one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus[g]," and therefore we must come to God, not by saints, but only by Jesus Christ our Lord.

§ 10. And of exorcising possessed persons.

THERE is in the church of Rome a horrible impiety taught and practised, which so far as it goes must needs destroy that part of holy life which consists in the holiness of our prayers; and indeed is a conjugation of evils, of such evils of which in the whole world a society of Christians should be least suspected; we mean the infinite superstitions and incantations, or charms used by their priests in their exorcising possessed persons, and conjuring of devils.

There was an ecclesiastical book called *Ordo baptizandi cum modo visitandi*, printed at Venice A.D. MDLXXV., in which there were damnable and diabolical charms, insomuch that the Spanish inquisitors in their Expurgatory Index printed at Madrid A.D. MDCXII., commanded, *Deleatur tota exorcismus*[h] *Luciferina, cujus initium est, Adesto Domine tui famuli,* 'that all that Luciferian exorcism be blotted out.' But whoever looks into the 'Treasure of Exorcisms and horrible Conjurings' (for that is the very title of the book printed at Cologne A.D. MDCVIII.) shall find many as horrid things, and not censured by any inquisitors as yet, so far as we have ever read or heard. Nay, that very *Luciferina* or 'devilish' exorcism is reprinted at Lyons, A.D. MDCXIV., in the *Institutio baptizandi*, which was restored by the decree of the council of Trent: so that though it was forbidden in Spain, it was allowed in France. But as bad as that are allowed every where in the church of Rome. The most famous and of most public use are 'The Treasure of Exorcisms,' of which we but now made mention; the 'Roman Ritual,' the 'Manual of Exorcisms,' printed at Antwerp, A.D. MDCXXVI., with approbation of the bishop and privilege of the archdukes; the pastorals of several churches, especially that of Ruræmund; and especially the *Flagellum dæmonum*[i], 'the devils' whip,' by father Hierome Mengus a friar minor; which the clergy of Orleans did use in the exorcising of Martha Brosser, A.D. MDXCIX.; the story whereof is in the epistles of cardinal d'Ossat[k], and the history of the excellent Thuanus[l].

[f] [Rom. x. 14.]

[g] [1 Tim. ii. 5.]

[h] Ne miretur lector eruditus quod exorcismus apud inquisitores sit fœminini generis; fortasse dispensatum fuit cum bonis viris in hoc articulo. An potius factum quia bonus angelus nunquam, mali autem genii sæpissime sub forma fœminina apparuere: quod notavit Trithemius.

[i] [In the 'Thesaurus exorcismorum,' &c., as above quoted.]

[k] [Ep. ccxi. p. 458 sqq. et ep. ccxv. p. 476.—fol. Par. 1641.]

[l] Lib. cxxxiii. [leg. cxxiii. cap. 1. tom. v. p. 818 sq.]

Now from these books, especially this last, we shall represent their manner of casting out devils; and then speak a word to the thing itself.

Their manner and form is this,

First, they are to try the devil by holy water[m], incense, sulphur, rue, which from thence, as we suppose, came to be called 'herb of grace[n],' and especially S. John's wort, which therefore they call 'devil's flight[o];' with which if they cannot cast the devil out, yet they may do good to the patient; for so pope Alexander the first promised and commanded the priests to use it, for the sanctifying and pacifying the people, and driving away the snares of the devil. And to this, it were well if the exorcist would rail upon, mock and jeer the devil; for he cannot endure a witty and a sharp taunt, and loves jeering and railing no more than he loves holy water; and this was well tried of old against an empuse that met Apollonius Tyanæus[p] at mount Caucasus, against whom he railed, and exhorted his company to do so.

Next to this, the exorcist may ask the devil some questions; what is his name; how many of them there are; for what cause, and at what time he entered; and, for his own learning, by what persons he can be cast out, and by what saint adjured; who are his particular enemies in heaven, and who in hell; by what words he can be most afflicted, (for the devils are such fools that they cannot keep their own counsel, nor choose but tell, and when they do, they always tell true.) He may also ask him by what covenant or what charm he came there, and by what he is to be released; then he may call Lucifer to help him, and to torment that spirit (for so they 'cast out devils by Beelzebub the prince of devils') and certainly Lucifer dares not but obey him. Next to this, the exorcist is cunningly to get out of the devil the confession of some article of faith, for the edification of the standers by (whom he may by this means convince of the truth of Transubstantiation, the reality of purgatory, or the value of indulgences) and command him to knock his head three times against the ground, in adoration of the holy Trinity. But let him take heed what relics he apply to the devil; for if the relics be counterfeit, the devil will be too hard for him. However, let the exorcising priest be sure to bless his pottage, his meat, his ointment, his herbs; and then also he may use some schedules or little rolls of paper, containing in them holy words; but he must be sure to be exercised and skilful in all things that belong to the conjuring of the devil. These are the preparatory documents, which when he hath observed, then let him fall to his prayers.

[m] Flagellum dæmonum, docum. iii. [p. 367.]

[n] [Haml., act. iv. sc. 5; Malone's note.]

[o] Vide Raimun. Lullium, lib. ii. de quinta essentia. [See Jo. de Rupescissa, (published with Raymund Lullius' Ars Operativa,) book ii. ch. 9. p. 121. 8vo. Basil. 1597.]

[p] Philostrat. de vita Apollonii, [lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 52.]

Now for the prayers, they also are publicly described in their offices before cited; and are as followeth,

'The priest ties his stole about the neck of the possessed with three knots, and says, O ye abominable rebels against God, I conjure you spirits, and adjure you, I call, I constrain, I call out, I contend and contest, wherever you are in this man, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost [then he makes three †] by the most powerful name of God, Heloy, the strong and admirable, I exorcise you, and adjure you, and command you, by the power I have, that you incontinently hear the words of my conjuring, and perceive yourselves overcome, and command you not to depart without licence, and so I bind you with this stole of jucundity; in the name of the Father †, Son †, and Holy Ghost †, Amen. Then he makes two and thirty crosses more, and calls over one and thirty names of God in false Hebrew, and base Greek, and some Latin, signifying the same names; and the two and thirtieth is by the sign of the cross, praying God to deliver them from their enemies. Then follow more prayers, and more adjurations, and more conjurations (for they are greatly different you must know) and aspersions of holy water, and shewings of the cross, and signings with it. Then they adjure the devil (in case the names of God will not do it) by S. Mary and S. Anne, by S. Michael and S. Gabriel, by Raphael, and all angels and archangels, by the patriarchs, and by the prophets, and by his own infirmity, by the apostles, and by the martyrs.' And then after all this if the devil will not come out, he must tarry there still till the next exorcism; in which 'the exorcist must rail at the devil, and say over again the names of God, and then ask him questions, and read over the sequences of the Gospels; and after that tell him that he hath power over him, for he can transubstantiate bread into Christ's body; and then conjure him again, and call him damned devil, unclean spirit, and as bad as he can call him; and so pray to God to cast him out of the man's mouth and nose, lips and teeth, jaws and cheeks, eyes and forehead, eye-brows and eye-lids, his feet and his members, his marrow and his bones, and must reckon every part of his body;' to which purpose we suppose it would be well if the exorcist were well skilled in Laurentius, or Bauhinus his anatomy. 'And if he will not go out yet, there is no help but he must choose, till the third exorcism: in which, besides many prayers and conjurations in other words to the same purpose, the exorcist must speak louder,' especially if it be a deaf devil, for then indeed it is the more necessary, 'and tell the devil his own, and threaten him terribly, and conjure him again, and say over him about some twenty or thirty names or titles of Christ, and forbid the devil to go any whither but to the centre of the world, and must damn him eternally to the sulphurous flames of hell, and to be tormented worse than Lucifer himself, for his daring to resist so many great names; and if he will not now obey, let him take fire and brimstone and make a fume, whether the possessed will or no, until the devil tells you all his mind in what

you ask him; (the liver of Tobias his fish were a rare thing here, but that's not to be had for love or money;) and after this he conjures him again by some of the names of God, and by the merits, and all the good things which can be spoken or thought of the most blessed Virgin, and by all her names and titles, which he must reckon, one and forty in number, together with her epithets, making so many †, and by these he must cast him headlong into hell.

But if the devil be stubborn (for some of them are very disobedient) there is a fourth, and a fifth, and a sixth exorcism, 'and then he conjures the earth, the water, and the fire to make them of his party, and commands them not to harbour such villanous spirits, and commands hell to hear him and obey his word, and conjures all the spirits in hell to take that spirit to themselves,' (for it may be they will understand their duty better than that stubborn devil that is broke loose from thence.) But if this chance to fail, there is yet left a remedy that will do it; 'he must make the picture of the devil, and write his name over the head of it, and conjure the fire to burn it most horribly and hastily;' and if the picture be upon wood or paper, it is ten to one that may be done. After all this stir, 'sprinkle more holy water, and take sulphur, galbanum, assa fœtida, aristolochia, rue, St. John's wort; all which being distinctly blessed, the exorcist must hold the devil's picture over the fire, and adjure the devil to hear him; and then he must not spare him but tell him all his faults, and give him all his names, and anathematize him, and curse not only him but Lucifer too, and Beelzebub, and Satan, and Astaroth, and Behemot, and Beherit, and all together, (for indeed there is not one good natured devil amongst them all,) and then pray once more, and so throw the devil's picture into the fire, and then insult in a long form of crowing over him, which is there set down.'

And now after all, if he will not go out, there is a seventh exorcism for him with new ceremonies. 'He must shew him the consecrated host in the pix, pointing at it with his finger, and then conjure him again, and rail at him once more,' to which purpose there is a very fine form taken out of Prierius, and set down in the *Flagellum dæmonum*; 'and then let the exorcist pronounce sentence against the devil, and give him his oath, and then a commandment to go out of the several parts of his body, always taking care that at no hand he remain in the upper parts;' and then is the devil's Qu[p], to come out, if he have a mind to it, (for that must be always supposed), and then follows the thanksgivings.

This is the manner of their devotion, described for the use of their exorcists; in which is such a heap of folly, madness, superstition,

[p] [Cue, queue; (2) the last words of a speech which the player who is to answer catches, and regards as intimation to begin; (hence 4) the part which any man is to play in his turn. Johnson.—In Shakespear the word is variously spelt in the earliest editions; 'cue,' (Mids. N. D.) 'kue,' (Hen. V.) 'kew,' (Rich. III.)—Minshew spells it Qu, and derives it from 'qualis,' but without reason.]

blasphemy, and ridiculous guises, and playings with the devil, that if any man amongst us should use such things, he would be in danger of being tried at the next assizes for a witch or a conjuror; however, certain it is, whatever the devil loses by pretending to obey the exorcist, he gains more by this horrible debauchery of christianity. There needs no confutation of it, the impiety is visible and tangible; and it is sufficient to have told the story.

Only this we say as to the thing itself:

The casting out of devils is a miraculous power, and given at first for the confirmation of christian faith, as the gifts of tongues and healing were;[p] and therefore we have reason to believe that because it is not an ordinary power, the ordinary exorcisms cast out no more devils than extreme unction cures sicknesses. We do not envy to any one any grace of God, but wish it were more modestly pretended, unless it could be more evidently proved. Origen[q] condemned this whole procedure of conjuring devils long since. *Quæret aliquis si convenit vel dæmones adjurare; .. Qui aspicit Jesum imperantem dæmonibus, sed etiam potestatem dantem discipulis suis super omnia dæmonia, et ut infirmitates sanarent, dicet quoniam non est secundum potestatem datam a Salvatore adjurare dæmonia, Judaicum est enim;* 'if any one asks whether it be fit to adjure devils; he that beholds Jesus commanding over devils, and also giving power to His disciples over all unclean spirits, and to heal diseases, will say that to adjure devils is not according to the power given by our blessed Saviour, for it is a Jewish trick:' and S. Chrysostom[r] spake soberly and truly, "We poor wretches cannot drive away the flies, much less devils[r]."

But then as to the manner of their conjurations and exorcisms, this we say; if these things come from God, let them shew their warranty, and their books of precedents; if they come not from God, they are so like the enchantments of Balaam, the old heathens, and the modern magicians, that their original is soon discovered.

But yet from what principle it comes that they have made exorcists an ecclesiastical order, with special words and instruments of collation; and that the words of ordination giving them power only over possessed Christians, catechumens or baptized, should by them be extended and exercised upon all infants, as if they were all possessed by the devil; and not only so, but to bewitched cattle, to mice and locusts, to milk and lettuce, to houses and tempests; as if their charms were prophylactic as well as therapeutic, and could keep as well as drive the devil out, and prevent storms like the old χαλαζοφύλακες, of whom Seneca[s] makes mention; of these things we cannot guess at any probable principle, except they have derived them from

[q] Tract. xxxv. in Matth. [§ 110. tom. iii. p. 910 F.]

[r] In illa verba, 'Qui credit in me majora faciet."

[s] Quæst. nat., lib. iv. cap. 6. [tom. ii. p. 757.]

the Jewish *Cabbala*, or the exorcisms which it is said Solomon used when he had consented to idolatry.

But these things are so unlike the wisdom and simplicity, the purity and spirituality of christian devotion; are so perfectly of their own devising and wild imaginations; are so full of dirty superstitions, and ignorant fancies, that there are not in the world many things whose sufferance and practice can more destroy the beauty of holiness, or reproach a church or society of Christians.

§ 11. Sacramentals, such as holy water, paschal-wax, Agnus Dei, &c.

To put our trust and confidence in God only, and to use ministries of His own appointment and sanctification, is so essential a duty owing by us to God, that whoever trusts in any thing but God is a breaker of the first commandment; and he that invents instrumental supports of his own head, and puts a subordinate ministerial confidence in them, usurps the rights of God, and does not pursue the interests of true religion, whose very essence and formality is to glorify God in all His attributes, and to do good to man, and to advance the honour and kingdom of Christ. Now how greatly the church of Rome prevaricates in this great soul of religion, appears by too evident and notorious demonstration; for she hath invented sacramentals of her own, without a divine warrant. Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲν τὸ τυχὸν[t] ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν, said S. Cyril[u], 'Concerning the holy and divine mysteries of faith or religion, we ought to do nothing by chance[t] or of our own heads, nothing without the authority of the divine scriptures.' But the church of Rome does otherwise; invents things of her own, and imputes spiritual effects to these sacramentals; and promises not only temporal blessings, and immunities, and benedictions, but the collation or increment of spiritual graces, and remission of venial sins, and alleviation of pains due to mortal sins, to them who shall use these sacramentals. Which because God did not institute, and did not sanctify, they use them without faith, and rely upon them without a promise, and make themselves the fountains of these graces, and produce confidences whose last resort is not upon God, who neither was the author nor is an approver of them.

Of this nature are holy water, the paschal wax, oil, palm-boughs, holy bread (not eucharistical), hats, *Agnus Dei's*, medals, swords, bells, and roses hallowed upon the sunday called *Lætare Jerusalem;* such as pope Pius the second sent to James the second of Scotland, and Sixtus quintus to the prince of Parma. Concerning which their doctrine is this[v], that the blood of Christ is by these applied unto us, that they do not only signify but produce spiritual effects, that they

[t] [μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν, 'ne minimum quidem.']

[u] Cyril. Hieros. catech. iv. [§ 17. p. 60 A.]

[v] Bellarm. de cultu sanct., lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 'Secunda propositio,' et sect. 'Secundo, ad deletionem.' [tom. ii. coll. 1081, 2.]

blot out venial sins, that they drive away devils, that they cure diseases, and that though these things do not operate infallibly as do the sacraments, and that God hath made no express covenant concerning them, yet by the devotion of them that use them, and the prayers of the church, they do prevail.

Now though it be easy to say, and it is notoriously true in theology, that the prayers of the church can never prevail but according to the grace which God hath promised; and either can only procure a blessing upon natural things, in order to their natural effects; or else an extraordinary supernatural effect, by virtue of a divine promise; and that these things are pretended to work beyond their natural force, and yet God hath not promised to them a supernatural blessing (as themselves confess); yet besides the falseness of the doctrine on which these superstitions do rely, it is also as evident that these instrumentalities produce an affiance and confidence in the creature, and estrange men's hearts from the true religion and trust in God, while they think themselves blessed in their own inventions, and in digging to themselves cisterns of their own, and leaving the fountain of blessing and eternal life.

To this purpose the Roman priests abuse the people with romantic stories out of the dialogues of S. Gregory, and venerable Bede; making them believe that S. Fortunatus cured a man's broken thigh with holy water, and that S. Malachias the bishop of Down and Connor cured a mad man with the same medicine; and that S. Hilarion cured many sick persons with holy bread and oil (which indeed is the most likely of them all, as being good food and good medicine;) and although not so much as a chicken is now-a-days cured of the pip by holy water, yet upon all occasions they use it, and the common people throw it upon children's cradles, and sick cows' horns, and upon them that are blasted; and if they recover by any means, it is imputed to the holy water: and so the simplicity of christian religion, the glory of our dependence on God, the wise order and economy of blessings in the gospel, the sacredness and mysteriousness of sacraments and divine institutions, are disordered and dishonoured: the bishops and priests inventing both the word and the element, institute a kind of sacrament, in great derogation to the supreme prerogative of Christ; and men are taught to go in ways which superstition hath invented, and interest does support.

But there is yet one great instance more of this irreligion. Upon the sacraments themselves they are taught to rely with so little of moral and virtuous dispositions, that the efficacy of one is made to lessen the necessity of the other; and the sacraments are taught to be so effectual by an inherent virtue, that they are not so much made the instruments of virtue as the suppletory; not so much to increase as to make amends for the want of grace: on which we shall not now insist, because it is sufficiently remarked in our reproof of the Roman doctrines in the matter of repentance.

§ 12. The worship of images is idolatry, and to worship the host.

AFTER all this, if their doctrines, as they are explicated by their practice, and the commentaries of their greatest doctors, do make their disciples guilty of idolatry, there is not any thing greater to deter men from them, than that danger to their souls which is imminent over them upon that account.

Their worshipping of images we have already reproved upon the account of its novelty and innovation in christian religion. But that it is against good life, a direct breach of the second commandment, an act of idolatry, as much as the heathens themselves were guilty of, in relation to the second commandment, is but too evident by the doctrines of their own leaders.

For if to give divine honour to a creature be idolatry, then the doctors of the church of Rome teach their people to commit idolatry: for they affirm that the same worship which is given to the prototype or principal, the same is to be given to the image of it. As we worship the holy Trinity and Christ, so we may worship the images of the Trinity and of Christ; that is, with *latria*, or 'divine honour.' "This is the constant sentence of the divines, the image is to be worshipped with the same honour and worship with which we worship those whose image it is," said Azorius[w], their great master of casuistical theology. And this is the doctrine of their great S. Thomas, of Alexander of Ales, Bonaventure, Albertus, Richardus, Capreolus, Cajetan, Coster, Valentia, Vasquez, the Jesuits of Cologne, Triers, and Mentz, approving Coster's opinion.

Neither can this be eluded by saying that 'though the same worship be given to the image of Christ as to Christ himself, yet it is not done in the same way; for it is 'terminatively' to Christ or God, but 'relatively' to the image, that is, to the image for God's or Christ's sake:' for this is that we complain of, that they give the same worship to an image which is due to God; for what cause soever it be done, it matters not, save only that the excuse makes it in some sense the worse for the apology. For to do a thing which God hath forbidden, and to say it is done for God's sake, is to say that for His sake we displease Him, for His sake we give that to a creature which is God's own propriety. But besides this we affirm, and it is of itself evident, that whoever, Christian or heathen, worships the image of any thing, cannot possibly worship that image terminatively, for the very being of an image is relative; and therefore if the man understands but common sense, he must suppose and intend that worship to be relative, and a heathen could not worship an image with any other worship; and the second commandment, forbidding to worship the 'likeness of any thing in heaven and earth,' does only[x] forbid that thing which is in heaven to be worshipped by an image, that is, it forbids only a relative worship: for it is a contra-

[w] Inst. mor., part. i. l. ix. c. 6. [col. 1334 C.—fol. Par. 1602.] [x] ['not only' B.]

diction to say, this is the image of God, and yet this is God; and therefore it must be also a contradiction to worship an image with divine worship terminatively, for then it must be that the image of a thing is that thing whose image it is. And therefore these doctors teach the same thing which they condemn in the heathens.

But they go yet a little further: the image of the cross they worship with divine honour; and therefore although this divine worship is but relative, yet consequently the cross itself is worshipped terminatively by divine adoration. For the image of the cross hath it relatively, and for the cross's sake, therefore the cross itself is the proper and full object of the divine adoration. Now that they do and teach this, we charge upon them by undeniable records: for in the very Pontifical published by the authority of pope Clement the eighth[y], these words are found, 'The legate's cross must be on the right hand, because *latria,* or divine honour, is due to it.' And if divine honour relative be due to the legate's cross, which is but the image of Christ's cross, then this divine worship is terminated on Christ's cross, which is certainly but a mere creature. To this purpose are the words of Almain, 'The images of the Trinity and of the cross[z] are to be adored with the worship of *latria,*' that is, divine. Now if the image of the cross be the intermedial, then the cross itself, whose image that is, must be the last object of this divine worship; and if this be not idolatry, it can never be told what is the notion of the word. But this passes also into other real effects: and 'well may the cross itself be worshipped by divine worship, when the church places her hopes of salvation on the cross; for so she does,' says Aquinas, and makes one the argument of the other, and proves that the church places her hopes of salvation on the cross, that is, on the instrument of Christ's passion, by a hymn which she uses in her offices; but this thing we have remarked above upon another occasion[a]. Now although things are brought to a very ill state, when Christians are so probably and apparently charged with idolatry, and that the excuses are too fine to be understood by them that need them; yet no excuse can acquit these things, when the most that is or can be said is this, that although that which is God's due is given to a creature, yet it is given with some difference of intention, and metaphysical abstraction, and separation; especially since, if there can be idolatry in the worshipping of an image, it is certain that a relative divine worship is this idolatry; for no man that worships an image (in that consideration or formality) can make the image the last object; either therefore the heathens were not idolaters in the worshipping of an image, or else these men are. The heathens did indeed infinitely more violate the first commandment; but against the second, precisely and separately from the first, the transgression is alike.

[y] Ed. Rom., p. 672. [fol. 1595.] [z] ['and of Christ and of the cross' A.]
[a] [p. 250 supra.]

The same also is the case in their worshipping the consecrated bread and wine; of which how far they will be excused before God by their ignorant pretensions and suppositions, we know not; but they hope to save themselves harmless by saying that they believe the bread to be their Saviour, and that if they did not believe so they would not do so. We believe that they say true, but we are afraid that this will no more excuse them than it will excuse those who worship the sun and moon and the queen of heaven, whom they would not worship if they did not believe to have divinity in them. And it may be observed that they are very fond of that persuasion by which they are led into this worship. The error might be some excuse if it were probable, or if there were much temptation to it; but when they choose this persuasion, and have nothing for it but a tropical expression of scripture, which rather than not believe in the natural, useless, and impossible sense, they will defy all their own reason, and four of the five operations of their soul, seeing, smelling, tasting, and feeling, and contradict the plain doctrine of the ancient church, before they can consent to believe this error, that bread is changed into God, and the priest can make his Maker: we have too much cause to fear that the error is too gross to admit an excuse; and it is hard to suppose it invincible and involuntary, because it is so hard, and so untempting, and so unnatural to admit the error. We do desire that God may find an excuse for it, and that they would not. But this we are most sure of, that they might if they pleased find many excuses, or rather just causes, for not giving divine honour to the consecrated elements; because there are so many contingencies in the whole conduct of this affair, and we are so uncertain[b] of the priest's intention, and we can never be made certain that there is not in the whole order of causes any invalidity in the consecration; and it is so impossible that any man should be sure that 'here,' and 'now,' and 'this' bread is transubstantiated, and is really the natural body of Christ; that it were fit to omit the giving God's due to that which they do not know to be any thing but a piece of bread; and it cannot consist with holiness and our duty to God, certainly to give divine worship to that thing, which though their doctrine were true, they cannot know certainly to have a divine being.

§ 13. The sum and conclusion of the whole chapter.

AND now we shall plainly represent to our charges how this whole matter stands. The case is this: the religion of a Christian consists in faith and hope, re-

[b] Nemini potest per fidem constare se recepisse vel minimum sacramentum. Estque hoc ita certum ex fide ac clarum est nos vivere; .. Nulla est via qua citra revelationem nosse possumus intentionem ministrantis, vel evidenter, vel certo ex fide.—Andreas Vega, lib. ix. de justific., c. 17. [p. 271. 4to. Aschaff. 1621.]

Non potest quis esse certus certitudine fidei se percipere verùm sacramentum, cum sacramentum sine intentione ministri non conficiatur, et intentionem alterius nemo videre possit.—Bellarm. de justific., lib. iii. cap. 8. sect. 'Dicent.' [tom. iv. col. 1114.]

pentance and charity, divine worship and celebration of the sacraments, and finally in keeping the commandments of God. Now in all these, both in doctrines and practices, the church of Rome does dangerously err, and teaches men so to do.

They do injury to faith, by creating new articles, and enjoining them as of necessity to salvation; they spoil their hope, by placing it upon creatures and devices of their own; they greatly sin against charity, by damning all that are not of their opinion, in things false or uncertain, right or wrong: they break in pieces the salutary doctrine of repentance, making it to be consistent with a wicked life, and little or no amendment.—They worship they know not what, and pray to them that hear them not, and trust on that which helps them not.—And as for the commandments, they leave one of them out of their catechisms and manuals, and while they contend earnestly against some opponents for the possibility of keeping them all, they do not insist upon the necessity of keeping any in the course of their lives, till the danger or article of their death.—And concerning the sacraments, they have egregiously prevaricated in two points. For not to mention their reckoning of seven sacraments, which we only reckon to be an unnecessary and unscholastical error; they take the one half of the principal away from the laity; and they institute little sacraments of their own; they invent rites, and annex spiritual graces to them, what they please themselves, of their own head, without a divine warrant or institution: and at last, persuade their people to that which can never be excused, at least, from material idolatry.

If these things can consist with the duty of Christians, not only to eat what they worship[c], but to adore those things with divine worship, which are not God; to reconcile a wicked life with certain hopes and expectations of heaven at last, and to place these hopes upon other things than God, and to damn all the world that are not Christians at this rate: then we have lost the true measures of christianity; and the doctrine and discipline of Christ is not a natural and rational religion: not a religion that makes men holy, but a confederacy under the conduct of a sect, and it must rest in forms and ceremonies, and devices of man's invention. And although we do not doubt but that the goodness of God does so prevail over all the follies and malice of mankind, that there are in the Roman communion many very good Christians; yet they are not such, as they are papists, but by something that is higher and before that, something that is of an abstract or more sublime consideration. And though the good people amongst them are what they are by the grace and goodness of God, yet by all or any of these opinions they are not so: but the very best suffer diminution and allay by these things; and very many more are wholly subverted and destroyed.

[c] [vid. p. 166 fin. supra.]

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH OF ROME TEACHES DOCTRINES WHICH IN MANY THINGS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OF CHRISTIAN SOCIETY IN GENERAL, AND OF MONARCHY IN SPECIAL: BOTH WHICH THE RELIGION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND DOES BY HER DOCTRINES GREATLY AND CHRISTIANLY SUPPORT.

§ 1. As equivocation, mental reservation taught and defended by them, &c.

THAT in the church of Rome it is publicly taught by their greatest doctors that it is lawful to lie, or deceive the question of the magistrate, to conceal their name and to tell a false one, to elude all examinations, and make them insignificant and toothless; cannot be doubted by any man that knows how the English priests have behaved themselves in the times of queen Elizabeth, king James, and the blessed martyr king Charles the first. Emonerius[c] wrote in defence of it, and father Barnes[d] who wrote a book against lying and equivocating was suspected for a heretic, and smarted severely under their hands.

"To him that asks you again for what you have paid him already, you may safely say, you never had any thing of him, meaning so as to owe it him now;" it is the doctrine of Emanuel Sà and Sanchez; which we understand to be a great lie, and a great sin, it being at the best a deceiving of the law, that you be not deceived by your creditor; that is, a doing evil to prevent one; a sin, to prevent the losing of your money.

If a man asks his wife if she be an adulteress, though she be, yet she may say she is not, if in her mind secretly she say, 'not with a purpose to tell you;' so cardinal Tolet[e] teaches. And if a man swears he will take such a one to his wife, being compelled to swear, he may secretly mean, 'if hereafter she do please me.' And[f] if a man swears to a thief that he will give him twenty crowns, he may secretly say, 'if I please to do so,' and then he is not bound. And of this doctrine Vasquez[g] brags as of a rare though new invention, saying "it is gathered out of S. Austin and Thomas Aquinas, who only found out the way of saying nothing in such cases, and questions asked by judges; but this invention was drawn out by assiduous disputations." He that promises to say an Ave Mary, and swears he will, or vows to do it, yet sins not mortally though he does not do it, said the great Navar[h], and others whom he follows.

[c] [Emonerius (Steph.), Ord. minor. 'Splendor veritatis moralis,' &c. 8vo. Lugd. 1627.]

[d] [Barnesius (Joannes), Benedictinus. 'Dissertatio contra æquivocationes.' 8vo. Par. 1625.]

[e] Instruct. sacerd., lib. iv. cap. 21. [p. 686.]

[f] Cap. 22. [p. 689.]

[g] In 3. tom. iv. qu. 93. art. 5. dub. 13. [leg. art. 4. dub. 12. n. 17. p. 347.]

[h] Manual., c. xviii. n. 7. [p. 562.]

There is yet a further degree of this iniquity; not only in words but in real actions, it is lawful to deceive or rob your brother, when to do so is necessary for the preservation of your fame: for no man is bound to restore stolen goods, that is, to cease from doing injury, with the peril of his credit. So Navar, and cardinal Cajetan, and Tolet[i] teaches; who adds also, *Hoc multi dicunt, quorum sententiam potest quis tuta conscientia sequi,* 'many say the same thing, whose doctrine any man may follow with a safe conscience.' Nay to save a man's credit, an honest man that is ashamed to beg, may steal what is necessary for him, says Diana[j].

Now by these doctrines a man is taught how to be an honest thief, and to keep what he is bound to restore; and by these we may not only deceive our brother, but the law; and not the law only, but God also, even with an oath, if the matter be but small: it never makes God angry with you, or puts you out of the state of grace. But if the matter be great, yet to prevent a great trouble to yourself, you may conceal a truth by saying that which is false; according to the general doctrine of the late casuists. So that a man is bound to keep truth and honesty when it is for his turn, but not 'if it be to his own hindrance;' and therefore David was not in the right, but was something too nice in the resolution of the like case in the fifteenth psalm. Now although that we do not affirm that these particulars are the doctrine of the whole church of Rome, because little things, and of this nature, never are considered in their public articles of confession; yet a man may do these vile things (for so we understand them to be) and find justifications and warranty, and shall not be affrighted with the terrors of damnation nor the imposition of penances: he may for all these things be a good catholic, though it may be not a very good Christian. But since these things are affirmed by so many, the opinion is probable, and the 'practice safe,' saith cardinal Tolet[i].

But we shall instance in things of more public concern and catholic authority. No contracts, leagues, societies, promises, vows, or oaths, are a sufficient security to him that deals with one of the church of Rome, if he shall please to make use of that liberty which may and many times is, and always can be granted to him. For first, it is affirmed, and was practised by a whole council of bishops at Constance, that faith is not to be kept with heretics; and John Hus, and Hierome of Prague, and Savanarola, felt the mischief of violation of public faith; and the same thing was disputed fiercely at Worms, in the case of Luther, to whom Cæsar had given a safe conduct, and very many would have had it to be broken; but Cæsar was a better Christian than the ecclesiastics and their party, and more a gentleman. But that no scrupulous princes may keep their words any

[i] Apud Tolet., instruct. sacerd., lib. v. c. 27. [p. 827.]

[j] In compend., p. 335. Lugduni, A.D. 1641. [per Matth. Defend.]

more in such cases, or think themselves tied to perform their safe conducts given to heretics, there is a way found out by a new catholic doctrine; Becanus[k] shall speak this point instead of the rest, "There are two distinct tribunals, and the ecclesiastical is the superior; and therefore if a secular prince gives his subjects a safe conduct, he cannot extend it to the superior tribunal; nor by any security given, hinder the bishop or the pope to exercise their jurisdiction." And upon the account of this or the like doctrine the pope and the other ecclesiastics did prevail at Constance for the burning of their prisoners, to whom safe conduct had been granted. But these things are sufficiently known by the complaints of the injured persons.

But not only to heretics, but to our friends also, we may break our promises, if the pope give us leave. It is a public and an avowed doctrine that if a man have taken an oath of a thing lawful and honest, and in his power, yet if it hinders him from doing a greater good, the pope can dispense with his oath, and take off the obligation. This is expressly affirmed by one of the most moderate of them, Canus[l] bishop of the Canaries. But beyond dispute, and even without a dispensation, they all of them own it, that if a man have promised to a woman to marry her, and is betrothed to her, and hath sworn it, yet if he will before the consummation enter into a monastery, his oath shall not bind him, his promise is null; but his second promise, that shall stand. And he that denies this, is accursed by the council of Trent[m].

Not only husbands and wives espoused may break their vows and mutual obligation, against the will of one another, but in the church of Rome children have leave given them to disobey their parents, so they will but turn friars: and this they might do, girls at twelve, and boys at the age of fourteen years; but the council of Trent enlarged it to sixteen: but the thing was taught and decreed by pope Clement the third[n], and Thomas Aquinas[o] did so, and then it was made lawful by him and his scholars; though it was expressly against the doctrine and laws of the preceding ages of the church, as appears in the capitulars of Charles the great. But thus did the pharisees teach their children to cry *Corban*, and neglect their parents; to pretend religion in prejudice of filial piety. In this particular Ærodius[p], a French lawyer, an excellently learned man, suffered sadly by the loss and forcing of a hopeful son from him, and he complained most excellently in a book written on purpose upon this subject.

[k] Theol. scholast. [in quæst. misc. de fid. hæret. serv., qu. v. § 2. p. 38.—8vo. Mogunt. 1609.]

[l] Relect. de pœnitent. [vid. part. vi. p. 972.]

[m] Sess. viii. [leg. xxiv.] can. 6. [tom. x. col. 148.]

[n] Cap. 'Cum virum.' de regularibus. [Decret. Greg. IX., lib. iii. tit. 31. cap. 12. col. 1152.]

[o] Aquin. 2. 2. q. 88. art. 9. [fol. 217.] lib. i. cap. 101. [fol. 20. b. 8vo. Par. 1640.]

[p] [De patrio jure, ad filium pseudo-Jesuitam; fol. Par. 1615.]

But these mischiefs are doctrinal, and accounted lawful; but in the matter of marriages and contracts, promises and vows, where a doctrine fails, it can be supplied by the pope's power. Which thing is avowed and owned, without a cover; for when pope Clement the fifth condemned the order of knights templars, he disowned any justice or right in doing it, but stuck to his power, *Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen ex plenitudine potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus*[q]; that is, 'though by right we cannot do it, yet by the fulness of power we condemn the said order:' for he can dispense always and in all things where there is cause, and in many things where there is no cause; *sed sub majori pretio*, 'under a greater price,' said the tax of the Datary; where the price of the several dispensations, even in *causa turpi*, 'in base and filthy causes,' are set down.

> Intranti nummo quasi quodam principe summo
> Exsiliunt valvæ, nihil auditur nisi Salve[r].

Nay, "the pope can dispense *supra jus, contra jus*, above law, and against law and right," said Mosconius in his books 'Of the majesty of the militant church[s];' 'for the pope's tribunal and God's is but one, and therefore every reasonable creature is subject to the pope's empire,' said the same author. And what dispensations he usually gives, we are best informed by a gloss of their own upon the canon law[t], *Nota mirabile, quod cum eo qui peccat dispensatur, cum illo autem qui non peccat non dispensatur*, 'it is a wonderful thing that they should dispense with a fornicator, but not with him who marries after the death of his first wife.' They give divorces for marriages in the fourth degree, and give dispensation to marry in the second. These things are a sufficient charge, and yet evidently so, and publicly owned.

We need not aggravate this matter by what Panormitan[u] and others do say, that the pope hath power to dispense in all the laws of God except the articles of faith; and how much of this they own and practise, needs no greater instance than that which Volaterran tells of pope Innocent the eighth, that he gave the Norwegians a dispensation, not only to communicate, but to consecrate in bread only.

As the pope by his dispensations undertakes to dissolve the ordinances of God, so also the most solemn contracts of men; of which a very great instance was given by pope Clement the seventh, who

[q] Thom. Walsingham. [Hist. Angl. in Edv. II., p. 73.—fol. Lond. 1574.]

[r] Deferunt aurum et argentum et reportant chartas.—Card. Cusan.

[s] Lib. i. de summo pontif. [part. i. cap. 1. pp. 24, 6.—4to. Ven. 1602.] vide etiam Jacobum de Terano, [(leg. 'de Theramo,' sive 'de Ancharano;' vid. Fabricium,) in Tractat. monarch.—Vid. Sander. bibl. Belg., part. ii. p. 39, et Ranchin (ubi infra) p. 259] et Ravis. [leg. Revision] du concile de Trente, [lib. ii. cap. 10. p. 259.—Par Ranchin; 8vo. s. l. 1600.]

[t] Cap. 'Quia circa,' Extra. de Bigamis. [p. 248. note l, supra.]

[u] Cap. 'Proposui,' de concess. præbendæ, n. 20. [in iii. decret.—fol. 57 A.]

dispensed with the oath which Francis the first of France solemnly swore to Charles the fifth, emperor, after the battle of Pavy, and gave him leave to be perjured. And one of the late popes dispensed with the bastard son of the Conde d' Olivarez, or rather, plainly dissolved his marriage which he made and consummated with Isabella d' Azueta, whom he had publicly married when he was but a mean person, the son of donna Marguerita Spinola, and under the name of Julian Valeasar. But when the Conde had declared him son and heir, the pope dissolved the first marriage, and gave him leave under the name of Henry Philip de Guzman to marry donna Juana de Velasco, daughter to the constable of Castile.

And now if it be considered what influence these doctrines have upon societies and communities of men, they will need no further reproof than a mere enumeration of the mischiefs they produce. They by this means legitimate adulterous and incestuous marriages, and disannul lawful contracts: they give leave to a spouse to break his or her vow and promise; and to children to disobey their parents, and perhaps to break their mother's heart, or to undo a family. No words can bind your faith, because you can be dispensed with; and if you swear you will not procure a dispensation, you can as well be dispensed with for that perjury as the other; and you cannot be tied so fast but the pope can unloose you. So that there is no certainty in your promise to God, or faith to men; in judicatories to magistrates, or in contracts with merchants; in the duty of children to their parents, of husbands to their wives, or wives to their contracted husbands; of a catholic to a heretic; and last of all, a subject to his prince cannot be bound so strictly, but if the prince be not of the pope's persuasion, or be by him judged a tyrant, his subjects shall owe him no obedience. But this is of particular consideration and reserved for the third section.

§ 2. Their exemption of the clergy from the secular authority, as to their estates and persons, even in matters of theft, murder and treason, &c.

THERE is yet another instance by which the church of Rome does intolerable prejudice to governments and societies; in which although the impiety is not so apparent, yet the evil is more owned, and notorious, and defended; and that is, the exemption of their clergy from the jurisdiction of secular princes and magistrates, both in their estates and persons: not only in the matters of simony, heresy, and apostasy, but in matters of theft, perjury, murder, adultery, blasphemy and treason: in which cases they suffer not a clergyman to be adjudged [x] by the secular power until the church hath quit him and turned him over, and given them leave to proceed[y]. This was verified in the synod of Dalmatia[z]

[x] ['judged' A.]

[y] 'Si imperator.' dist. 96. [cap. 11. col. 510.] et c. 'Ecclesia S. M.' de constitut. [Decret. Greg. IX., lib. i. cap. 10. col. 24.]

[z] A.D. 1199. can. 5. [tom. vi. col. 1953.]

held by the legates of pope Innocent the third, and is now in the church of Rome pretended to be by divine right; "For it cannot be proved that secular princes are the lawful superiors and judges of clergymen, unless it can be proved that the sheep are better than the shepherd, or sons than their fathers, or temporals than spirituals," said Bellarmine[a]: and therefore "it is a shame," says he[b], "to see princes contending with bishops for precedency, or for lands; for the truth is this (whatever the custom be), the prince is the bishop's subject, not the bishop the prince's: for no man can serve two masters; the pope is their own superior, and therefore the secular prince cannot be." So both Bellarmine and Suarez[c] conclude this doctrine out of scripture.

And although in this, as in all things else, when he finds it for the advantage of the church, the pope can dispense; and divers popes of Rome did give power to the commonwealth of Venice[d] to judge clergymen, and punish them for great offences; yet how ill this was taken by Paulus quintus at their hands, and what stirs he made in christendom concerning it, the world was witness; and it is to be read in the history of the Venetian Interdict; and not without great difficulty defended by Marcus Antonius Peregrinus, M. Antonius Othelius, and Joachim Scaynus of Padua, beside the doctors of Venice.

Now if it be considered how great a part of mankind in the Roman communion are clergymen, and how great a portion of the lands and revenues in each kingdom they have, to pretend a divine right of exemption of their persons from secular judicatories, and their lands from secular burdens and charges of the commonwealth, is to make religion a very little friend to the public; and causes that by how much there is more of religion, by so much there is the less of piety and public duty. Princes have many times felt the evil, and are always subject to it, when so many thousand persons are in their kingdoms, and yet subjects to a foreign power. But we need not trouble ourselves to reckon the evils consequent to this procedure; themselves have owned them, even the very worst of things: "The rebellion of a clergyman against his prince is not treason, because he is not his prince's subject," it is expressly taught by Emanuel Sà[e]; and because the Frenchmen in zeal to their own king could not endure this doctrine, these words were left out of the edition of Paris, but still remain in the editions of Antwerp and Cologne. But the thing is a general rule, that "all ecclesiastical persons are free from secular jurisdiction in causes criminal, whether civil or ecclesiastical; and this rule is so general that it admits no exception; and so certain

[a] De clericis, lib. i. c. 30. sect. 'Quarto objiciunt.' [tom. ii. col. 413.]

[b] De offic. christiani prin., lib. i. c. 5. [p. 31. 8vo. Col. Agr. 1619.]

[c] Suarez, defens. contra sect. Anglic., lib. iv. c. 16. sect. 15, 16, 18. [p. 257, 8.]

[d] [See page 238, note g, above.]

[e] Aphor. verb. 'Clericus.' [see p. 286, infra; and Serm. on Nov. 5, written twenty-six years before.]

that it cannot be denied, unless you will contradict the principles of faith:" so father Suarez[f]. And this is pretended to be allowed by councils, sacred canons, and all the doctors of laws human and divine; for so Bellarmine[g] affirms. Against which, since it is a matter of faith and doctrine which we now charge upon the church of Rome, as an enemy to public government, we shall think it sufficient to oppose against their pretension the plain and easy words of S. Paul[h], "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Every soul, that is, saith S. Chrysostom[i], whether he be a monk or an evangelist, a prophet or an apostle.

and the divine right of the seal of confession.

Of the like iniquity, when it is extended to its utmost commentary which the commenters of the church of Rome put upon it, is the divine right of the seal of confession; which they make so sacred, to serve such ends as they have chosen, that it may not be broken up to save the lives of princes or of the whole republic, saith Tolet[k]; no, not to save all the world, said Henriquez[l]: not to save an innocent, not to keep the world from burning, or religion from perversion, or all the sacraments from demolition. Indeed it is lawful, saith Bellarmine[m], if a treason be known to a priest in confession, he may in general words give notice to a pious and catholic prince, but not to a heretic; and that was acutely and prudently said by him, said father Suarez[n]. Father Binet is not so kind even to the catholic princes, for he says that it is better that all the kings of the world should perish than that the seal of confession should be so much as once broken; and this is the catholic doctrine, said Eudæmon Joannes in his apology for Garnet[o]; and for it he also quotes Suarez. But it is enough to have named this. How little care these men take of the lives of princes, and the public interest, which they so greatly undervalue to every trifling fancy of their own, is but too evident by these doctrines.

§ 3. By subjecting all christian kings to the pope, who can, as they teach, depose and excommunicate kings,

THE last thing we shall remark for the instruction and caution of our charges, is not the least. The doctrines of the church of Rome are great enemies to the dignity and security, to the powers and lives of princes: and this we shall briefly prove by setting down the doctrines themselves, and their consequent practices.

And here we observe, that not only the whole order of Jesuits is a

[f] Defens. fid., lib. iv. c. 15. sect. 1. [p. 252.]

[g] Apolog., p. 57. [cap. xvii. § 5. tom. vii. col. 828 D.]

[h] [Rom. xiii. 1.]

[i] In hunc locum. [tom. ix. p. 686 B.]

[k] Instruct. sacerd., lib. iii. c. 16. [p. 591.]

[l] De pœnit., lib. iii. c. 19. n. 5. [p. 306.]

[m] Apol. contr. reg. M. Brit., c. 13. [tom. vii. col. 805 A.]

[n] Contr. reg. Ang., lib. ix. [leg. vi.] cap. 3. [§ 11. p. 412. fol. Mogunt. 1619.]

[o] Cap. 13. [p. 334.—8vo. Colon. Agripp. 1610.]

great enemy to monarchy, by subjecting the dignity of princes to the pope, by making the pope the supreme monarch of Christians; but they also teach that it is a catholic doctrine, the doctrine of the church.

"The pope hath a supreme power of disposing the temporal things of all Christians in order to a spiritual good," saith Bellarmine[p]. And Becanus discourses of this very largely in his book of the English controversy, printed by Albin at Mentz, 1612. But because this book was ordered to be purged,

—Una litura potest [q],—

we shall not insist upon it; but there is as bad which was never censured. Bellarmine[r] says that the ecclesiastic republic can command and compel the temporal, which is indeed its subject, to change the administration, and to depose princes, and to appoint others, when it cannot otherwise defend the spiritual good: and F. Suarez[s] says the same. The power of the pope extends itself to the coercion of kings with temporal punishments, and depriving them of their kingdoms, when necessity requires; nay, this power is more necessary over princes than over subjects. The same also is taught by Santarel in his book 'Of heresy and schism,' printed at Rome, 1626.

and that subjects are bound to expel heretical kings.

But the mischief of this doctrine proceeds a little further. Cardinal Tolet affirms, and our countryman father Bridgewater[t] commends the saying, that "when a prince is excommunicate, before the denunciation the subjects are not absolved from their oath of allegiance, as Cajetan says well; yet when it is denounced, they are not only absolved from their obedience, but are bound not to obey, unless the fear of death, or loss of goods excuse them; which was the case of the English catholics in the time of Henry the eighth." And F. Creswel[u] says it is "the sentence of all catholics" that subjects are bound to expel heretical princes if they have strength enough; and that to this they are tied by the commandment of God, the most strict tie of conscience, and the extreme danger of their souls. Nay, even before the sentence is declared, though the subjects are not bound to it, yet lawfully they may deny obedience to an heretical prince, said Gregory de Valentia[v].

It were an endless labour[x] to transcribe the horrible doctrines which are preached in the Jesuits' school, to the shaking of the regal

[p] De sum. pontif., lib. v. c. 6. [tom. i. col. 1079 C.]

[q] [Martial., lib. iv. ep. 10.]

[r] De sum. pontif., lib. v. c. 7. [col. 1083 B.]

[s] Defens. fid. cath., lib. iii. c. 23. sect. 10. et sectt. 18. 20. [p. 187, 9.]

[t] Concert. eccl. in Angl.—fol. 336. [4to. August. Trevir. 1594.]

[u] In Philopatr., sect. 2. n. 160, 162. [p. 108, 10.—8vo. Lugd. 1593.]

[v] Tom. iii. disp. 1. q. 12. punct. 2. [col. 423.]

[x] [See more on this subject in Sermon on fifth of November.]

power of such princes which are not of the Roman communion. The whole economy of it is well described by Bellarmine[y], who affirms that "it does not belong to monks or other ecclesiastics, to commit murders, neither do the popes use to proceed that way: but their manner is, first fatherly to correct princes, then by ecclesiastical censures to deprive them of the communion, then to absolve their subjects from the oath of allegiance, and to deprive them of their kingly dignity; and what then? the execution belongs to others." This is the way of the popes, thus wisely and moderately to break kings in pieces.

We delight not to aggravate evil things. We therefore forbear to set down those horrid things spoken by Sà, Mariana, Santarel, Carolus Scribanius, and some others. It is enough that Suarez[z] says, "An excommunicate king may with impunity be deposed or killed by any one." This is the case of kings and princes by the sentence of the chiefest Roman doctors. And if it be objected that we are commanded 'to obey kings,' 'not to speak evil of them,' 'not to curse them, no not in our heart;' there is a way found out to answer these little things. For though the apostle commands that we should be subject to higher powers, and obey kings, and all that are in authority: it is true, you must, and so you may well enough for all this; for the pope can make that he who is a king shall be no king, and then you are disobliged: so Bellarmine[a]. And if after all this there remains any scruple of conscience, it ought to be remembered that though even after a prince is excommunicated it should be of itself a sin to depose or kill the prince, yet if the pope commands you it is no sin; "for if the pope should err by commanding sin or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good and the virtues evil; unless she would sin against her conscience:" they are the very words of Bellarmine[b].

But they add more particulars of the same bran. "The sons of an heretical father are made *sui juris*, that is, free from their father's power: a catholic wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical husband; and the servants are not bound to do service to such masters." These are the doctrines of their great Azorius[c], and as for kings, he affirms they may be deposed for heresy.—But all this is only in the case of heretical princes: but what for others?

Even the Roman catholic princes are not free from this danger. All the world knows what the pope did to king Chilperic[d] of France; he deposed him, and put Pepin in his place; and did what he could to have put Albert king of the Romans in the throne of Philip surnamed the fair. They were the popes of Rome who armed the son

[y] Cont. Barcl., c. 7. [tom. vii. col. 876 B.]

[z] Ubi supra, lib. vi. c. 6. sect. 24. [p. 423.]

[a] Cont. Barcl., c. 7. [note y, supra.]

[b] De Rom. pontif., lib. iv. cap. 5. [tom. i. col. 974 C.]

[c] [Instit. moral., part. i. lib. viii. cap. 12. col. 1193, 4.]

[d] [Childéric iii.?]

against the father, the emperor Henry the fourth; and the son fought against him, took him prisoner, shaved him, and thrust him into a monastery, where he died with grief and hunger. We will not speak of the emperor Frederick; Henry the sixth, emperor; the duke of Savoy, against whom he caused Charles the fifth and Francis the first of France to take arms; nor of Francis Dandalus, duke of Venice, whom he bound with chains, and fed him as dogs are fed, with bones and scraps under his table: our own Henry the second, and king John, were great instances of what princes in their case may expect from that religion. These were the piety of the father of christendom. But these were the product of the doctrine which Clement the fifth vented in the council of Vienna, *Omne jus regum a se pendere,* 'the rights of all kings depend upon the pope.' And therefore even their catholic princes are at their mercy, and they would if they durst use them accordingly: if they do but favour heretics or schismatics, receive them or defend them; if the emperor be perjured, if he rashly break a league made with the see apostolic, if he do not keep the peace promised to the church, if he be sacrilegious, if he dissipate the goods of the church, the pope may depose him, said Azorius[e]. And Santarel[f] says he may do it in case the prince or emperor be insufficient, if he be wicked, if he be unprofitable, if he does not defend the church. This is very much, but yet there is something more; this may be done if he impose new gabels or imposts upon his subjects without the pope's leave; for if they do not pretend to this also, why does the pope *In bulla cœnæ Domini*[g] excommunicate all princes that do it?

Now if it be enquired by what authority the pope does these things, it is answered that the pope hath a supreme and absolute authority; both the spiritual and the temporal power is in the pope as Christ's vicar, said Azorius and Santarel. The church hath the right of a superior lord over the rights of princes and their temporalties; and that by her jurisdiction she disposes of temporals, *ut de suo peculio,* 'as of her own proper goods,' said our countryman Weston[h], rector of the college at Douay. Nay, the pope hath power *in omnia, per omnia, super omnia,* 'in all things, through all things, and over all things;' and "the sublimity and immensity of the supreme bishop is so great, that no mortal man can comprehend it," said Cassenæus[i]; no man can express it, no man can think it. So that it is no wonder what Papirius Massonus[j] said of pope Boniface the eighth, that he owned himself not only as the lord of France but of all the world.

e Instit. Moral., part. ii. lib. x. c. 9. [col. 1087.]

f Ubi supra. [p. 280.]

g See Mart. Vivaldus de bulla cœnæ Domini. [Candelabr. aur., part. ii. tract. 3. cas. 5. p. 52. 4to. Ven. 1602.]

h Sanctuar. Jur. Pontificii, qu. xv. sect. 5. [?], qu. xvii. [leg. vii.] sect. 6. [p. 164], et qu. xxvii. sect. 7. [?]

i Catal. glor. mundi, part. iv. consid. 7. ex Zoderico. [p. 173. fol. August. Taurin. 1617.]

j Verb. Bonif. viii. [Vitt. pontif. Rom., lib. v. fol. 262 b. 4to. Par. 1586.]

Now we are sure it will be said that this is but the private opinion of some doctors, not the doctrine of the church of Rome. To this we reply, 1) It is not the private opinion of a few, but their public doctrine owned and offered to be justified to all the world, as appears in the preceding testimonies. 2) It is the opinion of all the Jesuit order, which is now the greatest and most glorious in the church of Rome, and the maintenance of it is the subject matter of their new vow[k] of obedience to the pope, that is, to advance his grandeur. 3) Not only the Jesuits, but all the canonists in the church of Rome contend earnestly for these doctrines. 4) This they do upon the authority of the decretals, their own law[l], and the decrees of councils. 5) Not only the Jesuits and canonists, but others also of great note amongst them, earnestly contend for these doctrines; particularly Cassenæus, Zodericus[m], the archbishop of Florence[n], Petrus de Monte[o], S. Thomas Aquinas[p], Bozius, Baronius, and many others. 6) Themselves tell us it is a matter of faith; F. Creswell[q] says "it is the sentence of all catholics;" and they that do not admit these doctrines, father Rosweyd[r] calls them 'half Christians,' 'grinners,' 'barking royalists,' and 'a new sect of catholics;' and Eudæmon Joannes[s] says that without question it is a heresy in the judgment of all catholics. Now in such things which are not in their creeds and public confessions, from whence should we know the doctrines of their church but from their chiefest and most leading doctors; who it is certain would fain have all the world believe it to be the doctrine of their church. And therefore as it is certain that any Roman catholic may with allowance be of this opinion; so he will be esteemed the better and more zealous catholic if he be; and if it were not for fear of princes, who will not lose their crowns for their foolish doctrines, there is no peradventure but it would be declared to be *de fide*, 'a matter of faith,' as divers of them of late do not stick to say. And of this the pope gives but too much evidence, since he will not take away the scandal which is so greatly given to all christian kings and republics, by a public and a just condemnation of it. Nay, it is worse than thus; for Sixtus quintus upon the eleventh[t] of September A.D. MDLXXXIX. in an oration in

[k] [See vol. v. p. 460, note d.]

[l] De major. et obedient. 'Unam sanctam.' In extrav. Bonif. viii. [extrav. com., lib. i. col. 190.]—Concil. Later. sub Julio ii. [vid. sess. xi.—tom. ix. col. 1830.]—Extrav. Joh. xxii. cap. 'Cum inter nonnullos.' In gloss. final. edit. Paris. 1503. [col. 138 sq.]—Concil. Viennens. sub Clem. V. [tom. vii. col. 1341 sqq.]

[m] Ubi supra in Cassenæo.

[n] Summ. iii. part. 1. 22. c. 6. sect. 4. [sine pag. fol. Argent. 1496.]

[o] In sua monarchia [sive 'De potest. pontif.'—In tractat. univ. juris, tom. xiii. part. i. fol. 144.—fol. Ven. 1584.] quem citat Felinus in cap. 'Si quando,' ubi per eum extrav. de rescript. [in i. Decret. tit. 3. cap. 5. fol. 79 a.]

[p] In tract. de rege et regno ad regem Cypri. [lib. i. cap. 14. tom. xvii. fol. 166. b.]

[q] In Philopatr., sect. ii. n. 160, 2. [pp. 108, 10.]

[r] Lib. de fide hæret. servanda. [cap. xvii. p. 190. 8vo. Antv. 1611.]

[s] In epist. monitor. ad Joh. Barclai. [cap. xiii. 8vo. s. p. Col. Agr. 1613.]

[t] ['IX.' B; but 'iii. id. Sept.' Thuan.]

a conclave of cardinals did solemnly commend the monk[u] that killed Henry the third of France. The oration was printed at Paris by them that had rebelled against that prince, and avouched for authentic by Boucher, Decreil, and Ancelin; and though some would fain have it thought to be none of his, yet Bellarmine[x] dares not deny it, but makes for it a crude and a cold apology.

Now concerning this article it will not be necessary to declare the sentence of the church of England and Ireland; because it is notorious to all the world; and is expressly opposed against this Roman doctrine, by laws, articles, confessions, homilies, the oath of allegiance and supremacy, the book of 'Christian Institution,' and the many excellent writings of king James of blessed memory, of our bishops and other learned persons against Bellarmine, Parsons, Eudæmon Johannes, Creswell, and others: and nothing is more notorious than that the church of England is most dutiful, most zealous for the right of kings; and within these four and twenty years she hath had many martyrs, and very, very many confessors in this cause.

It is true that the church of Rome does recriminate in this point, and charges some calvinists and presbyterians with doctrines which indeed they borrowed from Rome, using their arguments, making use of their expressions, and pursuing their principles. But with them in this article we have nothing to do, but to reprove the men, and condemn their doctrine, as we have done all along, by private writings and public instruments.

We conclude these our reproofs with an exhortation to our respective charges, to all that desire to be saved 'in the day of the Lord Jesus,' that they decline from these horrid doctrines, which in their birth are new, in their growth are scandalous, in their proper consequents are infinitely dangerous to their souls, and 'hunt for their precious life:' but therefore it is highly fit that they also should perceive their own advantages, and give God praise that they are immured from such infinite dangers by the holy precepts and holy faith taught and commanded in the church of England and Ireland; in which the Word of God is set before them as 'a lantern to their feet and a light unto their eyes,' and the Sacraments are fully administered according to Christ's institution, and Repentance is preached according to the measures of the gospel, and Faith in Christ is propounded according to the rule of the apostles and the measures of the churches apostolical, and obedience to kings is greatly and sacredly urged, and the authority and order of bishops is preserved against the usurpation of the pope, and the invasion of schismatics and Aërians new and old[y]; and

[u] [Jacques Clément; see Sermon on fifth of November; and Thuan., lib. xcvi.]

[x] In resp. ad apolog. pro juram. fidelit. [tom. vii. col. 670 sq.]

[y] [See title to 'Episcopacy asserted.']

truth and faith to all men is kept and preached to be necessary and inviolable, and the commandments are expounded with just severity, and without scruples; and holiness of life is urged upon all men as indispensably necessary to salvation, and therefore without any allowances, tricks, and little artifices of escaping from it by easy and imperfect doctrines; and every thing is practised which is useful to the saving of our souls; and Christ's merits and satisfaction are entirely relied upon for the pardon of our sins; and the necessity of good works is universally taught; and our prayers are holy, unblamable, edifying and understood; they are according to the measures of the Word of God, and the practice of all saints. In this church the children are duly, carefully, and rightly baptized, and the baptized, in their due time, are confirmed; and the confirmed are communicated; and penitents are absolved, and the impenitents punished and discouraged; and holy marriage in all men is preferred before unclean concubinate in any; and nothing is wanting that God and His Christ hath made necessary to salvation.

Behold, we set before you life and death, blessing and cursing, safety and danger. Choose which you will; but remember that the prophets who are among you have declared to you the way of salvation. Now 'the Lord give you understanding in all things,' and 'reveal even this also unto you.' Amen.

[The foregoing treatise on its first appearance was strongly attacked by Romish writers; whose censures called forth the "Second part" of the Dissuasive, in vindication of the First. Among the writers who attacked the Dissuasive, were

(1.) John Serjeant, who wrote under the initials J. S. and sometimes S. W., and bore also the name of Smith, and sometimes Hólland. He was born at Barrow in Lincolnshire, and sent to St. John's college, Cambridge; where he made such progress in his studies that he was selected, while quite young, to be sent as secretary to Morton bishop of Durham. Staying there about a year, he became perplexed in religion, and went over to the church of Rome; and passing into Portugal, entered the English college of seculars at Lisbon, A.D. 1642; there he was ordained priest, and held the office of prefect of studies in the college. In the year 1652 he was sent back into England to propagate the Romish faith; was made canon and secretary of the secular clergy, and continued an active controversialist for forty years. His writings on some points were disapproved by the divines of his own church, and censured by the abp. of Paris. Among his publications in the English controversy, were 'Sure Footing in Christianity,' with three appendices, against Dr. Pierce, Mr. Whitby, and Mr. Stillingfleet; and on the appearance of Taylor's Dissuasive, he put forth 'A Discovery of the groundlessness and insincerity of my Lord of Down's Dissuasive; being the fourth appendix to 'Sure Footing.'' This is the publication which Taylor notices so fully in the Introduction to the Second part of the Dissuasive.

(2.) A second assailant of Taylor was Edward Worseley, of the family of Worseley in Lancashire, who left the church of England, and became a Jesuit, and rector of the college at Liege. He wrote a book called, 'Truth will out, or a Discovery of some untruths smoothly told by Dr. Jeremy Taylor, in his Dissuasive from Popery; with an answer to such arguments as deserve an answer. By his friendly adversary, E. W.'

(3.) A third was an anonymous writer (but referred to by Taylor as A. L.; see

Dissuasive, 2nd part, book i. sect. 2, and book ii. in every section,) who put forth 'A Letter to a friend touching Dr. Jeremy Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, discovering above an hundred and fifty false or wrested quotations in it.' Some of his allegations (as also of E. W.'s) demand notice; indeed both publications should be carefully read by any one desirous to become fully acquainted with the subject.

(4.) Taylor alludes also in one place in the 'Second part' of the Dissuasive (book i. § 2. p. 380 below) to "M. W. and his under-dauber M. S."]

THE

SECOND PART,

OF THE

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY:

IN

VINDICATION OF THE FIRST PART,

AND FURTHER

REPROOF AND CONVICTION

OF THE

ROMAN ERRORS.

BY JER. TAYLOR,

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST,
AND LATE LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata.—[Jer. li. 9.]

INTRODUCTION:

BEING AN ANSWER TO THE FOURTH APPENDIX TO J. S. HIS SURE-FOOTING, INTENDED AGAINST THE GENERAL WAY OF PROCEDURE IN THE DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

WHEN our blessed Saviour was casting out the evil spirit from the poor demoniac in the gospel, He asked his name; and he answered, 'My name is legion, for we are many.' Legion is a Roman word, and signifies an army, as Roman signifies catholic; that is, a great body of men which though in true speaking they are but a part of an imperial army, yet when they march alone, they can do mischief enough, and call themselves an army royal. A squadron of this legion hath attempted to break a little fort or outwork of mine; they came in the dark, their names concealed, their qualities unknown, whether clergy or laity not to me discovered, only there is one pert man amongst them, one that is discovered by his 'sure footing.' The others I know not, but this man is a man famous in the 'new science of controversy' (as he is pleased to call it) I mean in the most beauteous and amiable part of it, railing and calumny. The man I mean is the ὁ αὐθάδης, 'the confident,' the man of principles, and the son of demonstration; and though he had so reviled a great champion[a] in the 'armies of the living God,' that it was reasonable to think he had cast forth πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα, 'all the fiery darts of the wicked one;' yet I find that an evil fountain is not soon drawn dry, and he hath indignation enough and reviling left for others, amongst whom I have the honour not to be the least sufferer and sharer in the persecution. He thought not fit to take any further notice of me but in an appendix; the viper is but little, but it is a viper still, though it hath more tongue than teeth. I am the more willing to quit myself of it, by way of introduction, because he intends it as an *organum catholicum* against the general way of the procedure which I have used in the Dissuasive; and therefore I suppose the removing this might ἑτοιμάζειν τὴν ὁδὸν, make my way smoother in the following discourses.

I will take no other notice of his evil language, his scorn and reproach, his undervaluing and slighting the person and book of the 'Dissuader,' (as he is pleased sometimes to call me) but I shall answer

[a] Dr. H. H. [Sergeant had written several books against Hammond; among others, 'Schism dis-arm'd of the defensive weapons lent it by Doctor Hammond and the Bishop of Derry,' in 1655; and two years after, 'Schism Dispatch'd, or a Rejoinder to the replies of Dr. Hammond and the lord of Derry.']

to these things as S. Bernard did to the temptation of the devil endeavouring to hinder his preaching by tempting to vanity, 'I neither began for you, nor for you will I make an end:' but I shall look on those rhetorical flowers of his own but as a *fermentum;* his spirit was troubled, and he breathed forth the froth as of an enraged sea; and when he hath done, it may be he will be quiet, if not, let him know God will observe that which is to come, and require that which is past.

But I will search and see what I can find of matter that is to be considered, and give such accounts of them as is necessary, and may be useful for the defence of my book, and the justification of myself against all ruder charges. And after I have done so, I shall proceed to other things which I shall esteem more useful.

The first thing I shall take notice of is his scornful and slight speaking of scripture, affirming that he is soonest beaten at this weapon; that it is Sampson's hair, it is the weakest part in the man: and yet if it be the weakest, it is that which S. Paul calls 'the weakness and foolishness of preaching,' more strong and more wise than all the wisdom of man. When the devil tempted our blessed Saviour, he used scripture; but Christ did not reprove his way of arguing, but in the same way discovered his fraud. *Scriptum est,* said the tempter; yea, but *scriptum est* said Christ, to other purposes than you intend; and so would J. S. have proceeded if he had been at all in love with the way. But he thinks he hath a better; and the wonder is the less that the gentleman does not love the scriptures, or at least gives too much suspicion that he does not; for he hath not yet proved himself by his writings to be so good a Christian as to love his enemies, or his reprovers: but however he is pleased to put a scorn on scripture expressions, it were much better if he and his church too would use them more, and express their articles they contend for, and impose them on the christian world, in the words and expressions of scripture, which we are sure express the mind of God with more truth and simplicity than is done by their words of art and expressions of the schools. If this had been observed, christendom at this day had had fewer controversies, and more truth, and more charity; we should not have been puzzled to unriddle the words of 'transubstantiation,' and *hyperdulia,* and 'infallibility,' and 'doctrines *ex cathedra,*' and *fere de fide,* and 'next to heresy,' and 'temerarious,' and *ordo ad spiritualia,* and 'S. Peter's chair,' and 'supremacy in spirituals,' and 'implicit faith,' and very many more profane or unhallowed novelties of speech, which have made christianity quite another thing than it is in itself, or than it was represented by the apostles and apostolic men at first, as the plain way of salvation to all succeeding ages of the church for ever.

But be it as it will; for he will neither approve of scripture language, nor is he pleased that I use any 'handsome expressions,' for that is charged upon me as part of my fault; only to countenance

all this, he is pleased to say that all these are 'but division upon no grounds;' and therefore to 'grounds and first principles' I must be brought, and by this way he is sure to "'blow up my errors from the foundation;' that's his expression, being a metaphor I suppose taken from the gunpowder treason, in which indeed going upon popish 'grounds' they intended to 'blow up' [something or other that was very considerable] 'from its very foundations.'

To perform this effect J. S. hath eight several mines, all which I hope to discover without Guido Faux his lanthorn.

THE FIRST WAY.

His first way is, that I have not one first or self-evident principle to begin with, on which I build the Dissuasive; but he hath, that is, he says he hath; for he hath reproved that oral tradition, on which he and his church relies, is such a principle; he thought (it may be) he had reason then to say so; but the scene is altered, and until he hath sufficiently confuted his adversaries who have proved his self-evident principle to be an evident and pitiful piece of sophistry, his boasting is very vain. However, though he hath failed in his undertaking, yet I must acquit myself as well as I can. I shall therefore tell him that the truth, fulness, and sufficiency of scripture in all matters of faith and manners, is the principle that I and all protestants rely upon. And although this be not a first and self-evident principle, yet it is resolved into these that are: first, whatsoever God hath said is true; secondly, whatsoever God hath done is good; thirdly, whatsoever God intends to bring to pass, He hath appointed means sufficient to that end. Now since God hath appointed the scriptures to instruct us, and 'make us wise unto salvation,' and to 'make the man of God perfect,' certain it is that this means must needs be sufficient to effect that end. Now that God did do this to this end, to them that believe the scriptures to be the word of God is as evident as any first principle. And let these scriptures be weighed together, and see what they do amount to. "Search the scriptures, for therein ye think to have eternal life[b]." The Jews thought so, that is, they confessed and acknowledged it to be so; and if they had been deceived in their thought, besides that it is very probable Christ would have reproved it, so it is very certain He would not have bidden them to have used that means to that end. And if Christ himself and the apostles did convince the Jews out of the scriptures of the Old testament, proving that Jesus was the Christ: if Christ himself and the apostles proved the resurrection, and the passion, and the supreme kingdom of Christ out of the scriptures; if the apostle proved Him to be the Messias, and that He ought to suffer and to rise again the third day, by no other pre-

[b] [John v. 39.]

cedent topic, and that upon these things christian religion relied as upon its entire foundation; and on the other side the Jewish doctors had brought in many things by tradition, to which our blessed Saviour gave no countenance, but reproved many of them, and made it plain that tradition was not the first and self-evident principle to rely upon in religion, but a way by which they had corrupted the commandment of God: it will follow from hence that the scriptures are the way that Christ and His apostles walked in, and that oral tradition was not. But then to this add what more concerns the N. T.; when S. Luke wrote his gospel, in the preface he tells us that 'many had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed amongst us' [Christians,] and 'that he having perfect understanding of all things' (viz. which Christ did and taught) 'from the very first, did write' [this gospel] 'that Theophilus might know the certainty of those things in which he had been instructed:' now here (if we believe S. Luke) was no want of any thing; he was fully instructed in all things; and he chose to write that book, that by that book Theophilus might know the truth, yea, the certainty of all things. Now if we be Christians and believe S. Luke to be divinely inspired, this is not indeed a first but an evident principle, that a book of scripture can make a man certain and instructed in the whole gospel of Jesus Christ. To the same purpose is that of S. John[c], "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name." The end is salvation by Jesus Christ; the means of effecting this, was this writing the gospel by S. John: and therefore it is a sure principle for Christians to rely upon, the word of God written by men divinely inspired, such as Christians believe and confess S. Luke and S. John to be. Hear S. Luke[d] again, "The former treatise have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jesus began both to do and teach until the day He was taken up." No man then can deny but all Christ's doctrine and life was fully set down by these evangelists and apostles; whether it were to any purpose or no, let J. S. consider, and I shall consider with him in the sequel. But first let us hear what S. Paul[e] saith in an epistle written as it is probable not long before his death, but certainly after three of the gospels and divers of the epistles were written, and consequently related to the scriptures of the old and new Testament. "Continue thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them: and that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly

[c] [John xx. 31.] [d] [Acts i.] [e] [2 Tim. iii. 14.]

furnished unto all good works." Now I demand, does J. S. believe these words to be true? are the scriptures able to make us wise unto salvation? are they profitable to all intents and purposes of the spirit, that is, to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct? is the end of all this economy, to make a christian man, yea a christian bishop, perfect? can he by this dispensation be throughly furnished unto all good works, and that by faith in Jesus Christ? If so, then this is the true principle, the apostolical way, the way of God, the way of salvation: and if scriptures, the books written by the finger of God and the pen of apostles, can do all this, then they are something more than 'ink varied into divers figures,' 'unsensed characters,' and I know not what other reviling epithets J. S. is pleased to cast upon them.

"Yea, but all this is nothing, unless we know that scriptures are the word of God, that they were written by the apostles; and of this the scriptures cannot be a witness in their own behalf: and therefore oral tradition must supply that, and consequently is the only first and self-evident principle." To this I answer, that it matters not by what means it be conveyed to us that the scriptures are the word of God; oral tradition is an excellent means; but it is not that alone by which it is conveyed. For if by oral tradition he means the testimony of the catholic church; it is the best external ministry of conveyance of this, being a matter of fact, and of so great concernment: to which the testimony of our adversaries, Jews and heathens, adds no small moment; and the tradition is also conveyed to us by very many writings: but when it is thus conveyed, and that the church does believe them to be the word of God, then it is that I enquire whether the scripture cannot be a witness to us of its own design, fulness, and perfection. Certainly no principle is more evident than this, none more sure and none before it, 'Whatever God hath said is true,' and in scripture God did speak, and speak this; and therefore this to us is a first, at least an evident principle.

Yea, but if this proposition, that 'the scriptures are the word of God,' is conveyed to us by oral tradition, this must needs be the best and only principle; for if it be trusted for the whole, why not for every particular? This argument concludes thus: this is the gate of the house, therefore this is all the house: every man enters this way; and therefore this is the hall and the cellar, the pantry and dining room, the bedchambers and the cocklofts. But besides the ridiculousness of the argument, there is a particular reason why the argument cannot conclude; the reason in brief is this, because it is much easier for any man to carry a letter, than to tell the particular errand; it is easier to tell one thing, than to tell ten thousand; to deliver one thing out of our hand, than a multitude out of our mouths; one matter of fact, than very many propositions; as it is easier to convey in writing all Tully's works, than to say by heart with truth and exactness any one of his orations. That the bible

was written by inspired men, God setting His seal to their doctrine, confirming by miracles what they first preached and then wrote in a book, this is a matter of fact, and is no otherwise to be proved (unless God should proceed extraordinarily and by miracle) but by the testimony of wise men, who saw it with their eyes, and heard it with their ears, and felt it with their hands. This was done at first, then only consigned, then witnessed, and thence delivered. And with how great success, and with the blessing of how mighty a providence, appears it in this; because although as S. Luke tells us, many did undertake to write gospels, or the declaration of the things so surely believed amongst Christians; and we find in S. Clement of Alex., Origen, S. Irenæus, Athanasius, Chrysostom and S. Hierome, mention made of many gospels, as that of the Hebrews, the Egyptians, Nazarenes, Ebionites, the gospel of James, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas and divers more: yet but four only were transmitted and consigned to the church, because these four only were written by these whose names they bear, and these men had the testimony of God, and a Spirit of truth, and the promise of Christ that the Spirit should bring all things to their minds, and He did so: now of this we could have no other testimony but of those who were present, who stopped the first issue of the false gospels, and the sound of the other four went forth into all the world, according to that of Origen, *Ecclesia cum quatuor tantum evangelii libros habet, per universum mundum evangeliis redundat; hæreses cum multa habeant, unum non habent;* those which heretics made are all lost or slighted, those which the spirit of God did write by the hands of men divinely inspired, these abide, and shall abide for ever. Now then this matter of fact how should we know but by being told it by credible persons who could know, and never gave cause of suspicion that they should deceive us? Now if J. S. will be pleased to call this oral tradition, he may; but that which was delivered by this oral tradition was not only preached at first, but transmitted to us by many writings, besides the scriptures, both of friends and enemies. But suppose it were not, yet thi book of scriptures might be consigned by oral tradition from the apostles and apostolic men, and yet tradition become of little or no use after this consignation and delivery. For (1) this was all the work which of necessity was to be done by it; and indeed (2) this was all that it could do well.

(1.) This was all which was necessary to be done by oral tradition; because the wisdom of the Divine Spirit having resolved to write all the doctrine of salvation in a book, and having done it well and sufficiently in order to His own gracious purposes, (for who dares so much as suspect the contrary?) there was now no need that oral tradition should be kept up with the jointure of infallibility, since the first infallibility of the apostles was so sufficiently witnessed that it convinced the whole world of Christians, and therefore was enough to consign the divinity and perfection of this book for ever. For it

was in this as in the doctrine itself contained in the scriptures, God "confirmed it by signs following;" that is by signs proving that the apostles spake the mind of God, the things which they speak were proved and believed for ever; but then the signs went away, and left a permanent and eternal event. So it is in the infallible tradition delivered by the apostles and apostolic age concerning the scriptures being the word of God; what they said was confirmed by all that testimony by which they obtained belief in the church to their persons and doctrines; but when they had once delivered this, there needed no remaining miracle and entail of infallibility in the church, to go on in the delivery of this; for by that time that all the apostles were dead, and the infallible Spirit was departed, the scriptures of the gospels were believed in all the world, and then it was not ordinarily possible ever any more to detract faith from that book; and then for the transmitting this book to after ages, the Divine providence needed no other course but the ordinary ways of man, that is, right reason, common faithfulness, the interest of souls, believing a good thing which there was and could be no cause to disbelieve; and an universal consent of all men that were any ways concerned for it or against it, and this not only preached upon the house tops, but set down also in very many writings. This actually was the way of transmitting this book, and the authority of it, to after ages respectively.

These things are of themselves evident, yet because J. S. still demands we should set down some first and self-evident principle on which to found the whole procedure, I shall once more satisfy him; and this is a first and self-evident principle, 'Whatsoever can be spoken can be written;' and if it be plain spoken, it may be as plain written. I hope I need not go about to demonstrate this; for it is of itself evident, that God can write all that He is pleased to speak; and all good scribes can set down in writing whatsoever another tells them; and in his very words too if he please; he can as well transcribe a word spoken as a word written. And upon this principle it is that the protestants believe that the words of scripture can be as easily understood after they are written in a book, as when they were spoken in the churches of the first Christians; and the apostles and evangelists did write the life of Christ, His doctrines, the doctrines of faith, as plain as they did speak them, at least as plain as was necessary to the end for which they were written, which is the salvation of our souls. And what necessity now can there be that there should be a perpetual miracle still current in the church, and a spirit of infallibility descendent to remember the church of all those things which are at once set down in a book, the truth and authority of which was at first proved by infallible testimony, the memory and certainty of which is preserved amongst Christians by many unquestionable records and testimonies of several natures.

(2.) As there was no necessity that an infallible oral tradition should

do any more but consign the books of scripture, so it could not do any more without a continual miracle. That there was no continued miracle is sufficiently proved by proving it was not necessary it should; for that also is another first and self-evident principle, that 'the all-wise God does not do any thing, much less such things as miracles, to no purpose and for no need.' But now if there be not a continued miracle, then oral tradition was not fit to be trusted in relating the particulars of the christian religion. For if in a succession of bishops and priests from S. Peter down to pope Alexander the seventh, it is impossible for any man to be assured that there was no nullity in the ordinations, but insensibly there might intervene something to make a breach in the long line, which must in that case be made up as well as they can, by tying a knot on it: it will be infinitely more hard to suppose but that in the series and successive talkings of the christian religion there must needs be infinite variety, and many things told otherwise, and some things spoken with evil purposes, by such as 'preached Christ out of envy;' and many odd things said, and doctrines strangely represented by such as 'creep into houses, and lead captive silly women.' It may be the bishops of the apostolical churches did preach right doctrines for divers ages; but yet in Jerusalem, where fifteen bishops in succession were circumcised, who can tell how many things might be spoken in justification of that practice, which might secretly undervalue the apostolical doctrine? and where was the oral tradition then of this proposition, "If ye be circumcised Christ shall profit you nothing?" But however, though the bishops did preach all the doctrine of Christ, yet these sermons were told to them that were absent, by others who it may be might mistake something, and understand them to other senses than was intended. And though infallibility of testifying might be given to the church, that is, to the chief rulers of it, (for I hope J. S. does not suppose it subjected in every single christian man or woman,) yet when this testimony of theirs is carried abroad, the reporters are not always infallible. And let it be considered that even now, since christianity hath been transmitted so many ages, and there are so many thousands that teach it, yet how many hundreds of these thousands understand but very little of it, and therefore tell it to others but pitifully and imperfectly; so that if God in His goodness had not preserved to us the 'surer word' of the prophetical and evangelical scriptures, christianity would by this time have been a most strange thing. *Litera scripta manet:* as to the apostles while they lived it was so easy to have recourse, that error durst not appear with an open face, but the cure was at hand: so have the apostles when they took care to have something left to the churches to put them in mind of the precious doctrine; they put a sure standard, and fixed a rule in the church, to which all doubts might be brought to trial, and against which all heresies might be dashed in pieces. But we have lived to see the apostolical churches rent from one another, and

teaching contrary things, and pretending contrary traditions, and abounding in several senses[f], and excommunicating one another; and it is impossible (for example) that we should see the Greeks going any whither but to their own superior and their own churches to be taught christian religion; and the Latins did always go to their own patriarch, and to their own bishops and churches, and it is not likely it should be otherwise now than it hath been hitherto, that is, that they follow the religion that is taught them there, and the tradition that is delivered by their immediate superiors. Now there being so vast a difference, not only in the great churches but in several ages, and in several dioceses, and in single priests, every one understanding as he can, and speaking as he please, and remembering as he may, and expressing it accordingly, and the people also understanding it by halves, and telling it to their children, sometimes ill, sometimes not at all, and seldom as they should; and they who are taught, neglecting it too grossly, and attending to it very carelessly, and forgetting it too quickly; and which is worse yet, men expounding it according to their interests, or their lusts, out of faction, or as they are misled, and then report it accordingly: these and a thousand things more, convince us of the easiness of being deceived by oral tradition of doctrines, which can insensibly and unavoidably be changed in great differences and mistakes, but can never suffer any considering person to believe that mouth delivery is a better way of keeping records than writing in a book.

So that now I wonder that J. S. is pleased to call tradition's certainty, the 'first principle of controversy.' The pretence of it is indeed the mother and nurse of controversy; for in the world there is not any thing more uncertain than the report of men's words. How many men have been undone by mistaken words? And it is well remembered that in the last unhappy parliament[g] a gentleman was called to the bar for speaking words of truth and honesty, but against the sense of the house: the words were spoken in a great assembly, before many witnesses, curious and malicious observers; spoken at that very time; and yet when the words were questioned, they could not agree what they were; and consequently the sense of them might be strangely altered, since a word, the misplacing of a word, an accent, a point, any ambiguity, any mistake might change the sense; well, upon this accident the speaker called to a gentleman whom he had observed to write the words; and to him they appealed, and he told them that which I supposed was said, but wholly differing from them that spake it, the traditionary part of the parliament.

All the rest which J. S. says in his 'first way,' is nothing but a strange and arrogant bragging, which as it is inconsistent with the modesty of a Christian, so it is an ill sign of a sober and wise con-

[f] [See Rom. xiv. 5, ed. vulg.]

[g] 1641. [See Clarendon's account of the trial of the earl of Strafford, History of the Rebellion, book iii.]

viction; for if he had demonstrated the certainty of oral tradition, he needed no such noises; they that speak truest make the least stir, and when they are at peace in the truth of the thing, they are pleased it is well, and so they leave it to prevail by its native strengths.

But after all this noise made by J. S., why is he so fierce to call me to first and self-evident principles? Does any school of philosophy do so in their systems and discourses? Are there not in every science divers *præcognita*, things to be presupposed and believed before we can prove any thing? Is it reasonable when I reprove any vicious person for dishonouring God, and dissuade him from his wicked courses, that he should tell me he will not be dissuaded by my fine words, but if I will go to principles and first grounds, he will hear me; and I must first prove what 'dishonouring' is, and how God can be dishonoured, and whether it be only by fiction of law, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, and 'by way of condescension' it is so said; and yet after all this, I must prove that God does care at all whether the man say such things or no, or lastly I must prove that there is a God, before he can suffer me to reprove him upon such ungrounded discourses. Theology and the science of the scriptures supposes divers grounds laid down before and believed; and therefore it were a wild demand that in every book we should make a logical system or a formal analysis of all our discourses, and make a map describing all the whole passage from the first truth to the present affirmative.

But if J. S. will but consider what the design of the Dissuasive was, and that the purpose of it was to prove that the doctrine of popery as such, is wholly an innovation, neither catholic nor apostolic; there was no need of coming to any other first grounds, but to shew the time when the Roman propositions were not catholic doctrines, and when they began to be esteemed so. These things are matters of fact, and need no reduction to any other first principles but the credible testimony of men fit to be believed. But yet because I will humour J. S. for this once, even here also the Dissuasive relies upon a first and self-evident principle as any is in christianity, and that is, *Quod primum verum.* And therefore if I prove that the Roman doctrines now controverted were not at first but came in afterwards, then I have built the Dissuasive aright; and now I have 'pointed it out,' and have already in part, and in the following book have more largely done it; therefore I hope J. S. will be as good as his word and 'yield himself absolutely confuted.' But because there are some other reasons inclining me to think he will not perform his promise, and particularly 'because of the ill naturedness of' [his own] 'principles,' (that I may use his own expression in his postscript,) yet if I have failed in my proofs, it is not for want of clear and evident principles, but of right deductions from them; and therefore he is mistaken in his first way of mining, and whether there be any defect in any thing else, will be put to trial in the sequel; in the mean time, the lion is not so terrible as he is painted.

THE SECOND WAY.

In the next place I shall try his second mine; and believe I shall find it big with a *brutum fulmen*, and that it can do no hurt but make a noise, and scare the boys in the neighbourhood.

For now though in the first way he blamed me for relying upon no first and self-evident principle; in the second he excludes me from all right of using any, unless I will take his. He says, I have 'no right to allege scriptures or fathers, councils or reason, history or instances.' But why, I pray? Tis done thus: 'All discourse supposes that certain upon which it builds.' That is his first proposition; what he makes of it afterwards we shall see; in the mean time, he may consider that though all his discourses suppose that certain on which they build, because his geese are swans and his arguments are demonstrations, yet there are many wiser discourses which rely upon probable arguments: and so does a moral demonstration; and such a great wit of France, Mr. Silhon[h], supposed to be his best way of proving the immortality of the soul. Now this is nothing but a coacervation of many probabilities, which according to the subject matter (as not being capable of any other way of probation) amounts to the effect of a demonstration. And however this gentleman looks big upon it, the infallibility of the church of Rome is by the wisest of his own party acknowledged to rely but upon prudential motives; and he is a mad man, says Aristotle, who in some cases (in which yet a man may discourse wisely enough) looks for any more than arguments of a high probability[i]. But what does J. S. think of arguments *ad hominem?* do they suppose that certain which they build upon? or if they do not, can there be no good discourses made upon them? what are the wise consultations of states and councils? do they always discourse foolishly when they proceed and argue but upon probabilities? Nay, what does J. S. think of general councils who are fallible in their premises though right in their conclusions? do their conclusions suppose their premises upon which they build their conclusions to be certain? If not, then J. S. hath affirmed weakly that all discourse supposes that certain upon which it builds.

Well, but how does he build upon this rotten foundation, who hath already in this very procedure confuted his following discourse, as being such which does not, I am sure ought not (as appears by the reasons I have brought against it) suppose that certain on which it is built: 'Thus if tradition, or the way of conveying down matters of fact by the former ages testifying, can fail, none of these (viz., scripture, reason, history, fathers, councils, yea instances) are certain.' —This is his assumption; and this besides that it is false, is also to none of his purposes.

1. First, it is false; for suppose tradition be not certain, how must all reason therefore fail? For first, there must be some reason presupposed,

h [Sur l'immortalité de l'âme.—A.D. 1634.]

i [Eth. nicom. i. 3.]

before the certainty of tradition can be established; and if there be not, why does J. S. offer at a demonstrative reason to prove the certainty of tradition: (though if there be no better reasons for it than he hath yet shewn, his reason and tradition fail together:) secondly, supposing tradition should fail, yet there may be reasons given for the excellency of christianity, which as they confirm Christians in their faith, and beget love to the articles, so they may be sufficient to invite even the wiser heathens to consider it, and choose it.

2. But then suppose that these things should be uncertain upon the supposal of the uncertainty of tradition of matters of fact, yet it will avail J. S. nothing; for it will only follow that then those things which only rely upon that matter of fact are not demonstratively certain; but though it may fail in some things, it may be right in others, and we may have reason for one and not for another, and then either those things must be proved some other way, or else they can be believed but only so far as the first topic will extend; which yet though so uncertain as not to be infallible or demonstrative, may be certain enough to make men believe, and live and die accordingly. For if we have no better, God requires no better, and by these things will bring His purposes to pass; and if this were not true, what will become of the laity and many the ignorant priests of his own church, who do not rely upon the certainty of universal tradition, but the single testimony of their parents or their parish priest? But of this afterwards.

But to come closer to the thing: suppose tradition of fact be certain (for so it is in many instances, and if it be universal it will be allowed to be so in all) yet it is but so certain that yet there is a natural possibility that it should be false; and it is possible that what the generality of one sort of men do jointly testify, may yet be found false, or at least uncertain; as the burial of Mahomet in Mecca, and his being attracted by a lodestone, of which the Mahometans have a long and general tradition, at least we in christendom are made to believe so; and if it be not so, yet it is naturally possible that they should all believe and teach a lie, and they actually do so. Yet I will allow ecclesiastical catholic tradition, speaking morally, to be certain and indubitable; and that if this should fail, much of our comfort and certainty of adherence to christian religion would fail with it; but then it is to be considered that the certainty of tradition which is allowed, is but in matters of fact, not in doctrines, because the fact may be one, the doctrines many; that soon remembered, these soon forgotten; that perceived by sense, these mistaken and misunderstood; and though it is very credibly reported and easily believed that Julius Cæsar was killed in the senate, yet all that he said that day, and all the unwritten orders he made, and all his orations, will not, cannot so easily be trusted upon oral tradition. So that oral tradition is a good ministry of conveying a record, but is not the best record; and the principal office of oral tradition is

done when the record is verified by it, when the scripture is consigned; and though still it is useful, yet it is not still so necessary. For when by tradition or oral testimony we are assured that the bible is the word of God, and the great record of salvation, then we are sure that God who gave it will preserve it, or not require it, and He that designed it to such an end, will make and keep it sufficient to that end, and that He hath done so already is therefore notorious, because God hath been pleased to multiply the copies, and enwrap the contents of that book with the biggest interests of mankind; that it is made impossible to destroy that divine repository of necessary and holy doctrines; and when the Christians were by deaths and tortures assaulted to cause them to deliver up their bibles that they might be destroyed, the persecutors prevailed not; they might with as much success have undertaken to drink up the sea. And that providence which keeps the whole from destruction, will also keep all its necessary parts from corruption, lest the work of God become insufficient to the end of its designation; and he that will look for better security than we can have from the certain knowledge and experience of the infallibility of the divine providence and never failing goodness, must erect a new office of assurance.

The effect of this discourse is this; that oral tradition may be very certain, and in some case is the best evidence we have in matters of fact, unless where we are taught by sense or revelation; and if it were not certain, we should be infinitely to seek for notices of things that are past: but this is but a moral certainty, though it be the best we have; and this is but in matters of fact, not in doctrines and orations, or notions delivered in many words: and after all this, when tradition hath consigned an instrument or record, a writing or a book, it may then leave being necessary, and when the providence of God undertakes to supply the testimony of man, the change is for our advantage.

Well, now having considered this second proposition, let us see what his conclusion is; for that also hath something of particular consideration, as having in it something more than was in the premises. The conclusion is this, 'Therefore a protestant or a renouncer of tradition cannot with reason pretend to discourse out of any of these.' To which I shall reply these things.

First, this gentleman wholly mistakes us protestants, as he did the protestant religion when he weakly forsook it. Protestants are not renouncers of tradition; for we allow all catholic traditions that can prove themselves to be such; but we finding little or nothing excepting this, that 'The bible is the word of God,' and that 'The bible contains all the will of God for our salvation,' all doctrines of faith and life,—little or nothing else, I say, descending to us by an universal tradition, therefore we have reason to adhere to scripture, and renounce (as J. S. is pleased to call it) all pretence of tradition of any matters of faith not plainly set down in the bible.

But now since we renounce no tradition but such as is not and cannot be proved to be competent and catholic, I hope with the leave of J. S. we may discourse out of scriptures and councils, fathers and reason, history and instances. For we believe tradition when it is credible, and we believe what two or three honest men say upon their knowledge, and we make no scruple to believe that there is an English plantation in the Barbadoes, because many tell us so who have no reason to deceive us; so that we are in a very good capacity of making use of scriptures and councils, &c. But I must deal freely with Mr. S. Though we do believe these things upon credible testimony, yet we do not think the testimony infallible, and we do believe many men who yet pretend not to infallibility: and if nothing were credible but what is infallible, then no man had reason to believe his priest or his father. We are taught by Aristotle[j] that that is credible, *Quod pluribus, quod sapientibus, quod omnibus videtur;* and yet these are but degrees of probability, and yet are sufficient to warrant the transaction of all human affairs[k], which (unless where God is pleased to interpose) are not capable of greater assurance. Even the miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour though they were the best arguments in the world to prove the divinity of His person and His mission, yet they were but the best argument we needed and understood; but although they were infinitely sufficient to convince all but the malicious, yet there were some so malicious who did not allow them to be demonstrations, but said that He did 'cast out devils by Beelzebub.' Here we live by faith and not by knowledge, and therefore it is an infinite goodness of God to give proofs sufficient for us, and fitted to our natures, and proportioned to our understanding; but yet such as may neither extinguish faith, nor destroy the nature of hope, which although it may be so certain and sure as to be a steadfast 'anchor of the soul,' yet it may have in it something of natural uncertainty, and yet fill us with all comfort and hope in believing. So that we allow tradition to be certain if it be universal, and to be credible according to the degrees of its universality and disinterested simplicity; and therefore we have as much right to use the scriptures and fathers as J. S. and all his party: and all his following talk in the sequel of this 'second way,' relying upon a ground which I have discovered to be false, must needs fall of itself, and signify nothing. But although this point be soon washed off, yet I suppose the charge which will recoil upon himself will not so easily be put by. For though it appears that protestants have right to use fathers and councils, scriptures and reason, yet J. S. and his little convention of four or five 'brothers of the tradition' have clearly disentitled themselves to any use of these. For if the oral tradition of the present church be the infallible and only rule of faith, then there is no oracle but this one; and the decrees of councils did bind only

[j] [Topic., lib. i. cap. 1.]

[k] [Cf. Bp. Butler, Anal.—Introd.]

in that age they were made, as being part of the tradition of that age; but the next age needed it not, as giving testimony to itself, and being its own rule. And therefore when a question is to be disputed, you can go no whither to be tried but to the tradition of the present church, and this is not to be proved by a series and order of records and succession: but if you will know what was formerly believed, you must only ask what is believed now; for now rivers run back to their springs, and the lamb was to blame for troubling the wolf by drinking in the descending river, for the lower is now higher, and you are not to prove by what is past that the present is right, but by the present you prove what was past, and Harry the seventh is before Harry the sixth, and children must teach their parents, and therefore it is to be hoped in time may be their elders. But by this means, fathers and councils are made of no use to these gentlemen who have greatly obliged the world by telling us a short way to science; and though our life be short, yet art is shorter, especially in our way, in theology; concerning which there needs no labour, no study, no reading, but to know of the present church what was always believed, and taught, and what ought to be so; nay, what was done, or what was said, or what was written, is to be told by the present church, which without further trouble can infallibly assure us. And upon this account the Jesuits have got the better of the Jansenists; for though these men weakly and fondly deny such words to be in Jansenius, yet the virtual church can tell better whether they be or no in Jansenius, or rather it matters not whether they be or no; for it being the present sense of the pope, he may proceed to condemnation.

But J. S. offers at some reason for this; "for," saith he, "fathers being eminent witnesses to immediate posterity or children of the church's doctrine received, and councils representatives of the church; their strengths as proofs, nay their very existence, is not known till the notion of the church be known, which is part of their definition, and to which they relate." This is but part of his argument, which I yet must consider apart, because every proposition of his argument hath in it something very untrue; which when I have remarked I shall consider the whole of it altogether.

And here first I consider that it is a strange proposition to say that "the existence of the fathers is not known till the notion or definition of the church be known." For who is there of any knowledge in any thing of this nature that hath not heard of S. Austin, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, or S. Gregory. The Spaniards have a proverb, 'There was never good *oglio* without bacon, nor good sermon without S. Austin;' and yet I suppose all the people of Spain that hear the name of S. Austin it may be five hundred times every Lent, make no question of the existence of S. Austin, or that there was such a man as he; and yet I believe not very many of them can tell the definition of the church. Thousands of the people and the

very boys see the pictures of S. Austin sold in fairs and markets; and yet are not so wise as to know the notion or nature of the church; and indeed many wiser people both among them and us will be very much to seek in the definition, when your learned men amongst yourselves dispute what that nature or definition is.

But it may be though J. S. put fathers and councils into the same proposition, yet he means it of councils only, and that it is the existence of councils which is not to be had without the notion or definition of church: and this is as false as the other; for what tradesman in Germany, Italy, France or Spain is not well enough assured that there was such a thing as the council of Trent; and yet to the knowing of this, it was not necessary that they should be told how 'church' is to be defined. Indeed they cannot know what it is to be church councils, unless they know as much of church as they do of councils. But what think we? Could not men know there was a council at Ariminum more numerous than that at Nice, unless they had the notion of church? Certainly the church was no part of the definition of that council, nor did it relate, save only as enemies are relatives to each other: and if they be, yet it is hard to say they are parts of each other's definition. But it may be J. S. means this saying of good and catholic councils; yet they also may be known to have been, without skill in definitions. Definitions do not tell *an sit*, but *quid sit;* the first is to be supposed before any definition is to be enquired after.

Well, but how shall the being or nature of church be known? that's his second proposition, and tells us a pretty thing; 'Nor is the being or nature of church known till it be certainly known who are faithful or have true faith, who not; which must be manifested by their having or not having the true rule of faith.' Why, but does the having the true rule of faith make a man faithful? Cannot a man have the true rule of faith and yet forsake it, or not make use of it, or hide the truth in unrighteousness? Does the having the best antidote in the world make a man healthful, though he live disorderly, and make no use of it? But to let that pass among the other σφάλματα. That which is more remarkable is that 'the being or nature of church is not known till it be certainly known who are faithful or have true faith.' I had thought that the way in the church of Rome of pronouncing men faithful, or to have true faith, had been their being in the church, and that adhering to the church (whose being and truth they must therefore be presupposed to believe) had been the only way of pronouncing them faithful; which I supposed so certain amongst them, that though they have no faith at all, but to believe as the church believes, had been a sufficient declaration of the faith of ignorant men. But it seems the tables are turned. It is not enough to go to the church; but first they must be assured that they are faithful and have true faith, before they know any thing of the church.

But if the testimony of the present church be the only rule of faith (as J. S. would fain make us believe) then it had been truer said, a man cannot know the being or nature of faith till he be well acquainted with the church. And must the rule of faith be tried by the church, and must the church be tried by the rule of faith? Is the testimony of the church the measure and touchstone of faith, and yet must we have the faith before we have any knowledge whether there be a church or no? Are they both first, and both prove one another, and is there here no circle? But however, I am glad that the evidence of truth hath brought this gentleman to acknowledge that our way is the better way; and that we must first choose our religion and then our church; and not first choose our church, and then blindly follow the religion of it whatsoever it be. But then also it will follow that J. S. hath destroyed his main hypothesis, and the oral tradition of the present church is not the rule of faith; for that must first be known before we can know whether there be such a thing as the church or no, whose rule that is pretended to be.

And now follows his conclusion, which is nought upon other accounts; 'wherefore,' saith he, 'since the properties of the rule of faith do all agree to tradition our rule, and none of them to theirs, it follows the protestant or renouncer of tradition knows not what is either right scripture, father or council, and so ought not to meddle with either of them.' To this I have already answered, and what J. S. may do hereafter when he happens to fall into another fit of demonstration I know not, but as yet he hath been very far from doing what he says he hath done, that is, evidently proved what he undertook in this question. And I suppose I have in a following section of this book evidently proved that Tradition, such I mean as the church of Rome uses in this enquiry, leads into error or may do, as often as into truth; and therefore though we may and do use tradition as a probable argument in many things, and some as certain, in one or two things to which in the nature of the thing it is apt to minister, yet it is infinitely far from being the rule of faith, the whole christian faith.

But I wonder why J. S. saith that for want of tradition we cannot know either right scripture, fathers or councils. I do not think that by tradition they do know all the books of scriptures. Do they know by universal or apostolical tradition that the epistle to the Hebrews is canonical scripture? The church of Rome had no tradition for it for above four hundred years, and they received it at last from the tradition of the Greek church; and then they, not the Roman church are the great conservers of tradition, and they will get nothing by that. And what universal tradition can they pretend for those books which are rejected by some councils, as particularly that of Laodicea, (which is in the code of the universal church, and some of the fathers,) which yet they now receive; certainly in that age which rejected them there was no catholic tradition for them; and those fathers which (as

J. S. expresses it) 'were eminent witnesses to their immediate posterity or children of the church's doctrine received,' in all likelihood did teach their posterity what themselves professed; and therefore it is possible the fathers in that council, and some others of the same sentiment, might join in saying something which might deceive their posterity; and consequently the very ground of J. S. his demonstration is digged up, for it was very possible the fathers might teach something that contradicts the present oral tradition of the church; because when they were alive they believed the contradictory.

But further yet, can J. S. affirm that by the oral tradition of the present church we can be infallibly taught which books were written by the fathers and which not? If he can, how haps it that the doctors of his church are not agreed about very many of them, some rejecting that as spurious which others quote as genuine. If he cannot, then we may have a title to make use of the fathers though we did renounce tradition; because by tradition certain and infallible they do not know it; and then if either they do not know it at all, or know it any other ways than by tradition, we may know it that way as well as they, and therefore have as good a title to make use of them as themselves.

But the good man proceeds, 'Since pretended instances of traditions failing depend on history, and historical certainty cannot be built upon dead characters, but on living sense in men's hearts delivered from age to age that those passages are true, that is, on tradition; it follows that if the way of tradition can fail, all history is uncertain, and consequently all instances as being matters of fact depending on history.' To this I answer, that it is true that there are many instances in which it is certain that tradition hath failed, as will appear in the following section; and it is as true that the record of these instances is kept in books which are very ancient, and written by authors so credible that no man questions the truth of these instances. Now I grant that we are told by the words delivered by our forefathers that these books were written by such men; but then it may be our forefathers, though they kept the books safe, yet knew not what was written in them; and if all the contents of the books had been left only to rely upon the living sense in their hearts and the hearts of their posterity, we should have had but few books, and few instances of the failing of tradition, only one great one would have been left, that is, the losing of almost all that that is now recorded would have been a fatal sign that tradition's fail was the cause of so sad a loss. It is well tradition hath helped us to the dead characters; they bear their living sense so within themselves, that it is quickly understood when living men come to read them. But now I demand of J. S. whether or no historical certainty relies only on certain and indefectible tradition? If it does not, then a man may be certain enough of the sacred history, though there be no certain oral tradition built on living sense in men's hearts delivered

from age to age. If he does, then I must ask whether J. S. does believe Tacitus, or that there was such a man as Agricola, or that the senate decreed that Nero should be punished *more majorum*[k]. If he does believe these stories and these persons, then he must also conclude that there is an oral indefectible tradition that Tacitus wrote this book, and that every thing in that book was written by him, and it remains at this day as it was at first, and that all this was not conveyed by dead and 'unsensed characters,' but by living sense in our hearts. But now it will be very hard for any man to say that there is such an infallible tradition delivering all that Roman story which we believe to be true. No man pretends that there is; and therefore first, history may be relied on without a certain indefectible oral tradition; and secondly, the tradition that consigns history to after ages may be, and is so most commonly, nothing but of a fame that such a book was written by such a famous person who lived in that age, and might know the truth of what he wrote, and had no reason to lie, but was in all regards a very worthy and a credible person. Now here is as much certainty as need to be; the thing itself will bear no more; and almost all human affairs are transacted by such an economy as this; and therefore it is certain enough, and is so esteemed, because it does all its intentions, and loses no advantage, and persuades effectually, and regularly engages to all those actions and events which history could do if the certainty were much greater. For the certainty of persuasion, and prevailing upon the greatest parts of mankind, may be as great by history wisely and with great probability transmitted, as it can be by any imaginary certainty of a tradition that any dreamer can dream of. Nay, it may be equal to a demonstration, I mean, as to the certainty of prevailing: for a little reason to a little understanding as certainly prevails, as a greater to a deep and inquisitive understanding; and mankind does not need demonstrations in any case but where reason is puzzled with an *æquilibrium*, and that there be great probabilities *hinc inde*. And therefore in these cases where is a probability on one side and no appearance of reason to the contrary; that probability does the work of a demonstration[l]. For a reason to believe a thing, and no reason to disbelieve it, is as proper a way to persuade and to lead to action as that which is demonstrated. And this is the case of history and of instances; which though they cannot (no not by an oral tradition) be so certain as that the thing could not possibly have been otherwise; yet when there is no sufficient cause of suspicion of fraud and imposture, and great reason from any topic to believe that it is true, he is a very fool that will forbear to act upon that account, only because it is possible that that instance might have been not true, though he have no reason to think it false. And yet this foolish sophism runs mightily along in J. S. his demonstrations, he cannot for his life distinguish between 'credible'

[k] [Sueton. in Neron. cap. xlix.]

[l] [Bp. Butler, Anal., part ii. ch. 6.]

and 'infallible;' nothing by him can make faith unless it demonstrate; that is, nothing can make faith but that which destroys it by turning it into science.

His last argument for his second way of mining is so like the other that it is the worse for it; 'Since reasons are fetched from the natures of things, and the best nature in what it is (abstracting from disease and madness) unalterable, is the ground of the human part of christian tradition, and most incomparable strength is superadded to it as it is christian, by the supernatural assistances of the Holy Ghost; it is a wild conceit to think any piece of nature or discourse built on it can be held certain, if tradition (especially christian tradition) may be held uncertain.'

In this jargon, for I know not what else to call it, there are a pretty company of nothings put together; that indeed they are 'ink varied in divers figures, and unsensed characters[m],' they are nothing else. For first, it is false that all 'reason' (for so he must mean if he would speak to any purpose) 'is fetched from the natures of things;' some rely upon concessions and presuppositions only; some upon the state of exterior affairs, and introduced economies, or accidental mesnage[n] of things; some upon presumptions, and some even upon the weaknesses of men, upon contingencies; and some which pretend to be reasons rely upon false grounds, and such are J. S. his demonstrations.

But suppose they did, as indeed the best reasons do, what then? Why then, the 'best nature' (that is, I suppose he means, the human) 'unalterable (abstracting from disease and madness) is the ground of the human part of christian tradition.' This proposition hath in it something that is false, and something that is to no purpose. That which is false is, that 'the nature of man unless he be mad, or diseased in his brain, is unalterable.' As if men could not be changed by interest or ambition, pride or prejudice, by weakness and false apostles, mistake or negligence. And by any of these a man that naturally hath faculties to understand, and capacity of learning, and speaking truth, may be so changed, that he is very alterable from good to bad, from wise to foolish, from the knowledge of the truth to believe a lie, and be transported by illusions of the devil. Every man naturally loves knowledge, that's his nature; and it is the best nature; but yet it is so alterable, that some men who from the principles of this best nature are willing to learn, and they are 'ever learning,' yet they are so 'altered,' that they 'never come to the knowledge of truth.'

But supposing that this best nature is the ground of 'the human part of tradition,' yet it is not the ground of the human part of tradition as it is 'unalterable;' but as it hath a defectible understanding, and a free and a changeable will, and innumerable weaknesses, for these are so in this best nature, that it can never be without them.

[m] [See p. 293 above.]

[n] [sic edd.]

And therefore because this ground may be slippery, there will be no 'sure footing' here: especially since it is but the ground of the human part of tradition, for which cause it can be no more ground of truth in religion, than the Roman story, than Plutarch or Livy is of infallible indefectible truth in history; and therefore J. S. does very wisely add to this 'the incomparable strengths of the supernatural assistances of the Holy Ghost. But these alone can be sufficient, if they could be proved to be given infallibly, absolutely, and without the 'altering' condition of our making right use of them, without grieving the Holy Spirit; of which because there is no promise, and no experience, it is no 'wild conceit' to think tradition may be uncertain, and yet our discourses in religion by other principles be certain enough. But now I perceive that J. S. is no such implacable man, for all the seeming fierceness of his persuasion in his new mode of oral tradition, but that in time he may be reduced to the old way of this church, and ground (as he does mainly here) her infallibility not upon new demonstrations taken from the nature of things, but upon the continual assistances and helps of the only infallible Spirit of God. That indeed is a way possible, if it were to be had; but this new way hath neither sense nor reason: and therefore in this place he wisely puts the greatest stress upon the other. I should have proceeded a little further, if I could have understood what J. S. means, by 'any piece of nature built on tradition;' and, if he had not here put in the phrase of a 'wild conceit,' I should have wanted a name for it; but because it is no other, I shall now let it alone, and dig into the other mines, and see if they be more dangerous than these bugbears.

THE THIRD WAY.

THE third way I must needs say is a fine one, he offers to prove my Dissuasive to be no dissuasive, no nor can it be a dissuasive. And why? because 'to Dissuade, is to unfix the understanding from what it held before; which includes to make it hold or assent that what it held before certain, is false, or at least uncertain.' And here before I proceed further, it is fit we acknowledge that we owe to J. S. the notice of these two mysteries: first, what is meant by dissuading, and that it is 'making a man to change his opinion,' an 'unfixing of his mind:' and the second, that this unfixing the mind makes the mind to 'shake, or to be changed, to be uncertain or to think[o] the proposition fit to be held:' we being thus instructed in these grounds of some new designed demonstration, may the surer proceed: for wisely he adds a conjecture, that surely by my Dissuasive from Popery I intend 'to oblige men to assent to the contrary.' I do believe indeed I did; but my first aim was to dissuade, that is 'to unfix' them, and afterwards to establish them in the contrary. Well, thus

[o] [This 'Second part' of the Dissuasive was never seen by its author in print, and the readings appear in some places to require correction.]

far we are agreed; but for all this, 'The thing I intend cannot be done by me; I cannot dissuade; because I have no peculiar method of my own:' but I use those means which others use to prove errors by, and if the way I take be common to truth and error, it is good for nothing, error shall pretend to it as well as truth: I must have a 'particularity of method above what is in others.' Now this is strange, that I should be so severely dealt with; why is more required of me than of others? I take the same way that the writers of books of controversy used to take; I quote scriptures and fathers, and histories and instances, and I use reason as well as I can: I find that Bellarmine and Baronius, Card. Perron and Gregory de Valentia, Stapleton and Hart, Champian and Reynolds use the same dull way as I do; and yet they hope to persuade and dissuade according to the subject matter, and why my penny should not be as good silver as theirs I know not, but I hope I shall know by and by why; the true reason why I cannot dissuade, and that 'I miscall my book a Dissuasive' is, because the method which I take is 'common to those discourses which have in them power to satisfy the understanding, and those who have no such power.' But herein is a wonderful thing; my book cannot dissuade, because I take a way which is taken in discourses which can satisfy the understanding. For if some discourses proceeding my way can satisfy the understanding, as J. S. here confesses, then it is to be hoped so may mine; at least there is nothing in my method to hinder it but it may. Yea, but this method is also used in discourses which have no such power; well, and what then? is not therefore my method as good a method as can be, when it is the method that all men use, they that can satisfy the understanding and they that cannot? and is there any thing more ignorant than to think a method or way of proof is nought, because some men use it to good purposes, and some to bad? and is not light a glorious covering, because the Evil spirit sometimes puts it on? was not our Saviour's way of confuting the devil by scripture very good, because the devil used the same way, and so it was 'a way common to discourses that have in them the power to satisfy the understanding, and those which have no such power?' Titius is sued by Sempronius for a farm which he had long possessed, and to which Titius proves his title by indubitable records and laws and patents. Sempronius pretends to do so too, and tells the judge that he ought not to regard any proof of Titius's offering, because he goes upon grounds which himself also goes upon; and so they are not apt to be a ground of determining any thing because they are common to both sides. The judge smiles, and enquires who hath most right to the pretended grounds, but approves the method of proceeding, because it is common to the contrary pretenders. And this is so far from being an argument against my method, that in the world nothing can be said greater in allowance of it; even because I proved upon principles allowed by both sides, that is, I dispute upon principles

upon which we are agreed to put the cause to trial. Did the primitive fathers refuse to be judged by or to argue from scriptures, because the heretics did argue from thence too? Did not the fathers take from them their armour in which they trusted? And did not David strike with the sword of Goliath, because that was the sword which his enemy had used? David proved that way apt to prevail by cuting off the giant's head. But what particularity of method would J. S. have me to use? shall I use reason? To that all the world pretends, and it is the sword that cuts on both sides, and it is used in discourses that can and that cannot satisfy. Shall I use the scriptures? In that J. S. is pleased to say, the quakers out-do me. Shall I use the fathers? The Smectymnuans bring fathers against episcopacy. What shall I bring? I know not what yet, but it ought to be something very particular; that's certain. Shall I then bring tradition? will oral tradition do it? I hope J. S. will for his own and his three or four friends' sake like that way; but if I should take it, J. S. might very justly say that I take a method that is common to those discourses which have in them power to satisfy the understanding, and those which have no such power: whether this method is used or no in discourses satisfactory, let J. S. speak; but I am sure it is used of late in some discourses which are not satisfactory, and the name of one of them is 'Sure footing.' And do not the Greeks pretend tradition against the Roman doctrine of purgatory, the procession of the Holy Ghost, the supremacy of the bishop of Rome? Whether right or wrong I enquire not here, but that they do so is evident; and therefore neither is it lawful for me to proceed this way, or even then to call my book a Dissuasive. 'For it is plain to common sense that it can have in it no power of moving the understanding one way or the other, unless there be some particularity in the method above what is in others;' which it is certain can never be, because there is no method but some or other have already taken it. And therefore I perceive plainly my book is not any more to be called a Dissuasive, till I can find out some new way and method which as yet was never used in christendom. And indeed I am to account myself the more unsuccessful in my well meant endeavours, because J. S. tells us that 'he sees' plainly that in the pursuit of truth, 'method is in a manner all;' J. S. hath a method new enough, not so old as Mr. White[p], and he desires me to get such another; but *nobis non licet esse tam beatis;* and I am the less troubled for it, because J. S. his method is new, but not right, and I prove it from an argument of his own; 'for,' saith he, 'it is impossible any controversy should hover long in debate, if a right method of concluding evidently were carefully taken, and faithfully held to.' Now because I see that J. S. his method or new way hath made a

[p] [Mr. Thomas White, alias Thomas Anglus ex Albiis; a controversial writer whose name is much associated with that of J. S.—See Hammond's 'Despatcher despatched,' and Dod's 'Church history.']

new controversy, but hath ended none, but what was before and what is now is as likely as ever still to 'hover in debate;' J. S. must needs conclude that either he hath not faithfully held to it, or his way is good for nothing.

Other things he says here, which though they be rude and uncivil, yet because he repeats them in his sixth way, I shall there consider them altogether, if I find cause.

THE FOURTH WAY.

THIS fourth mine hath (as good luck would have it) nothing of demonstration, nor is his reason founded upon the nature of the thing (as before he boasted) but only *ad hominem*. But such as it is, it must be considered. The argument is this, 'That though I produce testimony from fathers, yet I do not allow them to be infallible, nor yet myself in interpreting scripture; nor yet do I with any infallible certainty see any proposition I go about to deduce by reason, to be necessarily consequent to any first or self-evident principle, and therefore I am certain of nothing I allege in my whole book.' The sum is this, 'No man is certain of any thing unless he be infallible.' I confess I am not infallible, and yet I am certain this must be his meaning, or else his words have no sense; and if I say true in this, then fallibility and certainty are not such incompossible and inconsistent things. But what does J. S. think of himself? is he infallible? I do not well know what he will answer, for he seems to be very near it, if we may guess by the glorious opinion he hath of himself; but I will suppose him more modest than to think he is, and yet he talks at that rate as if his arguments were demonstrations, and his opinions certainties. Suppose his grounds he goes upon are as true as I know they are false; yet is he infallible in his reasoning and deducing from those principles such feat[q] conclusions as he offers to obtrude upon the world? If his reason be infallible, so it may be mine is for ought I know, but I never thought it so yet; and yet I know no reason to the contrary but it is as infallible as his: but if his be not, it may be all that he says is false, at least he is not sure any thing of it is true; and then he may make use of his own ridiculous speech he made for me, 'I know not certainly that any thing I say against your religion is true[r],' &c. All the men that tell us that cardinal Chigi is now pope, are fallible, they may be deceived and they may deceive; and yet I suppose Mr. White, though he also be fallible, is sufficiently certain he is so; and if he did make any doubt, if he would sail to Italy, he would be infallibly assured of it by the executioners of the pope's censures, who yet are as fallible as any the officers of Montfalcon[s].

[q] ['ready, skilful, ingenious,' Johnson.]

[r] Page 258.

[s] [A height near Paris, where malefactors were formerly executed.—Brice, Description de la ville de Paris, tom. i. p. 378. 8vo. Par. 1713.]

But J. S. however says, I ought to confess that I ought not to dissuade from any thing, 'in case neither the fathers nor myself be infallible in any saying or proof of theirs.' For the infallibility of the fathers, I shall have a more convenient time to consider it under his eighth way. But now I am to consider his reason for this pretty saying, which he says 'he evinces thus. Since to be infallible in none, *hic et nunc* (taking in the whole complexion of assisting circumstances), is the same as to be *hic et nunc* fallible in all or each; and if they be fallible, or may be deceived in each, they can be sure of none; it follows that who professes the fathers and himself (though using all the means he can to secure him from error) fallible in each, must, if he will speak out like an honest man, confess he is sure of none.' This is the evident demonstration, and indeed there are in it some things evidently demonstrative. The first is, that to be infallible in none is the same as to be fallible in all. Indeed I must needs say that he says true and learnedly, and it being a self-evident principle he might according to his custom have afforded demonstrations enough for this, but I shall take it upon his own word at this time, and allow him the honour of first communicating this secret to the ignorant world; that 'he that is not infallible is fallible.' Another deep note we have here; his words laid plain without their *parentheses* can best declare the mystery; 'if they be infallible[r] or may be deceived in each, they can be sure of none; it follows that they that profess they are fallible in each, must confess they are sure of none.' If J. S. always write thus subtilly, no man will ever be able to resist him: for indeed this is a demonstration, and therefore we hope it may be *æternæ veritatis,* for it relies upon this first and self-evident principle, *Idem per idem semper facit idem.* Now having well learned these two deep notes out of the school and deep discourses of J. S., let us see what the man would be at for himself: and though we find it in his *parentheses* only, yet they could not be left out, and sense be entire without them.

When he talks of being infallible, if the notion be applied to his church, then he means an infallibility, 'antecedent, absolute, unconditionate,' such as will not permit the church ever to err. And because he thinks such an infallibility to be necessary for the settling the doubting minds of men; he affirms roundly, 'if infallibility be denied, then no man can be sure of any thing.' But then when he comes to consider the particulars, and cannot but see, a man may be certain of some things though he have not that antecedent infallibility, that quality and permanent grace; yet because he will not have his dear notion lost, that 'infallibility and certainty live and die together,' he hath now secretly put in a changeling in the place of the first, and hath excogitated an infallibility 'consequent, conditionate, circumstantiate,' which he calls *hic et nunc,* 'taking in the whole com-

[r] [? 'fallible'.—See note to p. 309, above.]

plexion of assisting circumstances.' Now because the first is denied by us to be in any man or company of men, and he perceives that to be uncertain in every thing will not be consequent to the want of this first sort, he secretly slides into the second, and makes his consequent to rely upon this deceitfully. And if the argument be put into intelligible terms, it runs thus: if when a whole complexion of assisting circumstances are present; that is, a proposition truly represented, apt to be understood, necessary to be learned, and attended to by a person desirous to learn, when it is taught by sufficient authority, or proved by evidence, or confirmed by reason; when a man hath his eyes and his wits about him, and is sincerely desirous of truth, and to that purpose himself considers, and he confers with others and prays to God; and the thing itself is also plain and easy; then if a man can be deceived, he is sure of nothing: and this is 'infallibility *hic et nunc*.' But this is not that which he and his parties contend to be seated in his church; for such a one as this we allow to her, if she does her duty, if she prays to God, if she consider as well as she can, and be no way transported with interest or partiality; then in such propositions which God hath adopted into the christian faith, and which are plain and intended to be known and believed by all, there is no question but she is infallible, that is, she is secured from error in such things. But then every man also hath a part of this infallibility. Some things are of their own nature so plain that a man is infallible in them, as a man may infallibly know that two and two make four. And a Christian may be infallibly sure that the scriptures say that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; and that there shall be a resurrection from the dead; and that they who do the works of the flesh shall not inherit the kingdom of God; and as fallible as I, or any protestant is, yet we cannot be deceived in this; if it be made a question whether fornication be a thing forbidden in the New testament, we are certain, and infallibly so, that in that book it is written, 'Flee fornication.' An infallibility *hic et nunc*, if that will serve J. S. his turn, we have it for him; and he cannot say, that we protestants affirm that we are fallible when we do our duty, and when all the assisting circumstances which God hath made sufficient and necessary, are present: we are as certain as infallibility itself, that among the ten commandments, one is, 'Thou shalt not worship any graven images:' and another, 'Thou shalt not commit adultery:' and so concerning all the plain sayings in scripture, we are certain that they carry their meaning on their forehead, and we cannot be deceived, unless we please not to make use of all 'the complexion of assisting circumstances.' And this certainty or circumstantiate infallibility we derive from self-evident principles; such as this, 'God is never wanting to them that do the best they can,' and this, 'In matters which God requires of us[s], if we fail not in what is on our part, God will not fail on His.' And this infallibility is just like to

[s] Deus neminem deserit nisi prius deserentem.

what is signified by what God promised to Joshua[t], "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee, only be thou strong and very courageous that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law." Nothing was more certain than that Joshua should be infallibly conducted into the land of promise, and yet it was required of him to be courageous, and to keep all the law of Moses; and because Joshua did so, the promise had an infallibility *hic et nunc*. And so it is in the finding out the truths of God; so said our blessed Saviour[u], "If ye love Me, keep My commandments, and I will pray to the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter that He may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive." If we open our eyes, if we suffer not a veil to be over them, if we enquire with diligence and simplicity, and if we live well, we shall be infallibly directed, and upon the same terms it is infallibly certain that every man shall be saved. And "the gospel is not hid but to them that are lost" (saith the apostle) "in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." So that it is certain that in things necessary, a man need not be deceived unless he be wanting to himself; and therefore *hic et nunc* he is infallible. But if a man will lay aside his reason and will not make use of it, if he resolves to believe a proposition in defiance of all that can be said against it; if when he sees reason against his proposition, he will call it a temptation, which is like being hardened by miracles, and slighting a truth because it is too well proved to him; if he will not trust the instruments of knowledge that God gives him, if he sets his face against his reason, and think it meritorious to distrust his sense, and 'seeing will not see, and hearing he will not understand,' (and all this is every day done in the church of Rome,) then there is nothing so certain but it becomes to him uncertain; and it is no wonder if he be given over to believe a lie. It is not confidence that makes a man infallibly certain, for then J. S. were the most infallible person in the world; but the way to 'make our calling and election sure' is to 'work out our salvation with fear and trembling.' Modesty is the way to knowledge, and by how much more a man fears to be deceived, by so much the more will he walk circumspectly and determine warily, and take care he be not deceived; but he that thinks he cannot be deceived but that he is infallible, as he is the more liable to error because by this supposed infallibility he is tempted to a greater inconsideration, so if he be deceived his recovery is the more desperate. And I desire that it be here observed, that it is one thing to say, 'I cannot be deceived,' and another to say, 'I am sure I am not deceived;' for the first no man can say, but the latter every wise and good man may say if he please. That every man is certain of very many things, is evident by all the experience of mankind; and in many things this certainty is equivalent to an infallibility, that is,

[t] [Josh. i. 5, 7.]

[u] [John xiv. 15—17.]

hic et nunc: and that relies upon this ground (for I must be careful to go upon grounds for fear of J. S. his displeasure), *Quicquid est, quamdiu est, necesse est esse;* while a truth prevails and is invested with the 'whole complexion of assisting circumstances,' it is an actual infallibility, that is, such a certainty *cui falsum subesse non potest;* for else no man can tell certainly and infallibly when he is hungry or thirsty, awake or weary; when he hath committed a sin against God, or when he hath told a lie; and he that says a fallible Christian is not infallibly certain that it is a good thing to say his prayers, and to put his trust in God, and to do good works, knows not what he says.

But besides this, it were well if J. S. would consider what kind of certainty God requires of us in our faith, for I hope J. S. will then require no more. Our faith is not science, and yet it is certainty; and if the assent be according to the whole design of it, and effects all its purposes and the intention of God, it cannot be[v] accepted though the ways of begetting that faith be not demonstrative arguments. There had but five or six persons seen Christ after His resurrection, and yet He was pleased to reprove their unbelief, because the disciples did not believe those few who said they had seen Him alive. Faith is the foundation of good life; and if a man believes so certainly that he is willing to live in it and die for it, God requires no more, and there is no need of more; and if a little thing did not do that, what shall become of those innumerable multitudes of Christians, who believe upon grounds which a learned man knows are very weak, but yet are to those people as good as the best, because they are not only the best they have, but they are sufficient[w] to do their work for them. Nay God is so good, and it is so necessary in some affairs to proceed so, that a man may be certain he does well, though in the proposition or subject matter he be deceived. Is not a judge infallibly certain that he does his duty and proceeds wisely, if he gives sentence *secundum allegata et probata,* though he be not infallibly certain that the witnesses depose truth? Was not S. Paul in the right, and certainly so, when he said 'it was better for the present necessity if a virgin did not marry,' and yet he had no revelation and no oral infallible tradition for it; 'this speak I,' saith he, 'not the Lord;' and he did not talk confidently of his grounds, but said modestly, 'I think I have the spirit of God;' and yet all Christians believe that what he then said was infallibly enough true. "We see here through a glass darkly," saith the apostle, and yet we see; and what we see we may be certain of; I mean, we protestants may; indeed the papists may not, for they denying what they see, call bread a God: so that they do not so much as see darkly, they see not at all, or what is as bad, they will not believe the thing to be that which their eyes and three senses more tell them that it is. But it is a wonder that they who dare not trust their senses, should talk of being infallible in their argument.

[v] [sic ed.—See note to p. 309 above.]

[w] [See p. 307, note l, above.]

And now to apply this to the charge J. S. lays on me, 'because I do not profess to be infallible, I am certain in nothing, and without an infallible oral tradition, it is impossible I should be certain of any thing.' In answer to this, I demand why I may not be as certain of what I know or believe, as Mr. White or J. S.? Is the doctrine of purgatory fire between death and the day of judgment, and of the validity of the prayers and masses said in the church of Rome to the freeing of souls from purgatory long before the day of judgment, is this doctrine (I say) delivered by an infallible oral tradition or no? If no, then the church of Rome either is not certain it is true, or else she is certain of it by some other way than such a tradition. If yea, then how is Mr. White certain that he speaks true in his book *De statu animarum*[x], where he teaches that prayers of the church do no good and free no souls before the day of judgment, for he hath no oral tradition for his opinion; for two oral traditions cannot be certain and infallible when they contradict one another; and if the traditions be not infallible, as good for these men that they be none at all. So that either Mr. White cannot be certain of any thing he says, by not relying on oral tradition, or the church of Rome cannot be certain; and therefore he or she may forbear to persuade their friends to any thing. And for my present adversary J. S. who also affirms that oral tradition of the present church is the 'whole rule of faith,' how can he trust himself or be certain of any thing, or teach any thing, when his church says otherwise than he says, and makes tradition to be but a part of the rule of faith, as is to be seen in the council of Trent itself in the first decree of the fourth session[y]. So that in effect here are two rules of faith, and therefore two churches; Mr. J. S.'s is the 'traditionary church,' so called from relying solely on tradition, the other (what shall we call it for distinction sake?) the 'purgatorian' church from purgatory, or if you will, the 'imaginary' church from worshipping images: and since they do not both follow the same rule of faith, the one making tradition alone to be the ground, the other not so; it will follow by Mr. J. S. his argument, that either the one or the other missing the true ground of faith, cannot be certain of any thing that they say. And now when he hath considered these things, let him reckon the advantage which his 'catholic faith gains by the opposition from her adversaries if they be rightly handled' (as Mr. S. hath handled them, and 'brought to his grounds.') But however the opposition which I have now made hath its advantages upon the weakness of Mr. White's grounds and J. S.'s demonstrations, yet I shall without relation to them, but upon the account of other grounds which his

[x] [8vo. Par. 1653.—See p. 311, note p above, and Dod's Church History.]

[y] Perspiciensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, . . [sacrosancta . . Tridentina synodus] omnes libros tam veteris quam N. T. . . nec non traditiones ipsas, &c., pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur. [tom. x. col. 22 D.]

wiser and more learned brethren of the other church do lay, make it appear that there is indeed in the church of Rome no sure footing, no foundation of faith upon which a man can with certainty rely, and say, now I am infallibly sure that I am in the right.

THE FIFTH WAY.

THE fifth way J. S. says is built on the fourth, which being proved to be a ruinous foundation, I have the less need to trouble myself about that which will fall of itself, but because he had no reason to trust that foundation, for all his confidence he is glad to build his fifth way on the 'protestants' voluntary concession, for they granting they have no demonstration for the ground of their faith, must say they have only probability.' But I pray, who told J. S. that we grant we have no demonstration for the ground of our faith? Did ever any protestant say that there is no moral demonstration of his faith, or that it cannot be proved so certain, so infallible, that 'the gates of hell shall never prevail against it?' If J. S. will descend so low as to look upon the book of a protestant[z], besides many better, he may find in my 'Cases of conscience' a demonstration of christian religion; and although it consists of probabilities, yet so many, so unquestioned, so confessed, so reasonable, so uncontradicted, pass into an argument of as much certainty as human nature without a miracle is capable of; as many sands heaped together make a bank strong enough to resist the impetuosity of the raging sea. But I have already shewn upon what certainties our faith relies, and if we had nothing but high probabilities, it must needs be as good as their prudential motives; and therefore I shall not repeat any thing, but pass on to consider what it is he says of our high probabilities, if they were no more: "If there be probabilities on both sides, then the greatest must carry it," so he roundly professes, never considering that the latter casuists of his church, I mean those who wrote since Angelus, Silvester, Cordubensis, and Cajetan, do expressly teach the contrary, viz., that of two probabilities the less may be chosen; and that this is the common and more received opinion. But since J. S. is in the right, let them and he agree it, as we do, if they please. I hope he relates this only to the questions between us and Rome, and not to the christian faith; well, but if the matter be only between us, I am well enough content, and the greater probability, that is, the better argument shall carry it; and I will not be asking any more odd questions, as why J. S. having so clearly demonstrated his religion by grounds firm as the land of Delos or O Brasile[a], he

[z] Book i. chap. 4. p. 124. [ed. 1660. In rule 2.—'An instance of moral demonstration, or a conjugation of probabilities, proving that the religion of Jesus Christ is from God.' This justly celebrated passage is a treatise in itself, and was printed apart from the rest of the 'Duct. Dub.' in Taylor's 'Opusc.' 12mo. 1678.—It may be compared with Butler's Anal. ii. 7, "I shall now secondly," &c.]

[a] ['O-Brazile, or the Enchanted Island, being a perfect relation of the late

should now be content to argue his cause at the bar of probability? Well, but let us see what he says for his party: "That there is no probability for our side," says J. S., "is very hard to be said, since the whole world sees plainly we still maintain the field against them, nay dare pretend without fearing an absolute baffle (which must needs follow had we not at least probabilities to befriend us) that our grounds are evidently and demonstrably certain." Here J. S. seems to be afraid again of his probabilities, that he still runs to covert under his broad shield of demonstration: but his *postulatum* here is indeed very modest; he seems to desire us to allow that there are some probable things to be said for his side, and indeed he were very hard hearted that should say there are none at all; some probabilities we shall allow, but no grounds evidently and demonstratively certain. Good sir, and yet let me tell you this, there are some of your propositions for which there is no probable reason or fair pretence in the world: nothing that can handsomely or ingeniously deceive a man: such as is your half communion, worship of images, prayers not understood, and some others. And therefore you may be ashamed to say you still maintain the field against us; for if you do not, why do you say you do? but if you still maintain the field, you may be more ashamed, for why will you stand in a falsehood, and then call yourselves equal combatants, if not conquerors? But you may if you please look after victory, I am only in the pursuit of truth.

But to return: it seems he knows my mind for this, and in my 'Liberty of Prophesying[b]' 'my own words will beyond all confute evince it that they have probabilities, and those strong ones too.' But now (in my conscience) this was unkindly done, that when I had spoken for them what I could, and more than I knew that they had ever said for themselves, and yet to save them harmless from the iron hands of a tyrant and unreasonable power, to keep them from being persecuted for their errors and opinions, that they should take the arms I had lent them for their defence, and throw them at my head. But the best of it is, though J. S. be unthankful, yet the weapons themselves are but wooden daggers, intended only to represent how the poor men are cosened by themselves, and that under fair and fraudulent pretences even pious well-meaning men, and men wise enough in other things, may be abused: and though what I said was but tinsel and pretence, imagery and whipt cream[c], yet I could not be blamed to use no better than the best their cause would bear; yet if that be the best they have to say for themselves, their probabilities will be soon out-balanced by one scripture testimony urged

discovery and wonderful disenchantment of an island on the north of Ireland, &c.' In this pamphlet (printed in London, 1675, and reprinted in Hardiman's 'Irish Minstrelsy,' vol. i. p. 369. 8vo. Lond. 1831) the reader will find a complete account of the curious legend alluded to by Taylor.—See also Hall's 'Ireland,' co. Clare, vol. iii. p. 436 sqq.—1843.]

[b] [§ 20.—vol. v. p. 591 sqq.]

[c] [Of Taylor's final dissatisfaction with the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' see a curious statement in Nichols' Illustrations of Literary history, vol. vii. p. 464.]

by protestants; and 'Thou shalt not worship any graven images' will outweigh all the best and fairest imaginations of their church. But since from me they borrow their light armour which is not pistol proof, from me if they please they may borrow a remedy to undeceive them, and that in the same kind and way of arguing: if J. S. please to read a letter or two of mine[d] to a gentlewoman not long before abused in her religion by some Roman emissaries, there he shall see so very much said against the Roman way, and that in instances evident and notorious, that J. S. may if he please (he hath my leave) put them in balance against one another, and try which will preponderate. They are printed now in one volume[e], and they are the easier compared. But then J. S. might if he had pleased have considered, that I did not intend to make that harangue to represent that the Roman religion had probabilities of being true, but probabilities that the religion might be tolerated, or might be endured, that is, as I there expressed it, "whether the doctrines be commenced upon design, and managed with impiety, and have effects not to be endured;" and concerning these things I amassed a heap of considerations by which it might appear probable that they were not so bad as to be intolerable; and if I was deceived, it was but a well meant error; hereafter they shall speak for themselves: only for their comfort this they might have also observed in that book, that there is not half so much excuse for the papists as there is for the anabaptists; and yet it was but an excuse at the best, as appears in those full answers I have given[f] to all their arguments, in the last edition of that book, amongst the polemical discourses in folio.

I shall need to say no more for the spoiling this mine, for J. S. hath not so much as pretended that the probabilities urged for them can outweigh or come to equal what is said against them; and I humbly suppose that the difficulties will be increased by the following book.

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH WAYS.

THE sixth mine is most likely at the worst to prove but a squib. J. S. says I should have made a preface, and before hand have proved that all the arguments I used were unanswerable, and convictive, which indeed were a pretty way of making books; to make a preface to make good my book, and then my book cannot but in thankfulness make good the preface; which indeed is something like the way of proving the scriptures by the church, and then back again proving the church by the scriptures. But he adds that I was bound to say 'that they were never pretended to be answered, or could not, or that the protestants had the last word;' but on the contrary I acknowledge that 'the evidences on both sides have been so often produced,

[d] Collection of polemical and moral discourses, p. 703. [fol. Lond. 1657.]

[e] [See vol. v. p. 1, note.]

[f] [vol. v. p. 540.]

that it will seem almost impossible to bring in new matter, or to prevail with the old.' This is the great charge, the sum of which is truly this. I have spoken modestly of my own undertaking, and yet I had so great reason to deplore the obstinacy of the Roman priests, their pertinacy and incorrigible resolution of seeming to say something when they can say nothing to the purpose, that I had cause to fear the event would not be so successful as the merit of our cause and the energy of the arguments might promise. I confess I did not rant as J. S. does, and talk high of demonstrations, and unmistakable grounds, and scientifical principles, and metaphysical nothings; but according as my undertaking required, I proceeded upon principles agreed on both sides. If scripture and fathers, councils and reasons, the analogy of faith, and the doctrines of the primitive church (from which I proved, and shall yet more clearly prove the church of Rome hath greatly revolted) will not prevail, I have done; I shall only commit the cause to God and the judgment of wise and good men, and so sit down in the peace of my own persuasions, and in a good conscience, that I have done my endeavour to secure our own people from the temptation, and to 'snatch' others 'as brands from the fire.'

Only I wish here I had found a little more worthiness in J. S. than to make me speaking that I have brought nothing but common objections, or nothing new: I suppose they that are learned know this to be a calumny; and by experience they and I find, that whether the objections be new or old, it is easier to rail at them all, than answer any. To this as it is not needful to say any more, so there cannot any thing else well be said, unless I should be vain, like the man whom I now reprove, and go about to commend myself, which is a practice I have neither reason nor custom for.

But the Seventh way is yet worse. For it is nothing but a direct declamation against my book, and the quotations of it; and having made a ridiculous engine of corollaries in his 'Sure-footing' against the quotations in Dr. P.[f] his sermon, without meaning my book, for that came out a pretty while after; he does like the twopenny almanack makers, though he calculated it for the meridian of the court sermon (as he calls it) yet without any sensible error it may serve for Ireland: it may be J. S. had an 'oral tradition' for this way of proceeding, especially having followed so authentic a precedent[g] for it as the author of the two sermons called 'The primitive rule before the Reformation[h],' who goes upon the same infallible and thrifty way, saying, 'these two tracts as they are named sermons are an answer to Dr. Pierce, but as they may better be styled two common places, so they are a direct answer to Dr. Taylor.' So that here are

[f] [See note to p. 285, above.]
[g] ['president' A.]
[h] [Anon. 4to. Antv. 1663. There is a copy of this scarce tract in the library left by Dr. Allestree to the Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford.]

two things which are sermons and no sermons, as you please; not sermons, but common places; and yet they are not altogether common places, but they in some sense are sermons; unless 'sermon' and 'common-place' happen to be all one; but how the same thing should be an answer to Dr. P. as he gives them one name, and by giving them another name, to the same purpose should be a direct answer to me, who speak of other matters, and by other arguments, and to other purposes, and in another manner, I do not yet understand. But I suppose it be meant as in J. S. his way, and that it relies upon this first and a self-evident principle, 'That the same thing when called by another name is apt to do new and wonderful things.' It is a piece of Mr. White's [i] and J. S. his new metaphysics which we silly men have not the learning to understand. But it matters not what they say, so they do but stop the mouths of the people, that call upon them to say something to every new book that they may without apparent lying, telling them the book is answered. For to answer or confute, means nothing with them but to speak the last word.

Well, but so it is, J. S. hath ranged a great many of my quotations under heads, and says, so many are confuted by the first corollary, and so many by the second, and so on to the ninth and tenth, and some of them are raw and unapplied, some set for shew, and some not home to the point, and some wilfully represented, and these come under the second or third head, and 'perhaps of divers of the others.' To all this I have one short answer; that the quotations which he reduces under the first head, or the second, or the third, might for ought appears be ranked under any other as well as these: for he hath proved none to belong to any; but magisterially points with his finger and directs them to their several stations of confutation. Thus he supposes I am confuted, by an argument of his, next to that of *Mentiris Bellarmine*. And indeed in this way it were easy to confute Bellarmine's three volumes with the labour of three pages' writing. But this way was most fit to be taken by him, who quotes the fathers by oral tradition, and not ocular inspection; however if he had not particularly considered these things, he ought not generally to have condemned them before he tried. But this was an old trick, and noted of some by S. Cyprian[j], *Viderint autem qui vel furori suo vel libidini servientes, et divinæ legis ac sanctitatis immemores, jactitare interim gestiunt quæ probare non possunt, et cum innocentiam destruere atque expugnare non valeant, satis habent fama mendaci et falso rumore maculas inspergere.* I have neither will nor leisure to follow him in this extravagancy; it will I hope be to better purpose that in the following sections I shall justify all my quotations against his and the calumnies of some others; and press

[i] [See p. 311, note p, above.]
[j] [Cornelio fr. epist. xlii. edit. Rigalt. Paris. 1648. [al. ep. xlv. p. 87.]

them and others beyond the objections of the wiser persons of his church, from whence these new men have taken their answers, and made use of them to little purposes; and therefore I shall now pass over the particulars of the quotations referring them to their places, and consider if there be any thing more material in his eighth way, by which he pretends to 'blow up my grounds[k]' and my arguments derived from reason.

THE EIGHTH WAY.

THE eighth way is to pick out 'the principles' I rely on, and to shew their weakness. It is well this eighth way is a great distance off from his first way; or else J. S. would have no excuse for forgetting himself so palpably; having at first laid to my charge that I went upon 'no grounds, no principles.' But I perceive, principles might be found in the Dissuasive if the man had a mind to it; nay, 'main and fundamental principles, and self-evident' to me. And yet such is his ill luck, that he picks out such which he himself says I do not call so; and even here also he is mistaken too; for the first he instances is scripture, and this not only I but all protestants acknowledge to be the foundation of our whole faith. But of this he says we shall discourse afterwards.

The second principle I rely upon, at least, he says I seem to do so, is, 'We all acknowledge that the whole church of God kept the faith entire, and transmitted faithfully to after ages the whole faith.' Well, what says he to this principle? He says this principle as to the positive part is good, and assertive of tradition: it is so of the apostolical tradition; for they delivered the doctrine of Christ to their successors, both by preaching and by writing. And what hath J. S. got by this? Yes, give him but leave to suppose that this delivery of the doctrine of Christ was only by oral tradition for the three first ages, (for he is pleased so to understand the extent of the primitive church,) and then he will infer that 'the third age could deliver it to the fourth, and that to the fifth, and so to us: if they were able, there is no question but they were willing, for it concerned them to be so, and therefore it was done.' Though all this be not true, for we see by a sad experience that too few in the world are willing to do what it concerns them most to do: yet for the present I grant all this; and what then? therefore oral tradition is the only rule of faith. Soft and fair, therefore the third age delivered it to the fourth, and so on; but not all the particulars by oral tradition, but by the holy scriptures, as I shall largely prove in the proper place. But to J. S. the bells ring no tune but Whittington.

A third principle he says is this, 'The present Roman doctrines which are in difference were invisible and unheard of in the first and best antiquity.' I know not why he calls this one of my principles, unless all my propositions be principles, as all his arguments are

[k] [See p. 291. above.]

demonstrations. It is indeed a conclusion which I have partly, and shall in the sequel largely make good. In the meantime whether it be principle or conclusion, let us see what is objected against it, or what use is made of it: for J. S. says it is 'an improved and a main position.' But then he tells us, the reason of it is, because 'no heretic had arisen in those days denying those points, and so the fathers set not themselves to write expressly for them, but occasionally only.' Let us consider what this is, 'no heretic had arisen in those days denying these points:' true, but many catholics did, and the reason why no heretics did deny those things was because neither catholic nor heretic ever affirmed them. Well, but however, 'the Roman controvertists are frequent for citing them for divers points:' certainly not for making vows to saints, not for the worship of images, not for the half communion; for these they do not frequently cite the fathers of the first three hundred years. 'It may be not, but for the ground of our faith, the church's voice or tradition, they do, to the utter overthrow of the protestant cause.' They do indeed sometimes cite something from them for tradition; and where ever the word 'tradition' is in scripture, or the primitive fathers, they think it is an argument for them, just as the covenanters in the late wars thought all scripture was their plea, wherever the word 'covenant' was named. But to how little purpose they pretend to take advantage of any of the primitive fathers speaking of tradition, I shall endeavour to make apparent in an enquiry made on purpose, Sect. 3. In the meantime it appears, that this conclusion of mine was to very good purpose, and in a manner confessed to be true in most instances; and that it was so in all, was not intended by me.

Well, but however it might be in the first three ages, yet he observes that I said that 'in the succeeding ages secular interest did more prevail, and the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous,' and many things more, that 'both sides eternally and inconfutably shall bring sayings for themselves respectively.' And is not all this very true? He cannot deny it; but what then? why then he says, 'I may speak out and say, all the fathers after the first three hundred years are not worth a straw in order to decision or controversy; and the fathers of the first three hundred years spoke not of our points in difference, and so there is a fair end of all the fathers and of my own Dissuasive too; for that part which relies on them, which looks like the most authoritative piece of it.' There is no great hurt in this, 'If the fathers be gone, my Dissuasive may go too;' it cannot easily go in better company, and I shall take the less care of it, because I have J. S. his word that there is a part of it which relies upon the fathers. But if the fathers be going, it is fit we look after them, and see which way they go; for if they go together (as in many things they do) they are of very good use in order to decision of[1] controversy; if they go several ways, and consequently that con-

[1] [leg. 'or.']

trovertists may 'eternally and irrefutably bring sayings out of them against one another,' who can help it? No man can follow them all; and then it must be tried by some other topic which is best to follow; but then that topic by itself would have been sufficient to have ended the question. Secondly, if a disputer of this world pretends to rely upon the authority of the fathers, he may by them be confuted, or determined. The church of Rome pretends to this, and therefore if we perceive the fathers have condemned doctrines which they approve of, or approve what they condemn, which we say in many articles is the case of that church, then the Dissuasive might be very useful, and so might the fathers too, for the condemnation of such doctrines in which the Roman church are by that touchstone found to blame.

And whereas J. S. says that the first three ages of christianity meddled not with the present controversies; it is but partly true, for although many things are now-a-days taught of which they never thought, yet some of the errors which we condemn were condemned then; very few indeed by disputation, but not a few by positive sentence, and in explications of scripture, and rational discourses, and by parity of case, and by catechetical doctrines. For *Rectum est index sui et obliqui*[m]; they have without thinking of future controversies and new emergent heresies, said enough to confute many of them when they shall arise. The great use of the fathers, especially of the first three hundred years, is to tell us what was first, to consign scripture to us, to convey the creed, with simplicity and purity to preach Christ's gospel, to declare what is necessary and what not: and whether they be fallible or infallible, yet if we find them telling and accounting the integrity of the christian faith, and treading out the paths of life; because they are persons whose conversation, whose manner and time of living, whose fame and martyrdom, and the venerable testimony of after ages have represented to be very credible, we have great reason to believe that alone to be the faith which they have described, and consequently that whatever comes in afterwards and is obtruded upon the world, as it was not their way of going to heaven, so it ought not to be ours. So that here is great use of the fathers' writings, though they be not infallible; and therefore I wonder at the prodigious confidence (to say no worse) of J. S. to dare to say, that 'as appears by the Dissuader, the protestants neither acknowledge them infallible, nor useful,' nay 'that this is my fourth principle.' He that believes Transubstantiation can believe any thing; and he that says this, dares say every thing; for as that is infinitely impossible to sense and reason, so this is infinitely false in his own conscience and experience. And the words which in a few lines of his bold assertion he hath quoted out of my book, confute him but too plainly. 'He tells us' (so saith J. S.) 'the fathers

[m] [Cf. Eurip. Hec. 600—3.]

are a good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them, of what the church esteemed the way of salvation.' Do not I also (though he is pleased to take no notice of it) say that 'although we acknowledge not the fathers as the authors and finishers of our faith, yet we own them as helpers of our faith, and heirs of the doctrine apostolical'? that we make use of their testimonies as being (as things now stand) 'to the sober and the moderate, the peaceable and the wise, the best, the most certain, visible and tangible, most humble and satisfactory to them that know well how to use it?' Can he that says this, not acknowledge the fathers useful? I know not whether J. S. may have any credit as he is one of the fathers, but as he is a witness, no man hath reason to take his word.

But to the thing in question; whatever we protestants think or say, yet J. S. saith, 'our constant and avowed doctrine' (meaning of the church of Rome) 'is that the testimony of fathers, speaking of them properly as such, is infallible.' If this be the avowed doctrine of the Roman church, then I shall prove that one of the avowed doctrines of that church is false. And secondly, I shall also prove that many of the most eminent doctors of the church are not of that mind, and therefore it is not the constant doctrine, as indeed amongst them few doctrines are.

First, it is false that 'the testimony of the fathers, speaking of them properly as such, is infallible.' For 'God only is true, and every man a liar;' and since the fathers never pretended to be assisted by a supernatural miraculous aid, or inspired by an infallible Spirit; and infallibility is so far beyond human nature and industry, that the fathers may be called 'angels' much rather than 'infallible;' for if they were assisted by an infallible Spirit, what hinders but that their writings might be canonical scriptures? And if it be said they were assisted infallibly in some things and not in all, it is said to no purpose; for unless it be infallibly known where the infallibility resides, and what is so certain as it cannot be mistaken, every man must tread fearfully, for he is sure the ice is broken in many places, and he knows not where it will hold. It is certain S. Austin did not think the fathers before him to be infallible, when it is plain that in many doctrines, as in the damnation of infants dying unbaptized, and especially in questions occurring in the disputes against the Pelagians about free will and predestination, without scruple he rejected the doctrines of his predecessors. And when in a question between himself and S. Hierome about S. Peter and the second chapter to the Galatians, he was pressed with the authority of six or seven Greek fathers, he roundly answered[n] that he gave no such honour to any writers of books, but to the scriptures, only as to

[n] Ep. S. Aug. ad Hieron. quæ est xix. [? lxxxvi. al. lxv.] inter opera Hieron.—xcvii. [al. lxxvi. tom. iv. part. 2. coll. 601, 29.] et multis aliis locis.

think them not to have erred; other authors he read so as to believe them if they were proved by scriptures, or probable reason; not because they thought so, but because he thought them proved. And he appeals to S. Hierome, whether he were not of the same mind concerning his own works; and for that S. Hierome hath given satisfaction to the world in divers places of his own writings[o], "I suppose Origen is for his learning to be read as Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and some writers Greek and Latin, that we choose out that which is good and avoid the contrary." So that it is evident the fathers themselves have no conceit of the infallibility of themselves or others (the prophets, and apostles, and evangelists only excepted), and therefore if this be an avowed doctrine of the Roman church, there is no 'oral tradition' for it, no 'first and self-evident principle' to prove it. And either the fathers are deceived in saying they are fallible, or they are not: if they be deceived in saying so, then that sufficiently proves that they can be deceived, and therefore that they are not infallible; but if they be not deceived in saying that they are fallible; then it is certain that they are fallible, because they say they are, and in saying so are not deceived. But then if in this the fathers are not deceived, then the church of Rome in one of her avowed doctrines is deceived, saying otherwise of the fathers than is true, and contrary to what themselves said of themselves. But,

Secondly, if it be the 'avowed doctrine' of the church of Rome (as J. S. says it is), yet I am sure it is not their 'constant doctrine.' Certain it is S. Austin was not infallible, for he retracted some things he had said; and in Gratian's time, neither S. Austin nor any of the fathers were esteemed infallible, and this appears in nine chapters together of the ninth distinction of Gratian's decree[p]: but because this truth was too plain to serve the interest of the following ages, the gloss upon *cap.* '*Noli meis*' tells us plainly 'that this was to be understood according to those times, when the works of S. Austin and of the other holy fathers were not authentic, but now all of them are commanded to be held to the last title;' and a marginal note upon the gloss[q] says, *Scripta sanctorum sunt ad unguem observanda.* So that here is a plain variety, and no constant oral tradition from S. Austin's time downwards that his and the fathers' writings were infallible; till Gratian's time it was otherwise, and after him till the gloss was written. It is as Solomon says, 'There is a time for every thing under the sun:' there is a time in which the writings of the fathers are authentic, and a time in which they are not; but then

[o] S. Hieron., lib. ii. apolog. contr. Ruff. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 430.] epist. lxii. ad Theoph. Alex. [al. ep. xxxix. tom. iv. part. 2. col. 337.] epist. lxv. ad Pammach. et Ocean. [al. ep. xl. col. 342. sqq.] et epist. lxxvi. ad Tranquill [al. ep. lvi. col. 589.] epist. xiii. ad Paulinum, [al. ep. xlix. col. 567.] et præfat. in lib. de Hebr. nomin. [tom. ii. col. 4.]

[p] Dist. ix. Decret. cap. 'Noli meis,' [col. 29.]

[q] [ed. fol. Lugd. 1572.]

this is not settled, no constant business. Now I would fain know whether Gratian spake the sense of the church of his age or no? If no, then the fathers were of one mind, and the church of his age of a contrary; and then which of them was infallible? But if yea, then how comes the present church to be of another mind now? And which of the two ages that contradict each other hath got the ball, which of them carries the infallibility? Well, however it come to pass, yet the truth is, J. S. does wrong to his own church, and they never decreed or affirmed the fathers to be infallible. And therefore the glossator upon Gratian was an ignorant man, and his gloss ridiculous; *Ecce quales sunt decretorum glossatores, quibus tanta fides adhibetur,* said A. Castor[r]; and Duns Scotus gave a good character of them, *Mittunt et remittunt et tandem nihil ad propositum.* But the mistake of this ignorant glossator is apparent to be upon the account of the words of Gelasius in *dist.* xv. *cap.* '*Sancta Rom. eccl.*[s],' where when he had reckoned divers of the fathers' writings which the church receives, he hath these words, *Item epistolam B. Leonis papæ ad Flavianum C. P. episcopum destinatam, cujus textum aut unum iota si quisquam idiota disputaverit, et non eam in omnibus venerabiliter acceperit, anathema sit.* Now although this reaches not near to infallibility, but only to a *non disputare,* and a *venerabiliter accipere,* and that by idiots only, and therefore can do J. S. no service, yet this which Gelasius speaks of S. Leo's epistle to Flavianus, the glossator falsely applies to all the works of the fathers, against the mind of the fathers themselves quoted by Gratian in the ninth distinction, and against the sense of Gelasius himself in that very chapter which he refers to in the fifteenth distinction. It may be J. S. had not so much to say for his bold proposition as this itself comes to, which if he had ever seen, he must needs have seen in the same place very much to the contrary. But that not only the fathers themselves have taught him to speak more modestly of them than he does, and that divers leading men of his church have reproved this foolish affirmative of his, he may be satisfied if he please to read Aquinas[t]. *Auctoritatibus canonicæ scripturæ utitur proprie sacra doctrina ex necessitate argumentando, auctoritatibus autem aliorum doctorum ecclesiæ quasi arguendo ex propriis sed probabiliter.* Now I know not what hopes of escaping J. S. can have by his restrictive terms, 'the testimony of fathers, speaking of them properly as such;' for besides that the words mean nothing, and the testimony of fathers is the testimony of 'fathers as such,' or it is just nothing at all: besides this I say, that Aquinas affirms that their whole authority (and therefore of fathers as such) is only probable, and therefore certainly not infallible. But this is so fond a proposition of J. S. that I am

[r] [Leg. 'A Castro,' adv. hær., lib. i. c. 6. p. 39 D.]

[s] [col. 54. fol. Lugd. 1572.]

[t] Prima parte, q. 1. art. 8. ad 2. arg. [fol. 7 b.]

ashamed to speak any more of it; and if he were not very ignorant of what his church holds, he would never have said it. But for his better information, I desire the gentleman to read Alphonsus a Castro[u], Melchior Canus[v], and Bellarmine[x].

It is not therefore the constant doctrine of the Romanists that the fathers are infallible, for I never read or heard any man say it but J. S.; and neither is it the avowed doctrine of that church, unless he will condemn all them for heretics that deny it; some of which I have already named, and more will be added upon this occasion.

Well, but how shall we know that the fathers' testimony is a testimony of 'fathers speaking properly as such?' for this doughty question we are to enquire after in the pursuit of J. S. his mines and crackers: he says in two cases they speak as fathers; 'first, when they declare it the doctrine of the present church of their time; secondly, when they write against any man as a heretic, or his tenet as heresy.' It seems then in these the fathers' testimony is infallible. Let us try this,

1. First, all or any of this may be done by fathers supposed such, but really not so: and if it be not infallibly certain which are and which are not the writings of the fathers, we are nothing the nearer though it were agreed that the true fathers' testimony is infallible. Or secondly, if the book alleged was the book of the father pretended, and not of an obscure or heretical person; yet it may be the words are interpolated, or the testimony some way or other corrupted; and then the testimony is not infallible, when there is no absolute certainty of the witnesses themselves or the records: and what causes there are of rejecting very many, and doubting more, and therefore in matters of present interest and question of uncertainty and fallibility in too many, is known to every learned man, and confessed by writers of both sides.

2. It is very seldom that any of the fathers do use that expression of saying, 'this or this is the doctrine of the church;' and therefore if they speak as fathers never but when these two cases happen, the writings of the fathers will be of very little use in J. S.'s way.

3. And yet after all this, if we shall descend to instances J. S. will not dare to justify what he says.—Was Justin Martyr infallible when he said that all Christians who were pure believers did believe the millenary doctrine? Certainly they were the church, for the others he says were such as denied the resurrection. But was Gennadius or else S. Austin fathers, and they infallible in the book *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, in which he intends to give an account of the doctrine of the church? J. S. seems to acknowledge it by affirming a saying out of that book to have been then *de fide*; which because it had been opposed by very many of the fathers, he had no reason

[u] Lib. i. adv. hæres., c. 7. [col. 38.]
[v] Lib. vii. loc. theol., c. 3. n. 4. &c. [p. 352.]
[x] De verb. Dei, lib. iii. c. 10. sect. 'Dices.' [tom. i. col. 196.]

to affirm, but upon the witness of Gennadius putting it into his book of Ecclesiastical doctrines; and he afterwards calls it 'the testimony of Gennadius delivering the doctrine of the catholic church[y].' It is there said that 'all men shall die' (Christ only excepted) 'that death might reign from Adam upon all.' *Hanc rationem maxima patrum turba tradente suscepimus,* 'this account we have received from the tradition of the greatest[z] company of the fathers.' If this be a tradition delivered by the greatest number of the fathers, then first, tradition is not a sure rule of faith, for this tradition is false, and expressly against scripture; and secondly, it follows that tradition was not then esteemed a sure rule of faith; for although this was a tradition from so great a troop of fathers (as he says it was) yet there were in his time *alii æque catholici et eruditi viri,* 'others as good catholics and as learned,' that believed (as S. Paul believed) that 'we shall not all die, but we shall all be changed;' and however it be, yet all that troop of fathers he speaks of, from whence the tradition came, were not infallible, for they were actually deceived. Now this instance is of great consideration and force against J. S. his 'first and self-evident principle concerning oral tradition.' For all that number of fathers, if the rule of faith had been only oral tradition, would horribly have disturbed the pure current of tradition, and of necessity must have prevailed in J. S. his way, or at least the contrary (which is the truth, and expressly affirmed in scripture) could never have had the irrefragable testimony of oral tradition. But thanks be to God, in this the church adhered to the 'surer word of prophecy,' the scripture proved the surer rule of faith. But again, S. Austin or Gennadius says that 'after Christ's resurrection, the souls of all the saints are with Christ, and that going forth from the body, they go to Christ expecting the resurrection of their bodies.' This he delivers as the ecclesiastical doctrine; and do the patrons of purgatory believe him in this to be infallible? For my part I think S. Austin is in the right; but I think J. S. will not grant this to be the avowed and constant doctrine of his church.

The second case in which they speak as fathers, is when they write against any man as a heretic, or his tenet as heresy. But this is so notoriously false, as nothing is more; and it is infinitely confuted by all the catalogues and books of the fathers reckoning the heresies; where they are pleased to call all opinions they like not, by the names of heresy. Philastrius[a] writes against them as heretics, and puts them in his black catalogue, who expound that of making man in the image and likeness of God, spoken of in Genesis, to signify the reasonable soul, and not rather the grace of the Holy Spirit. He also[b] accounts them heretics who rejected the LXX, and followed

[y] Page 315.

[z] [maxima, 'very great.'—Cf. vol. v. p. 140, not. y.]

[a] Hæres. xc. [al. xcvii. sq. p. 185.]

[b] [Hæres. cxxxviii. p. 301.]

the translation of Aquila, which in the ancient church was in great reputation. Some there were who said that 'God hardened the heart of Pharaoh,' and these he calls[c] heretics, and yet this heresy is the very words of scripture; and some[d] are reckoned heretics for saying that the deluge of Deucalion and Pyrrha was before Noah's flood. But more considerable is that heresy, which[e] affirmed that 'Christ descended into hell, and there preached to the detained, that they who would confess Him might be saved.' Now if Philastrius or any other writer of heretics were in this case infallible, what shall become of many of the orthodox fathers who taught this now condemned doctrine. So did Clemens Alexandrinus, Anastasius Sinaita, S. Athanasius, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, and divers others of the most eminent fathers; and S. Austin affirmed that Christ did save some; but whether all the damned then or no, he could not resolve Euodius who asked the question[f]. That it was not lawful for Christians to swear at all upon any account, was unanimously taught by S. Hilary, and S. Hierome, S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, and Theophylact[g], no not *cum exigitur jusjurandum, aut cum urget necessitas;* and that it is *crimen gehenna dignum,* 'a damnable sin.' Whether that was the doctrine of the church of Rome in those days, I say not; but if it were, why is the church of Rome of a contrary judgment now? If it were not, then a consenting testimony of many fathers even of the greatest rank is no irrefragable argument of the truth or catholic tradition; and from so great an union of such an authority it was not very hard to imagine that the opinion might have become catholic; from a lesser spring greater streams have issued; but it is more than probable that there was no catholic oral tradition concerning this main and concerning article; and I am sure J. S. will think that all these fathers were not only fallible, but deceived actually in this point.

By these few instances we may plainly see what little of infallibility there is in the fathers' writings when they write against heretics or heresies, or against any article; and how then shall we know that the fathers are at all or in any case infallible? I know not from any thing more that is said by J. S. But this I know, that many chief men of his side do speak so slightly, and undervalue the fathers so pertly, that I fear it will appear that the protestants have better opinion of them, and make better use of the fathers than themselves. What think we of the saying of cardinal Cajetan[h], "If you chance to meet with any new exposition which is agreeable to the text," &c., "although perhaps it differ from that which is given by the whole

[c] Hæres. lxxvii. [al. cxxv. p. 261.]
[d] Hæres. lxxi. [al. cix. p. 247.]
[e] Hæres. lxxiv. [al. cxxii. p. 253.]
[f] Vide Jacob. Usser. primat. Hibern. ['Answer to a challenge made by a Jesuite in Ireland,' 4to. Lond. 1631.] cap. de limbo PP. [vid. p 299.]
[g] Vide Erasmum in declarat. ad censuras facult. theol. Paris. [tom. ix. col. 835.]
[h] Præfat. in Pentateuch. [tom. i. init.]

current of the holy doctors, I desire the readers that they would not too hastily reject it." And again, "Let no man therefore reject a new exposition of any passage of scripture, under pretence that it is contrary to what the ancient doctors gave." What think we of those words of Petavius[l], "There are many things by the most holy fathers scattered, especially S. Chrysostom in his homilies, which if you would accommodate to the rule of exact truth, they will seem to be void of good sense." And again[k], "There is cause[l] why the authority of certain fathers should be objected, for they can say nothing but what they have learned from S. Luke; neither is there any reason why we should rather interpret S. Luke by them, than those things which they say by S. Luke." And Maldonate[m] does expressly reject the exposition which all the authors which he had read except S. Hilary, give of those words of Christ, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Michael Medina[n] accuses S. Hierome as being of the Arian heresy in the Qu. of episcopacy, and he proceeds further to accuse S. Ambrose, S. Austin, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Œcumenius and Theophylact of the same heresy. And Cornelius Mussus[o] the bishop of Bitonto expressly affirms that he had rather believe one single pope than a thousand Augustines, Hieromes or Gregories. I shall not need any further to instance how the council of Trent hath decreed many things against the general doctrines of the fathers, as in the placing images in churches, the denying of the eucharist to infants, the not including the blessed Virgin Mary in the general evil of mankind in the imputation of Adam's sin, denying the chalice to the laity and priests not officiating, the beatification and divine vision of saints before the day of judgment. If it were not notorious, and sometimes confessed, that these things are contrary to the sense of a troop of fathers, there might be some excuse made for them who give them good words, and yet reject their authorities so freely that it sometimes seems to pass into scorn. But now it appears to be to little purpose that the council of Trent[p] enjoins her clergy that they offer not to expound scripture against the unanimous consent of the fathers; for (though this amounts not to the height of J. S. his saying 'it is their avowed and constant doctrine that they are infallible,' but *ad coercenda petulantia ingenia*) the contrary is done and avowed every day. And as the fathers proved themselves fallible, both 'as such' in writing against heretics, and in testifying concerning the church's doctrine in their age; so in the interpretations of scripture, in which although there be no universal consent of fathers in any interpretation of

[k] In Epiph. [tom. ii. append.] p. 244.
[l] P. 110. [ad fin.]
[l] [Leg. 'There is no cause.' Nec est quod, &c.—See note to p. 309 above.]
[m] In Matt. xvi. 18. [p. 343 C.]
[n] De sacr. hom. orig. et continentia, [lib. i. cap. 5.] apud Bellarm. de cler., lib. i. cap. 15. [tom. ii. col. 333.] vide etiam hist. conc. Trident., lib. vii.
[o] In epist. ad Rom., c. xiv. [p. 606. 4to. Ven. 1588.]
[p] Sess. iv. [tom. x. col. 23 D.]

scripture concerning which questions moved; so the best and most common consent that is, men of great note recede from it with the greater boldness, by how much they hope to raise to themselves the greater reputation for wit and learning. And therefore although in the sixth general council[q] the Origenists were condemned for bringing in interpretations differing from those that went before them; and in the synod *in Trullo*[r] all curates of souls were commanded to interpret scriptures so as not to transgress the bounds and tradition of the fathers; and the same was the way taken in the council of Vienna, and commanded since in the Lateran under Leo the tenth, and at last in Trent; yet all this was but good advice, which when the following doctors pretended to follow, they nevertheless still took their liberty, and went their own way, and if they followed some of the fathers, they receded from many others; for none of them esteemed the way infallible; but they that did not think their own way better, left their own reason and followed their authority. But of late, 'knowledge is increased[s],' at least many writers think so; and though the ancient interpretations were more honoured, than new: yet Salmeron[t] says plainly that 'the younger doctors are better sighted and more perspicacious;' and the question being about the conception of the blessed Virgin without original sin, against which a multitude of fathers are brought, the Jesuit answers the argument with the words in Exodus xxiii., "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to sin." And to the same purpose S. Austin answered the Donatists[u]. But of this I shall afterwards have occasion to speak more particularly: in the meantime it must needs be acknowledged that the protestants cannot more slight the fathers than the Jesuits do, and divers other doctors of the church of Rome; though I think both of them do equally think them to be fallible.

Well, but at last, of what use are the fathers to protestants in their writings; and what use do I or can I make of them in my Dissuasive?

First, for the protestants, the church of England can very well account by her canon[x], in which she follows the council *in Trullo*, and the sixth general synod, and ties her doctors, as much as the council of Trent does, to expound scriptures according to the sense of the ancient fathers. And indeed it is the best way for most men, and it is of great use to all men so to do. For the fathers were good men and learned; and interest, and partiality, and error had not then invaded the world so much as they have since done. The papacy, that great fountain of error and servile learning, had not so

[q] Sess. xi. [tom. iii. col. 1281.]
[r] Canon 19. [tom. iii. col. 1670.] Ex divina scriptura colligentes intelligentias.
[s] [Dan. xii. 4.]
[t] In epist. ad Rom. v. disp. 51. [tom. xiii. p. 468.]
[u] Lib. contr. Donat. [quoted by Salmeron, as above.]
[x] [See p. 182, note f, above.]

debauched the world, and all that good which can be supposed could be ministered by the piety and learning of so many excellent persons, all that we can use, and we do make use of it upon all just occasions. They speak reason and religion in their writings, and when they do so, we have reason to make use of the good things which by their labours God intended to convey to us. They were better than other men, and wiser than most men, and their authority is not at all contemptible, but in most things highly to be valued: and is at the worst a very probable inducement. Are not the books of the canonists and casuists in a manner little else than a heap of quotations out of their predecessors' writings? Certainly we have much more reason to value the authority of the ancient fathers.

And now since J. S.[y] requires an account from me in particular, and thinks I have no right to use them; I shall render him an account of this also. But first let us see what his charge is. He says indeed I tell him that "the fathers are a good testimony of the doctrine delivered from their forefathers down to them of what the church esteemed the way of salvation." I did tell them so indeed, and in the same place I said that "we admit the fathers as admirable helps for the understanding of the scriptures." I told them both these things together, and therefore J. S. may blush with shame for telling us that "it appears by the Dissuader that the protestants do not acknowledge the fathers infallible or useful." But then in what degree of usefulness the fathers are admitted by us, we may perceive by the instances, of which the one being the interpretation of scriptures, it is evident, because of their great variety and contrariety of interpretations, we do not admit them as infallible, but yet of admirable use; so in the testimony which they give of the doctrines of their forefathers concerning the way of salvation, we give as great credit as can be due to any relater, except Him that is infallible.

——— Pro magna teste vetustas
Creditur; acceptam parce movere fidem[z].

Nay we go something further; for although in asserting and affirming, in teaching and delivering 'positively,' we do believe them with great veneration, but not without liberty and enquiry; yet when we make use of them in a 'negative' way, we find use of them, much nearer to infallibility, than all the 'demonstrations of sure-footing.' For the argument lies thus[a], "In the ages succeeding the three first, secular interest did much prevail, the writings of the fathers were vast and voluminous, full of controversy and ambiguous senses, fitted to their own times and questions, full of proper opinions, and such variety of sayings, that both sides eternally and inconfutably shall bring sayings for themselves respectively." This ground I lay of

[y] Page 312.
[z] Ovid. [fast. iv. 203.]
[a] Chap. i. sect. 1. Dissuasive, [p. 181 above.]

the ensuing argument, and upon this I build immediately, that "things being thus," that is, in the ages succeeding the first three (the primitive and purest) the case being so vastly changed, the books so vast, the words so many, the opinions so proper, the contrariety so apparent; it is very possible that two litigants shall from them pretend words serving their distinct *hypotheses*, especially when they come to wrangle about the interpretations of ambiguous sayings; and of things so disputed there can be no end, no determination; and therefore "it will be impossible for the Roman doctors to conclude from the sayings of a number of fathers," (viz., in the latter and succeeding ages of the church; for of them only the argument does treat,) "that their doctrine which they would prove thence was the catholic doctrine of the church." And the reason of this is derived from the ground I laid for the argument, because these fathers are oftentimes *gens contra gentem*, and sometimes one man against himself, and sometimes changing his doctrine, and sometimes speaking in heat, and disputing fiercely, and striving by all means to prevail and conquer heretics; and therefore a testimony of many of them consenting, is not a sufficient argument to prove a doctrine catholic; unless all consent in this case, the major part will not prove a doctrine catholic. Of this I have given divers instances already, and shall add more in the section of Tradition; for the present I shall only recite the words of the bishop of the Canaries[b] (a great man amongst them) to attest what I say. *Tertia Conclusio. Plurium sanctorum auctoritas, reliquis licet paucioribus reclamantibus, firma argumenta theologo sufficere et præstare non valet.* If the major part of fathers consenting be not a sufficient argument, as Canus here expressly says, then no argument from the authority of fathers can prove it catholic, unless it be universal. Not that it is required that each single point be proved by each single father, as J. S. most weakly would infer; for that indeed is morally impossible; but that when the fathers of the later ages of whom we speak are divided in sentence and interest, neither from the lesser number nor yet from the greater can you conclude any catholic consent. *Ecclesia universalis nunquam errat quia nunquam tota errat;* it is not to be imputed to the universal church unless all of it agree; and by this Abulensis[c] asserts the indefectibility of the church of God, 'it never errs because all of it does never err.'

And therefore here is wholly a mistake; for to prove a point *de fide* from the authority of the fathers, we require an universal consent. Not that it is expected that every man's hand that writes should be at it, or every man's vote that can speak should be to it, for this were unreasonable; but an universal consent is so required, that is, that there be no dissent by any fathers equally catholic and reputed.

[b] Melch. Canus, loc. theol., lib. vii. cap. 3. n. 8. [p. 355.]

[c] [Alphons. Tostat.] Abulens. præf. in Matth. q. 3. [leg. 13. fol. 10 B.]

Reliquis licet paucioribus reclamantibus, 'if others though the fewer number do dissent,' then the major part is not testimony sufficient. And therefore when Vincentius Lirinensis and Thomas of Walden affirmed that the consent of the major part of fathers from the apostles downwards is catholic, Canus expounds their meaning to be, "in case that the few dissentients have been condemned by the church, then the major part must carry it:" thus when some of the fathers said that Melchisedec was the Holy Ghost, here the major part carried it, because the opinion of the minor part was condemned by the church. But let me add one caution to this, that it may pass the better. Unless the church of that age in which a minor part of fathers contradicts a greater, do give testimony in behalf of the major part (which thing I think never was done, and is not indeed easy to be supposed), though the following ages reject the minor part, it is no argument that the doctrine of the major part was the catholic doctrine of that age. It might by degrees become universal, that was not so at first; and therefore unless the whole present age do agree, that is, unless of all that are esteemed orthodox there be a present consent, this broken consent is not an infallible testimony of the catholicism of the doctrine. And this is plain in the case of S. Cyprian and the African fathers, denying the baptism of heretics to be valid[d]. Supposing a greater number of doctors did at that time believe the contrary, yet their testimony is no competent proof that the church of that age was of their judgment; no, although the succeeding ages did condemn the opinion of the Africans; for the question now is not whether S. Cyprian's doctrine be true or no, but whether it was the catholic doctrine of the church of that age. It is answered, it was not, because many catholic doctors of that age were against it, and for the same reason neither was their doctrine the catholic, because as wise and as learned men opposed them in it; and it is a frivolous pretence to say, that 'the contrary' (viz. to S. Cyprian's doctrine) 'was found and defined to be the faith and the sense of the church;' for suppose it was, but then it became so by a new and later definition, not by the oral tradition of that present age; and therefore this will do J. S. no good, but help to overthrow his fond hypothesis. This or that might be a true doctrine, but not the doctrine of the then catholic church, in which the catholics were so openly and with some earnestness divided. And therefore it was truly said in the Dissuasive[e] that 'the clear saying of one or two of those fathers, truly alleged by us to the contrary, will certainly prove that what many of them (suppose it) do affirm, and which but two or three as good catholics do deny, was not then a matter of faith or a doctrine of the church: if it had, these dissentients publicly owning and preaching that doctrine, would have been no catholics but heretics.'

Against this J. S. hath a pretty sophism, or if you please let it

[d] J. S., p. 314.

[e] [p. 181 above.]

pass for one of his demonstrations. "If one or two denying a point which many (others) affirm, argues that it is not of faith; then *a fortiori* if one or two affirm it to be of faith, it argues it is of faith, though many others deny it." This consequent is so far from arising from the antecedent, that in the world nothing destroys it more: for because the denial of one or two argues a doctrine is not catholic though affirmed by many, therefore it is impossible that the affirmation of one or two (when there be many dissentients) should sufficiently prove a doctrine to be catholic. The antecedent supposes that true which therefore concludes the consequent to be false; for therefore the affirming a thing to be catholic by two or three, or twenty, does not prove it to be so unless all consent, because the denying it to be catholic (which the antecedent supposes) by two or three, is a good testimony that it is not catholic. J. S. his argument is like this, 'If the absence of a few makes the company not full, then the presence of a few when more are absent, *a fortiori* makes the company to be full.' But because I must say nothing but what must be reduced to grounds, I have to shew the stupendous folly of this argument, a self-evident principle, and that is, *Bonum*, and so *Verum*, is *ex integra causa, malum ex qualibet particulari*[f]; and a cup is broken if but one piece of the lip be broken, but it is not whole unless it be whole all over. And much more is this true in a question concerning the universality of consent or of tradition. For J. S. does prevaricate in the question, which is, 'whether the testimony be universal if the particulars be not agreed;' and he instead of that thrusts in another word which is no part of the question: for so he changes it, by saying "the dissent of a few does not make but that the article is a point of faith;" for though it cannot be supposed a point of faith when any number of the catholic fathers do profess to believe a proposition contrary to it, yet possibly it will by some of his side be said to be a point of faith upon other accounts, as upon the church's definition, or the authority of plain scriptures. But this will be nothing to J. S. his hypothesis; for if a part of the catholic fathers did deliver the contrary, there was no irrefragable, catholic oral tradition of the church, when so considerable a part of the church delivered the contrary as their own doctrine, which is not to be imagined they would have done if the consent of the church of that age was against it. And if we can suppose this case, that one part of the fathers should say, 'this is the doctrine of the church,' when another part of the fathers are of a contrary judgment, either they did not say true, and then the fathers' testimony, speaking as witnesses of the doctrine of the church of their age, is not infallible; or if they did say true, yet their testimony was not esteemed sufficient: because the other fathers, who must needs know it if it was the catholic doctrine of the church then, do not take it for truth or sufficient. And that maxim which was received in the council of Trent, that 'a major part of

[f] [Dionys. Areop. de div. nom., cap. iv. p. 216 B.—Cf. Corn. a Lap. in Jac. ii. 10.]

voices was sufficient for decreeing in a matter of reformation, but that a decree of faith could not be made if a considerable part did contradict,' relies upon the same reason; faith is every man's duty, and every man's concern, and every man's learning; and therefore it is not to be supposed that any thing can be an article of faith in which a number of wise and good men are at difference, either as doctors, or as witnesses. And of this we have a great testimony from Vincentius Lirinensis[g], *In ipsa item . . ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est enim vere proprieque catholicum*; 'not that which a part of the fathers, but that which is said every where, always, and by all, that is truly and properly catholic; and this' (says he) 'is greatly to be taken care of in the catholic church.'

From all these premises it will follow that the Dissuasive did, or might to very good purpose, make use of the fathers; and if I did there or shall in the following sections make it appear, that in such an age of the ancient church the doctrines which the church of Rome at this day imposes on the world as articles of faith, were not then accounted articles of faith, but either were spoken against, or not reckoned in their canon and confessions, it will follow that either they can make new articles of faith, or at least cannot pretend these to be articles of faith upon the stock of oral catholic tradition; for this cannot be at all, if the catholic fathers were (though unequally) divided in their testimony.

The rest of J. S. his last 'way' or 'mine' is but bragging, and indeed this whole appendix of his is but the dregs of his 'Sure-footing,' and gives but very little occasion of useful and material discourse. But he had formerly promised that he would give an account of my relying on scripture, and here was the place reserved for it; but when he comes to it, it is nothing at all but a reviling of it, calling of it 'a bare letter unsensed,' 'outward characters,' 'ink thus figured in a book;' but whatsoever it is, he calls it my 'main, most fundamental, and in a manner my only principle;' though he, according to his usual method of saying what comes next, had said before that I had 'no principle,' and that I had 'many principles.' All that he adds afterwards is nothing but the same talk over again concerning the fathers, of which I have given an account I hope full enough; and I shall add something more when I come to speak concerning the justification of the grounds of the protestant and christian religion. Only that I may be out of J. S. his debt, I shall make it appear that he and his party are the men that go upon no grounds, that in the church of Rome there is no 'Sure-footing,' no certain acknowledged rule of faith; but while they call for an assent above the nature and necessity of the thing, they have no warrant beyond the greatest uncertainty, and cause their people to wander (that I may borrow J. S.[h] his expression), 'in the very sphere of contingency.'

[g] Common., c. 3. [al. 2. p. 103.]

[h] [p. 314.]

THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

THE FIRST BOOK.

§ 1. Of the church: shewing that the church of Rome relies upon no certain foundation for their faith.

THAT the scriptures are infallibly true though it be acknowledged by the Roman church, yet this is not an infallible rule to them, for several reasons. First, because it is imperfect and insufficient (as they say) to determine all matters of faith. Secondly, because it is not sufficient to determine any that shall be questioned: not only because its authority and truth is to be determined by something else that must be before it, but also because its sense and meaning must be found out by something after it: and not he that writes or speaks, but he that expounds it, gives the rule: so that scripture no more is to rule us, than matter made the world; until something else gives it form and life, and motion and operative powers, it is but *iners massa,* not so much as a clod of earth. And they who speak so much of the obscurity of scripture, of the seeming contradictions in it, of the variety of readings, and the mysteriousness of its manner of delivery, can but little trust that obscure, dark, intricate, and at last imperfect book, for a perfect clear rule. But I shall not need to drive them out of this fort, which they so willingly of themselves quit. If they did acknowledge scripture for their rule, all controversies about this would be at an end, and we should all be agreed: but because they do not, they can claim no title here.

That which they pretend to be the infallible judge, and the measure of our faith, and is to give us our rule, is the Church; and she is a rock, "the pillar and ground of truth," and therefore here they fix. Now how little assurance they have by this confidence, will appear by many considerations.

First, it ought to be known and agreed upon, what is meant by this word Church, or *Ecclesia.* For it is a πολύσημον, and the

church cannot be a rule or guide if it be not known what you mean when you speak the word. Σῶμα ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς, said Suidas, 'His body,' viz., mystical, 'Christ calls His church.' Among the Greeks it signifies a convention or assembly met together for public employment and affairs; συναγωγὴν ὄχλου, so Aristophanes understands it;

Ἐκκλησία δ' οὐχὶ διὰ τοῦτον γίνεται;

"Is there not a convocation or an assembly called for this Plutus?" Now by translation this word is used among Christians to signify 'all them who out of the whole mass of mankind are called, and come, and are gathered together by the voice and call of God, to the worship of God through Jesus Christ, and the participation of eternal good things to follow:' so that 'the church' is 'a company of men and women professing the saving doctrine of Jesus Christ.' This is the church *in sensu forensi*, and in the sight of men; but because 'glorious things are spoken of the city of God;' the professors of Christ's doctrine are but imperfectly and inchoatively the church of God; but they who are indeed holy and obedient to Christ's laws of faith and manners; that live according to His laws, and walk by His example; these are truly and perfectly 'the church,' and they have this signature, 'God knoweth who are His.' These are the church of God in the eyes and heart of God. For the church of God are the body of Christ; but the mere profession of christianity makes no man a member of Christ; "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing in Christ Jesus," nothing "but a new creature; nothing but a "faith working by love;" and "keeping the commandments of God." Now they that do this are not known to be such by men; but they are only known to God; and therefore it is in a true sense 'the invisible church;' not that there are two churches, or two societies, in separation from each other; or that one can be seen by men, and the other cannot; for then either we must run after the church, whom we ought not to imitate; or be blind in pursuit of the other that can never be found; and our eyes serve for nothing but to run after false fires. No, these two churches are but one society; the one is within the other, 'they walk together to the house of God as friends, they take sweet counsel together,' and eat the bread of God in common: but yet though the men be visible, yet that quality and excellency by which they are constituted Christ's members and distinguished from mere professors and outsides of Christians, this, I say, is not visible. All that really and heartily serve Christ *in abdito*, do also profess to do so; they serve him in the secret of the heart, and in the secret chamber, and in the public assemblies, unless by an intervening cloud of persecution they be for awhile hid, and made less conspicuous; but the invisible church ordinarily and regularly is part of the visible, but yet that only part that is the true one; and the rest but by denomination of law and

in common speaking are the church: not in mystical union, not in proper relation to Christ, they are not the house of God, not the temple of the Holy Ghost, not the members of Christ; and no man can deny this. Hypocrites are not Christ's servants, and therefore not Christ's members, and therefore no part of the church of God, but improperly and equivocally, as a dead man is a man; all which is perfectly summed up in those words of S. Austin[a], saying, that the body of Christ is not *bipartitum*, it is not a double body. *Non enim revera Domini corpus est, quod cum illo non erit in æternum*, 'All that are Christ's body shall reign with Christ for ever.' And therefore they who are of their father the devil, are the synagogue of Satan, and 'of such' is not 'the kingdom of God:' and all this is no more than what S. Paul said[b], "They are not all Israel, who are of Israel;" and[c] "he is not a Jew that is one outwardly, but he is a Jew that is one inwardly." Now if any part of mankind will agree to call the universality of professors by the title of the church, they may if they will; any word by consent may signify any thing: but if by 'church' we mean that society which is really joined to Christ, which hath received the holy Spirit, which is heir of the promises and the good things of God, which is the body of which Christ is head; then the invisible part of the visible church, that is, the true servants of Christ only are 'the church;' that is, to them only appertains the spirit, and the truth, the promises, and the graces, the privileges and advantages of the gospel: to others they appertain, as the promise of pardon does; that is, when they have made themselves capable.

For since it is plain and certain that Christ's promise of giving the Spirit to His apostles[d] was merely conditional, if they did love Him, if they did keep His commandments; since it is plainly affirmed by the apostle, that by reason of wicked lives men and women did turn apostates from the faith, since nothing in the world does more quench the Spirit of wisdom and of God than an impure life; it is not to be supposed that 'the church,' as it signifies the professors only of christianity, can have an infallible Spirit of truth. If the church of Christ have an indefectibility, then it must be that which is in the state of grace and the divine favour. They whom God does not love, cannot fall from God's love; but the faithful only and obedient are beloved of God: others may believe rightly; but so do the devils who are no parts of the church, but princes of *ecclesia malignantium*; and it will be a strange proposition which affirms any one to be of the church for no other reason but such as qualifies the devil to be so too. For there is no other difference between the devil's faith and the faith of a man that lives wickedly, but that

[a] De doctr. christ., lib. iii. cap. 32. [tom. iii. part. i. col. 58.]
[b] [Rom. ix. 6.]
[c] [Rom. ii. 28, 29.]
[d] [John xiv. 15, 16.]

there is hopes the wicked man may by his faith be 'converted' to holiness of life, and consequently be a member of Christ and the church; which the devils never can be. To be 'converted' from gentilism or judaism to the christian faith is an excellent thing; but it is therefore so excellent, because that is God's usual way by that faith to 'convert' them unto God, from their vain conversation unto holiness. That was the 'conversion' which was designed by the preaching of the gospel; of which, to believe merely was but the entrance and introduction.

Now besides the evidence of the thing itself and the notice of it in scripture[e]; let me observe that this very thing is in itself a part of the article of faith; for if it be asked what is the catholic church? the apostles' creed defines it; it is *communio sanctorum*, "I believe the holy catholic church," that is, "the communion of saints," the conjunction of all them who heartily serve God through Jesus Christ; the one is indeed exegetical of the other, as that which is plainer is explicative of that which is less plain; but else they are but the same thing: which appears also in this, that in some creeds the latter words are left out, and particularly in the Constantinopolitan, as being understood to be in effect but another expression of the same article. To the same sense exactly Clemens of Alexandria[f] defines the church to be 'the congregration of the elect:' *οὐ γὰρ νῦν τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ·* 'by the church I do not mean the place, but the gathering or heap of the elect; for this is the better temple for the receiving the greatness of the dignity of God: for that living thing which is of great price,' to Him who is worthy of all price, yea to whose price nothing is too great, *δι' ὑπεροχὴν ἁγιότητος καθιέρωται*, 'is consecrated by the excellency of holiness.' But more full is that of S. Austin[g], who spends two chapters in affirming that only they who serve God faithfully are the church of God. "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are. For this is in the good and faithful, and the holy servants of God, scattered every where, and combined by a spiritual union in the same communion of sacraments, whether they know one another by face or no. Others it is certain are so said to be in the house of God, that they do not pertain to the structure of the house, nor to the society of fructifying and peacemaking justice, but are as chaff in the wheat: for we cannot deny that they are in the house, the apostle Paul saying that in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but wood and earth, some for honour and some for dishonour." And a little before, "I do not speak rashly when I say, some are so in the house of God, that they also are that very house of God which is said to be built upon a rock,

[e] [Ephes. ii. 1—5.]

[f] Clem. Alex. strom., lib. vii. [cap. 5. p. 846.]

[g] De Bapt. contr. Donatist., lib. vii. cap. 51 sq. [tom. ix. col. 200.]

which is called the only dove, the fair spouse without spot or wrinkle, the garden shut up, a fountain sealed, a pit of living water, a fruitful paradise: this is the house which hath received the keys, and the power of loosing and binding; whosoever shall despise this house," reproving and correcting him, he saith "let him be as an heathen and a publican." And then he proceeds to describe who are this house, by the characters of sanctity, of charity and unity. *Propter malam pollutamque conscientiam damnati a Christo, jam in corpore Christi non sunt, quod est ecclesia, quoniam non potest Christus habere damnata membra*[h], 'those who are condemned by Christ for their evil and polluted consciences are not in Christ's body, which is the church; for Christ hath no damned members.'

And this besides that it is expressly taught in the Augustan Confession[i], it is also the doctrine of divers Roman doctors, that wicked men are not true members of the body of the church, but equivocally. So Alexander of Hales, Hugo, and Aquinas, as they are quoted by Turrecremata[k]; so Petrus a Soto, Melchior Canus, and others, as Bellarmine himself confesses; so that if it be said that evil men are 'in the church,' it is true, but they are not 'of the church,' as S. John's expression is, "for if they had been of us, they would have tarried with us:" which words seem to be of the same sense with those fathers, who affirm the church to be the number of the predestinate, whom God loves to the end. But however, the wicked are only in the body of the church as peccant humours, and excrements, and hair, and putrefaction; so said S. Austin as Bellarmine[l] quotes him: and the same thing in almost the same words is set down by Coster the Jesuit[m]: and when Bellarmine attempts to answer this saying of S. Austin, he says he means that 'the wicked are not in the church in the same manner as the godly are;' that is, not as living members: which though it be put in the place of an answer to amuse the young fellows that are captivated with the admirable method of *Obj.* and *Sol.* yet it plainly confesses the point in question, viz., that the wicked are not members of Christ's body; and if they be not, then to them belong not the privileges and promises which God gave and promised to His church: for they were given for the sake of the saints only, saith S. Austin; and Bellarmine[n] confesses it. But I need not be digging the cisterns for this truth; Christ himself hath taught it to us very plainly, "Ye are

[h] S. Aug., lib. ii. contr. Crescon., cap. 21. [tom. ix. col. 423.] vide eund., lib. ii. contr. Petil. cap. ult. [tom. ix. col. 296.] lib. iv. de bapt., cap. 3. [tom. ix. col. 123.] lib. vi. cap. 3. [col. 163.]

[i] [vid. art. viii. p. 15.—8vo. 1642.]—Mali quidem sunt 'in' ecclesia, sed non 'de' ecclesia; quia mali non sunt de regno Dei, sed de regno diaboli.—Vide etiam Gregor. M., lib. xxviii. moral., c. 9. [al. 6. tom. i. col. 900.]

[k] Lib. i. cap. 57. apud Bell., lib. iii. cap. 9. De ecclesia militante. [tom. ii. col. 162.]

[l] Tract. 3. in Epist. Johan. apud Bellar. ubi supra. sect. 'Idem Augustinus.' col. 167.]

[m] Coster. apolog. pro parte 3ª. Enchirid., cap. 12. sect. 'Qui non.' [p. 631. 8vo. Col. Agr. 1604.]

[n] Ibid. sect. 'Respondeo, Augustinum.' [ibid.]

My friends if ye do whatsoever I command you[o]:" not upon any other terms; and I hope none but friends are parts of Christ's mystical body, members of the church whereof He is head; and the only condition of this, is, 'if we do whatsoever Christ commands us.' And that this very blessing and promise of knowing and understanding the will of God appertains only to the godly, Christ declares in the very next words, "Henceforth I call you not servants, for the servant knoweth not what his lord doth; but I have called you friends, for all things I have heard from My Father I have made known unto you." So that being the friends of God, is the only way to know the will of God; none are infallible but they that are holy; and they shall certainly be directed by Christ, and the Spirit of Christ. "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself," said our blessed Lord[p]. And S. John said[q], "Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things." The Spirit of God is the great teacher of all truth to the church; but they that 'grieve the holy Spirit of God,' they that 'quench the Spirit,' they that 'defile His temple,' from these men He will surely depart: 'that He shall abide with men unto the end of the world,' is a promise not belonging to them, but to them that 'keep His commandments:' the external parts of religion may be ministered by wicked persons, and by wicked persons may be received; but the secrets of the kingdom, the spiritual excellencies of the gospel, that is, truth and holiness, a saving and an unreprovable faith, and an indefectible love, to be united to Christ, and to be members of His body; these are the portions of saints, not of wicked persons, whether clergy or laity. "The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom," and "the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable," said Solomon[r]: but when we consider those men who 'detain the faith in unrighteousness,' it is no wonder that God leaves them, and 'gives them over to believe a lie,' and delivers them to the spirit of illusion; and therefore it will be ill to make our faith to rely upon such dangerous foundations. As all the principles and graces of the gospel are the propriety of the godly, so they only are the church of God of which glorious things are spoken: and it will be vain to talk of the infallibility of God's church; the Roman doctors either must confess it subjected here, that is, in the church in this sense, or they can find it no where. In short; this is the church (in the sense now explicated) which is the "pillar and ground of truth;" but this is not the sense of the church of Rome, and therefore from hence they refusing to have their learning, can never pretend wisely that they can be infallibly directed.

We have seen what is the true meaning of the church of God,

[o] [John xv. 14; xiv. 21.]
[p] [John vii. 17.]
[q] [1 John ii. 27.]
[r] [Prov. x. 31 sq.]

according to the scriptures, and fathers, and sometimes persons formerly in the church of Rome: in the next place let us see what now-a-days they mean by the 'church,' with which name or word they so much abuse the world.

I. Therefore, by church sometimes they mean the whole body of them that profess christianity; *greges pastoribus adunatos*, priest and people, bishops and their flocks, all over the world, upon whom the name of Christ is called, whether they be dead in sins, or alive in the Spirit, whether good Christians or false hypocrites: but all the number of the baptized, except excommunicates that are since cut off, make this body.

I. Now the word 'church' I grant may and is given to them by way of supposition and legal presumption, as a jury of twelve men are called 'good men and true;' that is, they are not known to be otherwise, and therefore presumed to be such. And they are the church in all human accounts; that is, they are the congregation of all that profess the name of Christ, of whom every particular that is not known to be wicked is presumed to be good; and therefore is still part of the external church, in which are the wheat and the tares: and they are bound up in common by the union of sacraments and external rites, name, and profession; but by nothing else. This doctrine is well explicated by S. Austin[s], "That is not the body of Christ which shall not reign with Him for ever: and yet we must not say it is bipartite; but it is either true or mixed, or it is either true or counterfeit, or some such thing; for not only in eternity, but even now, hypocrites are not to be said to be with Christ, although they may seem to be of His church. But the scripture speaks of those and these as if they were both of one body, *propter temporalem commixtionem et communionem sacramentorum*, they are only combined by a temporal mixtion, and united by the common use of the sacraments." And this, to my sense, all the churches of the world seem to say; for when they excommunicate a person, then they throw him 'out of the church;' meaning that all his being in the church of which they could take cognizance, is but by the communion of sacraments and external society. Now out of this society no man must depart[t]; because although a better union with Christ and one another is most necessary, yet even this cannot, ought not to be neglected; for by the outward, the inward is set forward and promoted: and therefore to depart from the external communion of the church upon pretence that the wicked are mingled with the godly, is foolish and unreasonable; for by such departing a man is not sure he shall depart from all the wicked, but he is sure he shall leave the communion of the good, who are mingled in the

[s] De doctr. christ., lib. iii. c. 32. [tom. iii. part. i. col. 58.]

[t] Impediri non debet fides aut caritas nostra, ut, quoniam zizania esse in ecclesia cernimus, ipsi de ecclesia recedamus.—S. Cypr., lib. iii. ep. 3. ad Maximum, scil. ep. 51. edit. Rigaltianæ. [al. ep. liv. p. 99.]

common mass with the wicked, or else all that which we call 'the church' is wicked. And what can such men propound to themselves of advantage, when they certainly forsake the society of the good for an imaginary departure from the wicked; and after all the care they can take, they leave a society in which are some intemperate or many worldly men, and erect a congregation, for ought they know, of none but hypocrites?

So that which we call the church is *permixta ecclesia*, as S. Austin is content it should be called, 'a mixed assembly[u];' and for this mixture sake, under the cover and knot of external communion, the church, that is, all that company, is esteemed one body; and the appellatives are made in common, and so are the addresses, and offices and ministries: because, of those that are not now, some will be good; and a great many that are evil, are undiscernibly so; and in that communion are the ways and ministries and engagements of being good; and above all, in that society are all those that are really good; therefore it is no wonder, that we call this 'great mixtion' by the name of *ecclesia* or 'the church.'

2. But then since the church hath a more sacred notion, it is the spouse of Christ, His dove, His beloved, His body, His members, His temple, His house in which He loves to dwell, and which shall dwell with Him for ever; and this church is known, and discerned, and loved by God, and is united unto Christ: therefore although when we speak of all the acts and duties, of the judgments and nomenclatures, of outward appearances and accounts of law, we call the mixed society by the name of 'the church;' yet when we consider it in the true, proper, and primary meaning, by the intention of God, and the nature of the thing, and the entercourses between God and His church; all the promises of God, the Spirit of God, the life of God, and all the good things of God are peculiar to the church of God in God's sense, in the way in which He owns it, that is, as it is holy, united unto Christ, like to Him, and partaker of the divine nature. The other are but a heap of men keeping good company, calling themselves by a good name, managing the external parts of union and ministry; but because they otherwise belong not to God, the promises no otherwise belong to them, but as they may, and when they do[x], return to God.

Here then are two senses of the word 'church,' God's sense and man's sense; the sense of religion, and the sense of government; common rites, and spiritual union.

II. Having now laid this foundation, that none but the true ser-

[u] Ubi supra.

[x] In ecclesia non est macula aut ruga; quia peccatores, donec non pœnitet eos vitæ prioris, non sunt in ecclesia; cum autem pœnitet, jam sani sunt.—Pacian. ep. iii. ad Sympronianum. [in Bibl. vett. patr. Galland., tom. vii. p. 263.]

Idem ait S. Hieron. comment. in Ephes., c. 5. Maculati ab ea [ecclesia] alieni esse censentur, nisi rursum per pœnitentiam fuerint expurgati. [tom. v. col. 1058.]

vants of Christ make the true church of Christ, and have title to the promises of Christ, and particularly of the Spirit of truth; and having observed that the Roman church relies upon 'the church' under another notion and definition: the next enquiry is to be, what certainty there is of finding truth in this church, and in what sense and meaning it is that in the church of God we shall be sure to find it.

Of the church in the first sense S. Paul[y] affirms, it is "the pillar and ground of truth." He spake it of the church of Ephesus, or the holy catholic church over the world; for there is the same reason of one and all; if it be, as S. Paul calls it, *ecclesia Dei vivi*, if it be united to the head Christ Jesus, every church is as much the "pillar and ground of truth" as all the church. Which that we may understand rightly, we are to consider,

1. That what is commonly called 'the church' is but *domus ecclesiæ veræ*, as the *ecclesia vera* is *domus Dei:* it is the school of piety, the place of institution and discipline. Good and bad dwell here; but God only and His spirit dwells with the good. They are all taught in the church; but the good only are θεοδίδακτοι 'taught by God,' by an infallible Spirit, that is, by a Spirit which neither can deceive nor be deceived, and therefore by Him the good, and they only, are led into all saving truth; and these are the men that preserve the truth in holiness; without this society the truth would be hidden and 'held in unrighteousness;' so that all good men, all particular congregations of good men, who upon the foundation Christ Jesus build the superstructure of a holy life, are 'the pillar and ground of truth;' that is, they support and defend the truth, they follow and adorn the truth; which truth would in a little time be suppressed, or obscured, or varied, or concealed, and misinterpreted, if the wicked only had it in their conduct. That is, amongst good men we are most like to find the ways of peace and truth, all saving truth, and the proper spiritual advantages and loveliness of truth. Now then this does no more relate to all churches than to every church, God will no more leave or forsake any one of His faithful servants than He will forsake all the world. And therefore here the notion of 'catholic' is of no use; for the church is the 'communion of saints,' wherever it be or may be; and that this church is catholic, it does not mean by any distinct existence, but by comprehension and actual and potential inclosure of all communions of holy people 'in the unity of the Spirit, and in the band of peace;' that is, both externally and internally. 'Externally' means the common use of the symbol and sacraments; for they are the band of peace; but the unity of the Spirit is the peculiar of the saints, and is the internal confederation and conjunction of the members of Christ's body in themselves, and to their Head. And by the energy of this state, wherever it happens to be, all the bless-

[y] [1 Tim. iii. 15.]

ings of the Spirit are entailed; every man hath his share in it, he shall never be left or forsaken, and the Spirit of God will never depart from him, as long as he remains in, and is of, the communion of saints. But this promise is made to him only as he is part of this communion, that is, of the body of Christ; *Membrum divulsum,* 'if a limb be cut off' from the union of the body, it dies. No man belongs to God but he that is of this communion; but therefore the greater the communion is, the more abundance of the Spirit they shall receive, as there is more wisdom in many wise men than in a few: and since every single church or convention receives it in the virtue of the whole church, that is, in conjunction with the body of Christ; it is the whole body to whom this appellative belongs, that she is 'the pillar and ground of truth.' But as every member receives life and nourishment, and is alive, and is defended and provided for, by the head and stomach, as truly and really as the whole body: so it is in the church; every member preserves the saving truth, and every member lives unto God, and so long as they do so they shall never be forsaken by the Spirit of God. And this is to every man as really as to every church; and therefore every good man hath his share in this appellative; and the saints of Vienna and Lyons[z] called Attalus the martyr 'a pillar and ground of the churches;' and truly he seems to have been a man that was fully grounded in the truth, one that hath 'built his house upon a rock,' one with whom truth dwells, to whom Christ the fountain of truth will come and dwell with him; for he hath built upon the foundation, Christ Jesus being the chief corner-stone; and thus Attalus was a pillar, one upon whose strength others were made more confident, bold and firm in their persuasion; he was one of the pillars that helped to support[a] the christian faith, and church; and yet no man supposes that Attalus was infallible; but so it is in the case of every particular church as really as of the catholic, that is, as to all churches. For that is the meaning of the word 'catholic;' not that it signifies a distinct being from a particular church; and if taken abstractly, nothing is effected by the word; but if taken distributively, then it is useful and material, for it signifies that in every congregation 'where two or three are gathered in the name of Christ, God is in the midst of them' with His blessing and with His spirit; it is so 'in all the churches of the saints,' and in all of them (as long as they remain such) the truth and faith is certainly preserved. But then that in the apostolical creed the church is recommended under the notion of catholic, it is of great use and excellent mystery, for by it we understand that in all ages there is, and in all places there may be, a church or collection of true Christians; and this catholic church cannot fail;

[z] Apud Euseb. eccl. hist., lib. v. c. 1. [p. 201.]

[a] Puto quod convenienter hi qui episcopatum bene administrant in ecclesia trabes dici possunt quibus sustentatur et tegitur omne ædificium.—Origen. homil. in Cantica. [lib. iii. tom. iii. p. 69.]

that is, all particular churches shall not fail; for still it is to be observed, there is no church catholic really distinct from all particular churches; and therefore there is no promise made to a church in the capacity of being catholic or universal; for that which hath no distinct being can have no distinct promises, no distinct capacities, but the promises are made to all churches and to every church: only there is this in it, if any church of one denomination shall be cut off, other branches shall stand by faith and still be in the vine: the church of God cannot be without Christ their Head, and the Head will not suffer His body to perish. Thus I understand the meaning of the church's being 'the pillar and ground of truth.' Just as we may say, human understanding, and the experience of mankind, is the pillar and ground of true philosophy: but there is no such abstracted being as human understanding, distinct from the understanding of all individual men. Every universal is but an intentional or notional being: so is the word 'catholic' relating to the church, if it be understood as something separated from all particular churches; and I do not find that it is any other ways used in scripture than in the distributive sense. So S. Paul, 'The care of all the churches is upon me;' that is, he was the apostle of the catholic church of the gentiles; and so 'I teach in all the churches of the saints.' And in this sense it is that I say the apostles have in the creed comprehended all the christian world, all the congregations of Christ's servants, in the word 'catholic.'

2. But then it is to be considered that this epithet of the church to be 'the pillar and ground of truth' is to be understood to signify in opposition to all religions that were not christian. The implied antithesis is not of the whole to its parts, but of kind to kind; it is not so called to distinguish it from conventions of those who disagree in the house of God, but from those that are out of the house; meaning that whatever pretences of religion the gentile temples or the Jewish synagogues could make, truth could not be found among them, but only in those who are assembled in the name of Christ, who profess His faith, and are of the christian religion. For they alone can truly pretend to be the conservers of truth; to them only now are committed the oracles of God, and if these should fail, truth would be at a loss, and not be found in any other assemblies. In this sense S. Paul spake usefully and intelligibly; for if the several conventions of separated and disagreeing Christians should call themselves, as they do and always did, the church, the question would be, which were the church of God; and by this rule you were never the nearer to know where truth is to be found: for if you say, In the church of God, several pretend to it who yet do not teach the truth, and then you must find out what is truth before you find the church. But when the churches of Christians are distinguished from the assemblies of Jews, and Turks, and heathens; she is visible and distinguishable, and notorious: and therefore they that love the

truth of God, the 'saving truth' that 'makes us wise unto salvation,' must become Christians; and in the assemblies of Christians they must look for it as in the proper repository, and there they shall find it.

3. But then it is also considerable, what truth that is of which 'the church of the living God' is the 'pillar and ground'? It is only of the saving truths of the gospel, that whereby they are made members of Christ, the house of God, the temples of the Holy Spirit. For the Spirit of God being the church's teacher, He will teach us to avoid evil and to do good, to be wise and simple, to be careful and profitable, 'to know God, and whom He hath sent Jesus Christ,' to increase in the knowledge and love of them, to be peaceable and charitable, but not to entertain ourselves and our 'weak brethren' 'with doubtful disputations,' but to keep close to the foundation, and to superstruct upon that a holy life; that is, God teaches His church the way of salvation, that which is necessary and that which is useful εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης, that which will 'make us wise unto salvation.' But in this school we are not taught curious questions, unedifying notions, to untie knots which interest and vanity, which pride and covetousness have introduced; these are taught by the devil, to divide the church, and by busying them in that which profits not, to make them neglect the wisdom of God and the holiness of the Spirit. And we see this truth by the experience of above fifteen hundred years. The churches have troubled themselves with infinite variety of questions, and divided their precious unity, and destroyed charity, and instead of contending against the devil and all his crafty methods, they have contended against one another, and excommunicated one another, and anathematized and damned one another; and no man is the better after all, but most men are very much the worse; and the churches are in the world still divided about questions that commenced twelve or thirteen ages since; and they are like to be so for ever till Elias come: which shews plainly that God hath not interested Himself in the revelations of such things, and that He hath given us no means of ending them but charity, and a return to the simple ways of faith. And this is yet the more considerable, because men are so far from finding out a way to end the questions they have made, that the very ways of ending them which they propounded to themselves are now become the greatest questions; and consequently themselves, and all their other unnecessary questions, are indeterminable: their very remedies have increased the disease. And yet we may observe that God's ways are not like ours, and that His ways are the ways of truth, and everlasting; he hath by His wise providence preserved the plain places of scripture, and the apostles' creed in all churches to be the rule and measure of that faith by which the churches are saved, and which is only that means of the unity of Spirit, which is the band of peace in matters of belief. And what have the churches done since? To

what necessary truths are they, after all their clampers, advanced since the apostles left to them that τύπος διδαχῆς, that sound 'form of' words and 'doctrine?' What one 'great thing' is there beyond this, in which they all agree, or in which they can be brought to agree? He that wisely observes the ways of God and the ways of man, will easily perceive that God's goodness prevails over all the malice and all the follies of mankind; and that nothing is to be relied upon as a rule of truth, and the ways of peace, but what Christ hath plainly taught, and the apostles from Him; for He alone is 'the author and finisher of our faith;' He began it, and He perfected it: and unless God had mightily preserved it, we had spoiled it.

Now to bring all this home to the present enquiry. The event and intendment of the premises is this: they who slighting the plain and perfect rule of scripture, rely upon the church as an infallible guide of faith and judge of questions; either by 'the church' mean the congregation and communion of saints, or the outward church mingled of good and bad: and this is intended either to mean a particular church of one name; or by it they understand the catholic church. Now in what sense soever they depend upon the church for decision of questions, expecting an infallible determination and conduct; the church of Rome will find that she relies upon a reed of Egypt, or at least a staff of wool. 1) If by the church they mean the communion of saints only; though the persons of men be visible, yet because their distinctive cognizance is invisible, they can never see their guide; and therefore they can never know whether they go right or wrong. And the sad pressure of this argument Bellarmine[b] saw well enough; "It is necessary," saith he, "it should be infallibly certain to us which assembly of men is the church; for since the scriptures, traditions, and plainly all doctrines depend on the testimony of the church, unless it be most sure which is the true church, all things will be wholly uncertain: but it cannot appear to us which is the true church, if internal faith be required of every member or part of the church." Now how necessary true saving faith or holiness is (which Bellarmine calls 'internal faith'), I refer myself to the premises. It is not the church, unless the members of the church be members of Christ, living members; for the church is truly Christ's living body. And yet if they by church mean any thing else, they cannot be assured of an infallible guide; for all that are not the true servants of God have no promise of the abode of the Spirit of truth with them: so that the true church cannot be a public judge of questions to men, because God only knows her numbers and her members; and the church in the other sense, if she be made a judge, she is very likely to be deceived herself, and therefore cannot be relied upon by you; for the promise of an infallible Spirit, the

[b] [Lib. iii. de eccl. milit., cap. 10. sect. 'Ad hæc, necesse est.' [tom. ii. col. 173.]

Spirit of truth, was never made to any but to the communion of saints. 2) If by the church you mean any particular church, which will you choose? since every such church is esteemed fallible. 3) But if you mean the catholic church: then if you mean her, an abstracted separate being from all particulars, you pursue a cloud and fall in love with an idea and a child of fancy; but if by 'catholic' you mean all particular churches in the world, then though truth does infallibly dwell amongst them, yet you can never go to school to them all to learn it, in such questions which are curious and unnecessary, and by which the salvation of souls is not promoted, and on which it does not rely: not only because God never intended His saints and servants should have an infallible Spirit, so to no purpose; but also because no man can hear what all the Christians of the world do say; no man can go to them, nor consult with them all; nor ever come to the knowledge of their opinions and particular sentiments. And therefore in this enquiry to talk of 'the church' in any of the present significations, is to make use of a word that hath no meaning serving to the end of this great enquiry.

III. The church of Rome, to provide for this necessity, have thought of a way to find out such a church as may salve[c] this phenomenon, and by 'church' they mean the representation of a church; the church representative is this infallible guide; the clergy, they are the church; the teaching and the judging church. And of these we may better know what is truth in all our questions; for 'their lips are to preserve knowledge;' and they are to 'rule and feed' the rest; and 'the people must require the law from them,' and must 'follow their faith[d].' Indeed this was a good way once, even in the days of the apostles, who were faithful stewards of the mysteries of God. And the apostolical men, the first bishops who did preach the faith, and lived accordingly, these are to be 'remembered,' that is, their lives to be transcribed, their faith and perseverance in faith is to be imitated. To this purpose is that of S. Irenæus[e] to be understood, *Tantæ ostensiones cum sint, non oportet adhuc quærere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab ecclesia sumere; cum apostoli quasi in depositorium dives plenissime in eam contulerint omnia quæ sint veritatis, uti omnis quicumque velit sumat ex ea potum vitæ: hæc est enim vitæ introitus; omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones, propter quod oportet devitare quidem illos.* As long as the apostles lived, as long as those bishops lived who, being their disciples, did evidently and notoriously teach the doctrine of Christ, and were of that communion; so long they, that is, the apostolical churches, were a sure way to follow; because it was known and confessed, these clergy guides had an infallible unerring spirit. But as the church hath decayed in discipline, and charity hath waxen cold, and faith is become interest and disputation, this counsel of the apostle, and these

[c] [sic edd.] [d] [Heb. xiii. 7.] [e] Lib. iii. cap. 4. in principio. [p. 178.]

words of S. Irenæus, come off still the fainter. But now here is a new question, viz., whether the rulers of the church be 'the church,' that church which is 'the pillar and ground of truth;' whether when they represent the diffusive church, the promises of an indeficient faith, and the perpetual 'abode of the holy Spirit,' and His 'leading into all truth,' and 'teaching all things,' does in propriety belong to them? For if they do not, then we are yet to seek for an infallible judge, a church on which our faith may rely with certainty and infallibility.

In answer to which, I find that in scripture the word *ecclesia* or 'church' is taken in contra-distinction from the clergy, but never that it is used to signify them alone. "Then it pleased the apostles and the elders with the whole church to choose men of their own company[f]," &c.; and, "The holy Ghost hath made you overseers to feed the church of God[g]." And Hilarius Diac.[h] observes that the apostle to the church of Coloss[i] sent by them a message to their bishop, *Præpositum illorum per eos ipsos commonet ut sit sollicitus de salute ipsorum; et quia plebis solius causa epistola scribitur, ideo non ad rectorem ipsorum destinata est, sed ad ecclesiam:* observing that the bishop is the ruler of the church, but his flock is that which he intended only to signify by 'the church.' The clergy in their public capacity are not the church, but the rulers of the church, *ecclesiastici* but not *ecclesia;* they are denominatives of the church, bishops and pastors of the church, and in their personal capacity are but parts and members of the church; and are never in the New testament called 'the church' indefinitely: and this is so notorious and evident in scripture that it is never pretended otherwise, but in S. Matthew xviii., *Dic ecclesiæ,* 'if thy brother offend thee, rebuke him; and then before two or three; and if he neglect them, tell it unto the church,' that is, to 'the rulers of the church,' say the Roman doctors. But this cannot be directly so, for *ecclesia* or 'church' is the highest degree of the same ascent; first in private, to one of the church surely, for they had no society with any else, especially in the matter of fraternal correption: then in the company of some few (of the church still, for not to heathens:) and at last, of the whole church, that is, of all the brethren in your public assembly. This is a natural climax; and it is made more than probable by the nature of the punishment of the incorrigible; they become as heathen, because they have slighted the whole church; and therefore are not to be reckoned as any part of the church. And then lastly, this being an advice given to S. Peter and the other apostles, that they in this case should 'tell the church;' by 'the church' must be meant something distinct from the clergy, who are not here commanded to tell themselves alone, but the whole congregation of elders and brethren,

[f] [Acts xv. 22.]
[g] [Acts xx. 28.]
[h] In Col. iv. 17. [In opp. Ambros., tom. ii. append., col. 276 E.]
[i] [sic edd.]

that is, of clergy and people. It is not to be denied but every national church, whereof the king is always understood to be the supreme governor, may change their form of judicature, in things (I mean) 'that are without;' that is, such things which are not immediately by Christ intrusted to the sole conduct of the bishops and priests, such as are the ministry of the word and sacraments, and the immediate cure of souls. Concerning other things S. Paul gave order to the Corinthians that in the cases of law, and matters of secular division upon interest, which the apostle calls *βιωτικὰ κριτήρια*, 'those who are least esteemed in the church[k]' should be appointed to judge between them by way of reference. But by the way, this does not authorize the rulers of churches, the pastors and bishops to intermeddle; for they are 'most esteemed,' that is, the principals in the church; but then this very thing proves that the *κριτήριον* or the duty and right of judging is in the whole church of the saints; *οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι κόσμον κρινοῦσι*, 'know ye not that the saints shall judge the world?' that is, the church hath the power of judging; and it is yet more plain, because he calls upon the church of Corinth to delegate this judicature, this *κριτήριον ἐλάχιστον*, this little, this 'least judgment,' though now it is esteemed the greatest; but little or great, *καθίζετε*, 'do you appoint' the judges, 'those that are least esteemed.' And for other things they may appoint greater judges, and put their power in execution by such ministries which are better done by one or by a few persons, than by a whole multitude; who in the declension of piety would rather make tumults than wise judgments. And upon this account, though for a long time the people did interest themselves in public judicatures, and even in elections of bishops, which were matters greater than any of the *βιωτικὰ κριτήρια*, and this S. Cyprian[l] said was their due by divine right, (let him answer for the expression,) yet in these affairs the people were also conducted, and so ought to be, by their clergy-guides, who by their abilities to persuade and govern them were the fittest for the execution of that power. But then that which I say is this, that this word *ecclesia* or 'church' signifying this judicatory, does not signify the clergy as distinct from their flocks; and there is not any instance in the New testament to any such purpose; and yet that the clergy may also reasonably, but with a metonymy, be represented by the word 'church,' is very true; but this is only by the change of words and their first significations. They are the fittest to order and conduct the *ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κριτήρια*, the whole ecclesiastical judicature. *Ut omnis actus ecclesiæ per præpositos gubernetur*, it is S. Cyprian's[m] expression, 'that whatever act the church intends to do, it should be governed by their rulers;' viz., by consent, by preach-

[k] [1 Cor. vi. 2—4.]

[l] Vide S. Cypr., ep. lxviii. [al. lxvii. p. 172.]; xxxii. [leg. lii. al. lv. p. 104.]; xxviii. [al. xxxiv. p. 68.—See 'Episcopacy asserted,' § xl.—vol. v. p. 164 sqq.]

[m] Epist. xxvii. [al. xxxiii. p. 66.]

ing, by exhortation, by reason and experience, and better knowledge of things: but the people are to stand or fall at these judicatories, not because God hath given them the judgment of an infallible spirit, more than to the whole church or congregation: but because they are fittest to do it, and for many other great reasons. And this appears without contradiction true, because even the decrees of general councils bind not but as they are accepted by the several churches in their respective districts and dioceses: of which I am to give an account in the following periods.

But if this thing were otherwise; yet if by the church they understand the clergy only, it must be all the clergy that must be the judge of spiritual questions; for no example is offered from the N. T., no instance can be produced that by *ecclesia* is meant the clergy, and by clergy is meant only a part of the clergy; these cannot in any sense be the catholic church: and then, if this sense were obtained by the church of Rome, no man were the better unless all the bishops and priests of the world were consulted in their questions.

Of councils and their authority.

IV. They therefore think it necessary to do as God did to Gideon's army; they will not make use of all, but send away the multitude, and retain the ten thousand; and yet because these are too many to overthrow the Midianites, they reduce them to three hundred. The church must have a representative; but this shall be of a select number; a few, but enough to make a council. A general council is the church representative, and it is pretended here they can set their foot, and stand fast upon infallibility; for all the promises made to the church are crowded into the tenure and possession of a general council: and therefore, *Dic ecclesiæ* is, 'tell it to the council, that's the church,' said a great expositor[n] of the canon law.

This indeed is said by very many of the Roman doctors, but not by all; and therefore this will at first seem but a trembling foundation, and themselves are doubtful in their confidences of it; and there is an insuperable prejudice laid against it by the title of the first general council that ever was, that I mean of Jerusalem[o], where the apostles were presidents, and the presbyters were assistants, but the church was the body of the council. "When they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders:" and again, "Then it pleased the apostles and elders with the church to send chosen men;" and they did so, they sent a decretal, with this style, "The apostles, and elders, and brethren, send greeting to the brethren which are of the gentiles." Now no man doubts but the spirit of infallibility was in the apostles, and yet they had the consent of the church in the decree, which church was the company of the converted brethren; and by this it became a

[n] [Guido] Archidiac. in cap. 'Præcipue, [caus.] xi. q. 3. [f. 213 b.] [o] [Acts xv.]

rule:-certainly it was the first precedent, and therefore ought to be the measure of the rest, and this the rather because from hence the succeeding councils have derived their sacramental sanction of *Visum est Spiritui sancto et nobis.* Now as it was the first, so it was the only precedent in scripture, and it was managed by the apostles, and therefore we can have no other warrant of an authentic council but this: and to think that a few of the rulers of churches should be a just representation of the church for infallible determination of all questions of faith, is no way warranted in scripture; and there is neither here nor any where else any word or commission that the church ever did or could delegate the Spirit to any representatives, or pass infallibility by a commission or letter of attorney: and therefore to call a general council 'the church,' or to think that all the privileges and graces given by Christ to His church is there in a part of the church, is wholly without warrant or authority.

But this is made manifest by matter of fact; and the church never did intend to delegate any such power, but always kept it in her own hand; I mean the supreme judicature, both in faith and discipline. I shall not go far for instances, but observe some in the Roman church itself, which are therefore the more remarkable, because in the time of her reign, general councils were arrived to great heights, and the highest pretensions. Clement the seventh[r] calls the council of Ferrara the eighth general synod, in his bull of the twenty-second of April, 1527[s], directed to the bishop of Farnasia, who it seems had translated it out of Greek into Latin: yet this general council is not accepted in France, but was expressly rejected by king Charles the seventh, and the instance of the cardinals who came from P. Eugenius to desire the acceptation of it, was denied. This council was, it seems, begun at Basil[t]; and though the king did then, and his great council and parliament, and the church of France then assembled at Bruges[u], accept it; yet it was but in part; for of forty-five sessions of that council, France hath received only the first thirty-two, and those not entirely as they lie, but with certain qualifications, *Aliqua simpliciter ut jacent, alia vero cum certis modificationibus et formis,* as is to be seen in the Pragmatic Sanction. To the same purpose is that which happened to the last council of Lateran, which was called to be a countermine to the second council of Pisa, and to frustrate the intended reformation of the church in head and members; this council excommunicated Lewis the twelfth of France, repealed the Pragmatical Sanction, and condemned the second council of Pisa; so that here was an end of the council of Pisa by the decree of the

[r] [For the facts mentioned in the following page, see 'Revieu,' &c., as in p. 276, note s, above.]

[s] Vide edit. Roman. actorum generalis octavæ synodi, per Anton. Bladium 1526. [This reference is taken from the 'Revieu,' &c., see preceding note.]

[t] A.D. 1431.

[u] [leg. 'Bourges.' Taylor read the 'Revieu' ('Revision' is the right name in French) in an English translation, 1638; where the mistake occurs.]

Lateran. And on the other side the Lateran council had as bad a fate; for besides that it was accounted in Germany, and so called by Paulus Langius[x] a monk of Germany, 'a pack of cardinals[y];' it is wholly rejected in France, and an appeal to the next council put in against it by the university of Paris. And as ill success hath happened to the council of Trent; which it seems could not oblige the Roman catholic countries without their own consent, but therefore there were many pressing instances, messages, petitions, and artifices to get it to be published in France. First to Charles the ninth, by Pius quartus, An. Dom. 1563; then by cardinal Aldobrandino[z] the pope's nephew, 1572; then by the French clergy, 1576, in an assembly of the states at Blois, Peter Espinac archbishop of Lyons being speaker for the clergy; after this, by the French clergy at Melun, 1579, the bishop of Bazas making the oration to the king; and after him, the same year they pressed it again, Nicolas Angelier the bishop of Brieu being speaker. After this, by Renald of Beaune, archbishop of Bruges[a], 1582, and the very next year by the pope's nuncio to Henry the third. And in A.D. 1585, and -88, and -93[b], it was pressed again and again; but all would not do. By which it appears that even in the church of Rome the authority of general councils is but precarious[c]; and that the last resort is to the respective churches, who did or did not send their delegates to consider and consent. Here then is but little ground of confidence in general councils; whom surely the churches would absolutely trust if they had reason to believe them to be infallible.

But there are many more things to be considered. For there being many sorts of councils; general, provincial, national, diocesan[d]; the first enquiry will be which of all these, or whether all of these, will be an infallible guide, and of necessity to be obeyed. I doubt not but it will be roundly answered that only the general councils are the last and supreme judicatory, and that alone which is infallible.

1. But yet how uncertain this rule will be, appears in this, that the gloss of the canon law[e] says, *Non videtur metropolitanos posse condere canones in suis conciliis;* at least not in great matters, *imo non licet:* yet the seventh synod[f] allows the decrees, *decisiones localium conciliorum,* 'the definitions of local councils.' But I suppose it is in these as it is in the general: they that will accept them, may; and if they will approve the decrees of provincial councils, they be-

x In chron. Citizensi, A.D. 1512. [In rer. German. scriptor. per Struvium, tom. i. p. 1280. fol. Ratisb. 1726.]
y ['Conciliabulum cardinalium.']
z [leg. 'Alessandrino.']
a [See note u, above.]
b Vide Thuan. hist., lib. cv. [cap. 21. tom. v. p. 239.] et Revieu du concile de Trente, lib. i. [cap. 2. p. 26 sqq. Vid. p. 276, not. s, supra.]
c [See vol. iv. p. 589, note l.]
d Gratian. dist. 3. can. 'Porro.' [col. 9.]
e Ubi supra.
f Act. iii. [tom. iv. col. 148.]

come a law unto themselves; and without this acceptation, general councils cannot give laws to others.

2. It will be hard to tell which are general councils, and which are not; for the Roman councils under Symmachus all the world knows can but pretend to be local or provincial, consisting only of Italians, and yet they bear 'universal' in their style, and it is always said (as Bellarmine[g] confesses) *Symmachus concilio generali præsidens;* and the third council of Toledo, in the eighteenth chapter, uses this mandatory form, *Præcipit hæc sancta et universalis synodus.*

3. But if we will suppose a *catachresis* in this style, and that this title of 'universal' means but a 'particular,' that is, an universal of that place; though this be a hard expression, because the most particular or local councils are or may be universal to that place; yet this may be pardoned, since it is like the 'catholic Roman' style, that is, the manner of speaking in the universal particular church; but after all this, it will be very hard in good earnest to tell which councils are indeed universal or general councils. Bellarmine[h] reckons eighteen from Nicene to Trent inclusively; so that the council of Florence is the sixteenth; and yet pope Clement the seventh calls it the eighth general; and is reproved for it by Surius, who, for all the pope's infallibility, pretended to know more than the pope would allow. The last Lateran council, viz., the fifth, is at Rome esteemed a general council; in Germany and France it passes for none at all, but a faction and 'pack of cardinals[i].'

4. There are divers general councils[k] that though they were such, yet they are rejected by almost all the christian world. It ought not to be said that these are not general councils because they were conventions of heretical persons, for if a council can consist of heretical persons (as by this instance it appears it may) then a general council is no sure rule or ground of faith. And all those councils which Bellarmine calls 'reprobate' are so many proofs of this. For whatever can be said against the council of Ariminum; yet[l] they cannot say but it consisted of DC. bishops, and therefore it was as general as any ever was before it; but the faults that are found with it prove indeed that it is not to be accepted: but then they prove two things more; first, that a general council binds not till it be accepted by the churches, and therefore that all its authority depends on them, and they do not depend upon it; and secondly, that there are some general councils which are so far from being infallible, that they are directly false, schismatical, and heretical. And if when the churches are divided in a question, and the communion, like the question, is in flux and reflux; when one side prevails greatly, they get a general council on their side, and prevail by it; but lose as much when the

[g] Lib. i. c. 4. de concil. et eccles., sect. 'Vocantur enim.' [tom. ii. col. 4.]

[h] [Ibid., cap. v. col. 5.]

[i] [note y, above.]

[k] [With these pages compare 'Liberty of Prophesying,' § 6.]

[l] [sic edd.—See note to p. 309 above.]

other side play the same game in the day of their advantages. And it will be to no purpose to tell me of any collateral advantages that this council hath more than another council; for though I believe so, yet others do not, and their council is as much a general council to them as our council is to us. And therefore if general councils are the rule and law of faith in those things they determine, then all that is to be considered in this affair, is whether they be general councils. Whether they say true or no, is not now the question, but is to be determined by this, viz., whether are they general councils or no; for relying upon their authority for the truth, if they be satisfied that they are general councils, that they speak and determine truth will be consequent and allowed. Now then if this be the question, then since divers general councils are reprobated, the consequent is that although they be general councils, yet they may be reproved. And if a catholic producing the Nicene council be r'encontred[m] by an Arian producing the council of Ariminum, which was far more numerous; here are

—aquilis aquilæ et pila minantia pilis[n];

but who shall prevail? If a general council be the rule and guide, they will both prevail; that is, neither. And it ought not to be said by the catholic, 'Yea, but our council determined for the truth, but yours for error,' for the Arian will say so too. But whether they do or no, yet it is plain that they may both say so: and if they do, then we do not find the truth out by the conduct and decision of a general council; but we approve this general, because upon other accounts we believe that what is there defined is true. And therefore S. Austin's way here is best, *Neque ego Nicænum concilium neque tu Ariminense, &c.* Both sides pretend to general councils: that which both equally pretend to, will help neither; therefore let us go to scripture. But there are amongst many others two very considerable instances, by which we may see plainly at what rate councils are declared general.—There was a council held at C. P.[o] under Constantinus Copronymus of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops. It was in that unhappy time when the question of worshipping or breaking images was disputed. This council commanded images to be destroyed out of churches; and this was a general council: and yet twenty-six, or as some say thirty-one[p] years after, this was condemned by another general council, viz., the second at Nice, which decreed images to be worshipped; not long after, about five years, this general council at Nice for that very reason was condemned by a general council of Francfort, and generally by the western churches. Now of what value is a general council to the determination of questions of faith, when one general council

[m] [sic ed.]
[n] [vid. Lucan. Phars., lib. i. lin. 7.]
[o] A.D. 755. [See p. 153, note b, above.]
[p] A.D. 786 aut 789.

condemns another general council with great liberty, and without scruple. And it is to no purpose to allege reasons or excuses why this or that council is condemned, for if they be general, and yet may without reason be condemned, then they have no authority; but if they be condemned with reason, then they are not infallible.—The other instance[q] is in those councils which were held when the dispute began between the council and the pope. The council of Constance, consisting of almost a thousand fathers first and last, defined the council to be above the pope; the council of Florence, and the fifth council in the Lateran, have condemned this council so far, as to that article. The council of Basil, all the world knows how greatly they asserted their own authority over the pope; but therefore though in France it is accepted, yet in Italy and Spain it is not.

But what is the meaning that some councils are partly approved and partly condemned[q], the council of Sardis[r], that in Trullo, those of Francfort, Constance, and Basil, but that every man, and every church accepts the general councils as far as they please, and no further? The Greeks receive but seven general councils, the Lutherans receive six, the Eutychians in Asia receive but the first three, the Nestorians in the east receive but the first two, the Anti-trinitarians in Hungary and Poland receive none. The church of England receives the four first generals[s] as of highest regard, not that they are infallible, but that they have determined wisely and holily.

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata,—

It is as every one likes: for the church of Rome that receives sixteen, are divided; and some take in others, and reject some of these, as I have shewn.

5. How can it be known which is a general council, and how many conditions are required for the building such a great house? The question is worth the asking, not only because the church of Rome teaches us to rely upon a general council as the supreme judge and final determiner of questions; but because I perceive that the church of Rome is at a loss concerning general councils. The council of Pisa Bellarmine[t] says is 'neither approved, nor reproved;' for pope Alexander the sixth approved it, because he acknowledged the election of Alexander the fifth, who was created pope by that council: and yet Antoninus called it *Conciliabulum illegitimum*, 'an unlawful conventicle.' But here Bellarmine was a little forgetful; for the fifth Lateran council, which they in Rome will call a general, hath condemned this Pisan, with great interest and fancy; and therefore it was 'both approved and reproved.'

But it is fit that it be enquired, how we shall know which, or

[q] [Cf. 'Liberty of Prophesying,' § 6. n. 6. vol. v. p. 452.]

[r] [leg. 'Sardica.'—See vol. v. Table of Contents, fin.]

[s] [See vol. v. p. 197, note i.]

[t] A.D. 1409. de concil. et eccles., lib. i. c. 8. [tom. ii. col. 16.]

what, is a general council, and which is not. First, if we enquire into the number of the bishops there present, we cannot find any certain rule for that: but be they many or few, the parties interested will, if they please, call it a general council. And they will not, dare not, I suppose, at Rome make a quarrel upon that point; when in the sixth session of Trent, as some printed catalogues[u] inform us, they may remember there were but thirty-eight persons in all at their first sitting down, of which number some were not bishops; and at last there were but fifty-seven archbishops and bishops in all; in the first session were but three archbishops and twenty-three bishops, and in all the rest about sixty archbishops and bishops was the usual number till the last. And yet there are some councils of far greater antiquity who are rejected, although their number of bishops very far surpass the numbers of Trent; in Nice were three hundred and eighteen bishops; in that of Chalcedon were six hundred, and in that of Basil were above four hundred bishops, and in that of Constance were three hundred, besides the other fathers as they call them. But this is but one thing of many; though it will be very hard to think that all the power and energy, the virtual faith, and potential infallibility of the whole christian church should be in eighty or ninety bishops taken out of the neighbour countries.

6. But then if we consider upon what pitiful pretences the Roman doctors do evacuate the authority of councils; we shall find them to be such, that by the like, which can never be wanting to a witty person, the authority of every one of them may be vilified, and consequently they can be infallible security to no man's faith. Charles the seventh of France and the French church assembled at Bruges[x], rejected the latter sessions of the council of Basil, because they deprived P. Eugenius, and created Felix the fifth; and because it was doubtful whether that assembly did sufficiently represent the catholic church. But Bellarmine[y] says that the former sessions of the council of Basil are invalid and null, because certain bishops fell off there, and were faulty. Now if this be a sufficient cause of nullity, then if ever there be a schism or but a division of opinions, the other party may deny the authority of the council; and especially if any of them change their opinion, and go to the prevailing side, the other hath the same cause of complaint: but this ought not at all to prevail till it be agreed how many bishops must be present; for if some fail, if enough remain, there is no harm done to the authority. But because any thing is made use of for an excuse; it is a sure sign they are but pretended more than regarded, but just when they serve men's turns. The council of C. P. under Leo Isaurus[z] is rejected by the Romanists, because there was no patriarch present but S. German; though all the world knows the reason is because they decreed against images.

[u] A.D. 1546.
[x] [See p. 356, note u, above.]
[y] [Ubi supra, cap. 7. col. 16.]
[z] [See 'Liberty of Prophesying,' § 6. n. 5. vol. v. p. 452.]

But if the other were a good reason, then it is necessary that all the old patriarchs should be present; and if this be true, then the general council of Ephesus is null, because all the patriarchs were not present at it, and particularly the patriarch of Antioch; and in that of Chalcedon there wanted the patriarch of Alexandria. And the first of C. P. could not have all the patriarchs, neither could it be representative of the whole church, because at the same time there was another council at Rome. And, which is worse to the Romanists than all that, the council of Trent upon this and a thousand more is invalid, because themselves reckon but three patriarchs there present; one was of Venice, another of Aquileia, and the third was only a titular of Jerusalem; none of which were really any of the old patriarchs whose authority was so great in the ancient councils.

7. It is impossible as things are now that a general council should be a sure rule or judge of faith, since it can never be agreed who of necessity are to be called, and who have decisive voices in councils. At Rome[a] they allow none but bishops to give sentence and to subscribe: and yet anciently not only the emperors and their embassadors did subscribe; but lately at Florence, Lateran, and Trent, cardinals and bishops, abbots and generals of orders did subscribe; and in the council of Basil priests had decisive voices, and it is notorious that the ancient councils were subscribed by the Archimandrites who were but abbots, not bishops; and cardinal Jacobatius[b] affirms that sometimes laymen were admitted to councils, to be judges between those that disputed some deep questions. Nay, Gerson says that controversies of faith were sometimes referred to pagan philosophers, who though they believed it not, yet supposing it such, they determined what was the proper consequent of such principles; which the Christians consented in: and he says it was so in the council of Nice, as is left unto us upon record[c]. And Eutropius a pagan was chosen judge between Origen and the Marcionites, and against these he gave sentence, and in behalf of Origen. Certain it is that the states of Germany in their diet at Noremberg propounded to pope Adrian the sixth that laymen might be admitted as well as the clergy and freely to declare their judgments without hindrance. And this was no new matter: for it was practised in all nations; in Germany, France, England, and Spain itself; as who please may see in the sixth, eighth, and twelfth councils of Toledo. So that it is apparent that the Romanists, though now they do not, yet formerly they did[d]; and were certainly in the right: and if any man shall think otherwise, he can never be sure that they were in the wrong: especially when he shall consider that the council of the apostles not only admitted

[a] Bellarm., lib. i. de concil. et eccles., cap. 15. sect. 'At catholicorum.' [col. 36.]

[b] Lib. ii. de concil., art. 6. [In tractat. univers. jur., tom. xiii. part. 1. fol. 222 b.]

[c] Socrat., lib. i. c. 5. eccles. hist. [Socrates only says (c. 8) that there were laymen in the council.]

[d] Vide Marsil. Patav. in defens. pacis, part. ii. c. 20. [In Goldast. monarch. sacr. Rom. imp., tom. iii. p. 256.]

presbyters, but the laity, who were parties in the decree, as is to be seen in the Acts of the apostles[e]; and that for this there was also a very great precedent in the Old testament in a case perfectly like it, when Elijah[f] appealed to the people to judge between God and Baal, which of them was the Lord, by answering by fire.

8. But how if the church be divided in a question which hath caused so great disturbances that it is thought fit to call a council? Here will be an eternal uncertainty: if they call both sides, they will never agree; if they call but one, then they are parties and judges too. In the general council of Sardis[g], by command of the two emperors Constans and Constantius, all bishops, catholic and Arians, were equally admitted; so it was also both at Ariminum and Seleucia; and so it was at Ferrara, where the Greeks and Latins sat together. But if one side only exclude all the adversaries, and declare them criminals beforehand, as it happened at Trent and Dort, how is that one party a representative of the church, when so great a part of christendom is not consulted, not heard, not suffered?

9. Suppose, a council being called, the bishops be divided in their opinion, how shall the decision be? By the major number of voices, surely. But how much the major? shall one alone above the equal number carry it? That were strange, that one man should determine the faith of christendom. Must there be two thirds, as it was propounded in Trent in some cases; but if this be, who shall make any man sure that the Holy Spirit of God shall go over to those two thirds, and leave the remaining party to themselves? and who can ascertain us that the major part is the more wise and more holy, or if they be not, yet that they shall speak more truth? But in this also the doctors are uncertain and divided; and how little truth is to be given to the major part in causes of faith, the Roman doctors may learn from their own abbot of Panormo[h], and the chancellor of Paris; the first saying, 'The opinion of one godly man ought to be preferred before the pope's, if it be grounded upon better authorities of the Old and New testament:' and the latter saying, 'Every learned man may and ought to withstand a whole council, if he perceive it errs of malice or ignorance.'

10. The world is not yet agreed in whose power it is to call the councils; and if it be done by an incompetent authority, the whole convention is schismatical, and therefore not to be trusted as a judge of consciences and questions of faith. The emperors always did it of old, and the popes of late; but let this be agreed first, and then let the other questions come before them; till then, we cannot be sure.

11. Lastly, if general councils be supposed to be the rule and measure of faith, christendom must needs be in a sad condition and

[e] [cap. xv. 22 sq.]
[f] [1 Kings xviii.]
[g] [Vid. p. 360, note r, above.] Socrat., lib. ii. cap. 20. Sozomen., lib. iii. c. 10.
[h] Panorm. in cap. 'Significasti.' de elect. [Decret., part. i. fol. 121 a.]

state of doubt for ever; not only because a council is not called, it may be, in two or three ages, but because no man can be sure that all things are observed which men say are necessary; neither did the several churches ever agree what was necessary, nor did they ever agree to set down the laws and conditions requisite to their being such: and therefore they have well and wisely comported themselves in this, that never any general council did declare that a general council is infallible. Indeed Bellarmine labours greatly to prove it out of scripture: his best argument is the promise that Christ made, that "when two or three are gathered in My name, I will be in the midst of them;" and "I will be with you to the end of the world." Now to these authorities I am now no other way to answer but by observing that these arguments do as much prove every christian meeting of any sort of good Christians to be as infallible as a council, and that a diocesan council is as sure a guide as a general: and it is impossible from those or any other like words of Christ to prove the contrary; and therefore gives us no certainty here.

V. But if general councils in themselves be so uncertain, yet the Roman doctors now at last are come to some certainty; for if the pope confirm a council, then it is right and true, and the church is a rule which can never fail, and never can deceive, or leave men in uncertainty; for a spirit of infallibility is then in the churches representative, when head and members are joined together. This is their last stress, and if this cord break they have nothing to hold them.

Now for this, there are divers great considerations which will soon put this matter to issue. For although this be the new device of the court of Rome, and the pope's flatterers, especially the Jesuits, and that this never was so much as probably proved, but boldly affirmed and weakly grounded; yet this is not defined as a doctrine of the Roman church. For,

1. We find Bellarmine[1] reckoning six cases of necessity or utility of calling general councils; and four of them are of that nature that the pope is either not in being, or else is a party, the person to be judged: as 1) if there be a schism amongst the popes of Rome, as when there happen to be two or three popes together; which happened in the councils of Constance and Basil. Or 2) if the pope of Rome be suspected of heresy. Or 3) when there is great necessity of reformation of manners in head and members; which hath been so notoriously called for above four hundred years. Or 4) if the election of the pope be questioned.—Now in these cases it is impossible that the consent of the pope should be necessary to make up the authority of the council, since the pope is the *pars rea*, and the council is the only judge. And of this there can be no question: and therefore the pope's authority is not necessary, nor of avail to make the council valid.

[1] Lib. iii. [leg. i.] cap. 9. de concil. et ecclesia. [tom. ii. col. 17.]

2. If the pope's approbation of the council make it to be an infallible guide, then since without it it is not infallible, not yet the supreme judicatory, it follows that the pope is above the council: which is a thing very uncertain in the church of Rome; but it hath been denied in divers general councils, as by the first Pisan; by the council of Constance, the fourth and fifth sessions; by the council of Basil in the second, the sixteenth and eighteenth and thirty-third sessions; by the council of Bruges[k] under Charles the seventh, and by the Pragmatic Sanction: all which have declared that 'a general council hath its authority immediately from Christ (and consequently not depending on the pope) and that it is necessary that every person in what dignity soever, though papal, should be obedient to it in things that concern faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church of God both in head and members.' This is the decree of the council of Constance[l]; which also adds further that 'whosoever shall neglect to obey the commands, statutes, ordinances and decrees of this or any other general council lawfully assembled, in the things aforesaid or thereunto pertaining' (viz., in matters of faith or manners) 'made or to be made, if he do not repent of it, he shall undergo a condign penance; yea, and with recourse to other remedies of law against him, of what condition, estate or dignity soever he be, though he be the pope.' The same was confirmed in the council of Lausanna, and the second Pisan in the third session: so that here are six general councils all declaring the pope to be inferior and submitted to a council; they created popes in some of them, they decreed when councils should be called, they judged popes, they deposed them, they commanded their obedience, they threatened to impose penances if they obeyed not, and to proceed to further remedies in law; and the second Pisan, beside the former particulars, declared that the synod neither could nor should be dissolved without their universal consent; nevertheless, by the common consent it might be removed to a place of safety, especially with the pope, if he could be got to consent thereunto; always provided it be not at Rome. And yet this very council was approved and commended by pope Alexander the fifth, as both Platina[m] and Nauclerus[n] witness: and the council of Constance was called by pope John the twenty-third; he presided in it, and was for his wicked life deposed by it[o]; and yet Platina, in his life, says he approved it; and after him so did pope Martin the fifth (as is to be seen in the last session[p] of that council) and Eugenius the fourth[q]; and the council of Basil, and Lausanna, was confirmed by pope Nicolas the fifth[r], as is to be seen in his bull; and not only pope Martin the fifth[s], but pope

[k] [p. 356, note u, above.]
[l] [Sess. v. tom. viii. col. 258.]
[m] Platina in Alex. quinto. [p. 282. 4to. Colon. Ubior. 1600.]
[n] Naucler. [chron.] tom. ii. generat. 47. [p. 1040. fol. Colon. 1579.]
[o] [Sess. xii. tom. viii. col. 376.]
[p] [Sess. xlv. tom. viii. col. 900.]
[q] Vide sess. xvi. [col. 1172.]
[r] [col. 1307.]
[s] [Conc. Basil. sess. i. cap. 8, sq. col. 1112 sqq.]

Eugenius the fourth[u], approved the council of Basil. It were a needless trouble to reckon the consenting testimonies of many learned divines and lawyers, bearing witness to the council's superiority over popes. More material it is that many famous universities, particularly that of Paris, Erfurdt, Cologne, Vienna, Cracovia, all unanimously did affirm the power of general councils over popes, and principally for this thing relied upon the authority of the general councils of Constance and Basil.

Now if a general council, confirmed by a pope, be a rule or judge of faith and manners; then this is an article of faith, that the authority of a general council does not depend upon the pope but on Christ immediately; and then the pope's confirmation does not make it valid any more than the confirmation or consent of the other patriarchs for their respective provinces. For here are many councils, and they confirmed by divers popes.

But that it may appear how uncertain all even the greatest things are at Rome, cardinal Cajetan wrote a book[x] against this doctrine, and against the councils of Constance, Basil, and Pisa, and Gerson the chancellor of Paris; which book king Lewis the twelfth of France required the university of Paris to examine, which they did to very good purpose. And the latter popes of Rome have used their utmost diligence to disgrace and nullify all these councils, and to stifle the voice and consciences of all men, and to trample general councils under their feet. Now how can the souls of christian people put their questions and differences to their determination, who themselves are biting and scratching one another? He was likely to prove but an ill physician who gave advices to a woman that had gotten a cold, when himself could scarce speak for coughing. I am not concerned here to say what I think of the question, or whether the council or the pope be in the right; for I think, as to the power of determining matters of faith infallibly, they are both in the wrong. But that which I observe is that the church of Rome is greatly divided about their judge of controversies, and are never like to make an end of it unless one party be beaten into a good compliant belief with the other. I shall only add a conclusion to these premises in the words of Bellarmine[y], *Si concilia generalia possent errare, nullum esset in ecclesia firmum judicium quo controversiæ componi et unitas in ecclesia servari posset,* 'if a general council can err, there is no sure judgment in church for the composing controversies, and preserving unity.' I shall not need to take advantage of these words by observing that Bellarmine hath by them evacuated all the authority of the pope's defining questions *in cathedra;* for if a general council can fail, nothing amongst them can be certain. This is that which I observe; that since this thing is rendered so uncertain upon the

[u] [Sess. xvi. col. 1172.]

[x] De comparatione auctoritatis papæ et concilii. [fol. Lugd. 1562.]

[y] De concil. auctor., lib. ii. c. 4. sect. 'Accedat.' [tom. ii. col. 73.]

stock of their own wranglings, and not agreeing upon which are general councils; one part condemning some, which very many others among them acknowledge for such: it is impossible by their own doctrine that they can have any place where to set their foot, and say, 'Here I fix upon a rock, and cannot be moved.' And there being so many conditions required, and so many ways of failing laid to their charge, and many more that may be found out; and it being impossible that we can be infallibly assured that none of them hath happened in any general council that comes to be questioned: how can any man rely upon the decision of a council as infallible, of which he cannot ever be infallibly assured that it hath proceeded *concilia-riter* (as Bellarmine's new word is), or that it hath in it nothing that does evacuate or lessen its authority. And after all this, suppose we are all agreed about any convention, and allow it to be a general council; yet they do not always end the questions when they have defined them; and the decrees themselves make a new harvest of uncertainties. Of this we have too many witnesses, even all the questions which in the world are made concerning the sense and meaning of the decrees and canons in the respective councils. And when Andreas Vega, and Dominicus a Soto, and Soto, and Catharinus (who were all present at the council of Trent[z], and understood the meaning of the council as well as any, except the legates and their secret *junto*), wrote books against one another, and both sides brought the words of the council for themselves, and yet neither prevailed; Sancta Croce the legate, who well enough understood that the council intended not to determine the truth, yet to silence their wranglings in the council, let them dispute abroad; but the council would not end it by clearing the ambiguity. And since this became the mode of christendom to do so upon design, it can be no wonder that things are left uncertain for all the decrees of councils.

It is well therefore that the church of Rome requires faith to her conclusions, greater than her premises can persuade: it is the only way of escaping that is left them, as being conscious that none of their arguments can enforce what they would have believed. And to the same purpose it is that they teach the conclusions and definitions of councils to be infallible, though their arguments and proceedings be fallible, and pitiful, and false. If they can persuade the world to this, they have got the goal; only it ought to be confessed by them that do submit to the definition that they do so moved to it by none of their reasons, but they know not why.

I do not here enter into the particular examination of the matters determined by many councils, by which it might largely and plainly appear how greatly general councils have been mistaken; this hath been observed already by many very learned men, and the council of

[z] A.D 1546.

Trent is the greatest instance of it in the world, as will be made to appear in the procedure of this book. But the Romanists themselves by rejecting divers general councils have (as I have above observed) given proof enough of this. That all things are here uncertain I have proved; and that if there be error here, there can be no certainty any where else, Bellarmine confesses: so that I have thus far discharged what I undertook.

But beyond this there are some other particulars fit to be considered, by which it will yet further appear that in the church of Rome, unless they will rely upon the plain scriptures, they have no sure foundation.

Instance in those several articles which some of the Roman doctors say are *de fide,* and others of their own party when they are pressed with them say they are not *de fide,* but the opinions of private doctors; that if a prince turn heretic, that is, be not of the Roman party, he presently loses all right to his temporal dominions; that the pope can change kingdoms, taking from one and giving to another, this is esteemed by the Jesuits a matter of faith. It is *certa, indubitata, definita virorum clarissimorum sententia,* said Creswell the Jesuit in his Philopater. F. Garnet said more, it is *totius ecclesiæ et quidem ab antiquissimis temporibus consensione recepta doctrina,* 'it is received,' saith Creswell, 'by the whole school of divines and canon-lawyers;' nay it is *certum et de fide,* it is 'matter of faith.' I know that the English priests will think themselves injured if you impute this doctrine to them, or say it is the catholic doctrine: and yēt that this power in temporals, that he can depose kings sometimes, is in the pope, *non opinio, sed certitudo apud catholicos est,* said Bellarmine[a], 'it is more than an opinion, it is certain amongst the catholics.' Now since this is not believed by all that call themselves catholics, and yet by others of greatest note it is said to be the catholic doctrine, to be certain, to be a point of faith; I desire to know where this faith is founded, which is the house of faith, where is their warrant, their authority and foundation of their article. For if an English scholar in the college at Rome had in confession to F. Parsons, Creswell, Garnet, Bellarmine, or any of their parties, confessed that he had spoken against the pope's power of deposing kings in any case, or of any pretence of killing kings, it is certain they could not have absolved him till he had renounced his heresy; and they must have declared that if he had died in that persuasion, he must have been damned. What rest shall this poor man have, or hope for? He pretends that the council of Constance had declared for his opinion, and therefore that his and not theirs is 'certain and matter of faith:' they tell him, no; and yet for their article of faith have neither father nor council, scripture nor reason, tradition nor ancient precedent; where then is this foundation upon which the

[a] Contr. Barclai., cap. 3. [tom. vii. vid. col. 719.]

article is built? It lies low, as low as hell, but can never be made to appear; and yet amongst them articles of faith grow up without root and without foundation; but a man may be threatened with damnation amongst them for any trifle, and affrighted with clappers and men of clouts. If they have a clear and certain rule, why do their doctors differ about the points of faith? They say some things are articles of faith, and yet do not think fit to give a reason of their faith; for indeed they cannot. But if this be the way of it amongst Roman doctors, they may have many faiths, as they have breviaries in several churches, *secundum usum Sarum, secundum usum scholæ Romanæ;* and so without ground or reason even the catholics become heretics one to another; it is by chance if it happen to be otherwise.

2. What makes a point to be *de fide?* If it be said, the decision of a general council; then since no general council hath said so, then this proposition is not *de fide,* that 'what a general council says is true, is to be believed as matter of faith;' for if the authority be not *de fide,* then how can the particulars of her determination be *de fide?* for the conclusion must follow the weaker part; and if the authority itself be left in uncertainty, the decrees cannot be infallible.

3. As no man living can tell that a council hath proceeded rightly, so no man can tell when an article of faith is firmly decreed, or when a matter is sufficiently propounded, or when the pope hath perfectly defined an article. Of all this the canon law is the greatest testimony in the world, where there is council against council, pope against pope; and among so many decrees of faith and manners it cannot be told what is, and what is not certain. For when the popes have sent their rescripts to a bishop or any other prelate, to order an affair of life or doctrine; either he wrote that with an intent to oblige all christendom, or did not. If not, why is it put into the body of the laws; for what is a greater signature, or can pass a greater obligation, than the authentic code of laws? But if these were written with an intent to oblige all christendom; how come they to be prejudiced, rescinded, abrogated, by contrary laws, and desuetude, by change of times and changes of opinion? And in all that great body of laws registered in the *Decretum,* and the Decretals, Clementines, and Extravagants, there is no sign or distinctive cognizance of one from another, and yet some of them are regarded, and very many are not. When pope Stephen[b] decreed that those who were converted from heresy should not be rebaptized, and to that purpose wrote against S. Cyprian in the question, and declared it to be unlawful, and threatened excommunication to them that did it, as S. Austin[c] tells; S. Cyprian regarded it not, but he and a council of fourscore bishops decreed it ought to be done, and did so to their dying day. Bellarmine[d] admits

Of the canon law, and the great contrariety in it.

[b] Euseb., lib. vii. hist. [c. 3 et 4.]
[c] Lib. de unico baptis., c. 14. [tom. ix. col. 538.]
[d] Bellarm., lib. iv. de pont. Rom., c. 7. sect. 'Et per hoc.' [tom. i. col. 977.]

all this to be true; but says that pope Stephen did not declare this *tanquam de fide*, but that after this definition it was free to every one to think as they list; nay, that though it was plain that S. Cyprian refused to obey the pope's sentence, yet *non est omnino certum* that he did sin mortally. By all this he hath made it apparent, that it cannot easily be known when a pope does define a thing to be *de fide*, or when it is a sin to disobey him, or when it is necessary he should be obeyed. Now then since in the canon law there are so very many decrees, and yet no mark of difference, of right or wrong, necessary or not necessary; how shall we be able to know certainly in what state or condition the soul of every of the pope's subjects is? especially since without any cognizance or certain mark, all the world are commanded under pain of damnation to obey the pope. In the Extravagant *De majoritate et obedientia* are these words, *Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus absolute necessarium ad salutem omni humanæ creaturæ, subesse Romano pontifici.* Now when can it be thought that a pope defines any article *in cathedra*, if these words, *Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus,* and *necessarium ad salutem,* be not sufficient to declare his intention? Now if this be true that the pope said this, he said true or false. If false, how sad is the condition of the Romanists, who are affrighted with the terrible threatenings of damnation for nothing? And if it be true, what became of the souls of S. Cyprian and the African bishops, who did not submit to the bishop of Rome, but called [e] him 'proud, ignorant, and of a dark and wicked mind'? *Serio præcepit,* said Bellarmine, he 'seriously commanded' it, but did not determine it as necessary; and how in a question of faith and so great concern this distinction can be of any avail, can never be known, and can never be proved; since they declare the pope sufficiently to be of that faith against S. Cyprian and the Africans, and that in pursuance of this his faith he proceeded so far, and so violently. But now the matter is grown infinitely worse. For 1) the popes of Rome have made innumerable decrees in the *Decretum,* Decretals, Bulls, Taxes, Constitutions, Clementines, and Extravagants. 2) They, as Albericus de Rosate[f], a great canonist, affirms, sometimes exalt their constitutions, and sometimes abase them, according to the times. And yet 3) all of them are verified and imposed under the same sanction by the council of Trent[g], all I say which were ever made in favour of ecclesiastical persons and the liberties of the church, which are indeed the greater part of all after Gratian's decree; witness the Decretals of Gregory the ninth, Boniface the eighth, the *Collectio diversarum constitutionum et literarum Romanorum pontificum,* and the Decretal epistles of the Roman bishops in three volumes, besides the *Ecloga bullarum et motuum propriorum.*

[e] Epist. S. Cyprian. ad Pompeium. [epist. lxxiv. p. 214.]

[f] [? In comment. in Digesta et Codicem.] In l. 'Bene a Zenone,' c. de quadrien. præscript. [sc. in Cod., tit. xxxvii. c. 3.]

[g] Sess. xxv. c. 20. [tom. x. col. 189.]

All this is not only an intolerable burden to the christian churches, but a snare to consciences, and no man can tell by all this that is before him, whether he deserve love or hatred, whether he be in the state of mortal sin, of damnation, or salvation. But this is no new thing: more than this was decreed in the ancient canon law itself[h]. *Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ.* And again, *Ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragibiliter observandum est,* 'all men must at all times with all submission observe all things whatsoever are decreed or ordained by the Roman church.' Nay, *licet vix ferendum,* 'although' what that holy see imposes be as yet 'scarce tolerable,' yet let us bear it, and with holy devotion suffer it, says the canon '*In memoriam*[i].' And that all this might indeed be an intolerable yoke, the canon '*Nulli fas est*[j]' adds the pope's curse and final threatenings; *Sit ergo ruinæ suæ dolore prostratus, quisquis apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis;* and every one that obeys not the apostolical decrees is *majoris excommunicationis dejectione abjiciendus:* the canon is directed particularly against the clergy. And the gloss upon this canon affirms, that he who denies the pope's power of making canons (viz., to oblige the church) is a heretic. Now considering that the Decree of Gratian is *Concordantia discordantiarum*[k], a heap or bundle of contrary opinions, doctrines and rules; and they agree no otherwise than a hyæna and a dog catched in the same snare, or put into a bag; and that the decretals and extravagants are in very great parts of them nothing but boxes of tyranny and error, usurpation and superstition; only that upon those boxes they write *ecclesia catholica,* and that all these are commanded to be believed and observed respectively; and all gainsayers to be cursed and excommunicated; and that the twentieth part of them is not known to the christian world, and some are rejected, and some never accepted, and some slighted into desuetude, and some thrown off as being a load too heavy, and yet that there is no rule to discern these things; it must follow that matters of faith determined and recorded in the canon law, and the laws of manners there established, and the matter of salvation and damnation consequent to the observation or not observation of them, must needs be infinitely uncertain, and no man can from their grounds know what shall become of him.

There are so very many points of faith in the church of Rome, and so many decrees of councils which when they please make an article of faith, and so many are presumptuously by private doctors affirmed to be *de fide* which are not; that considering that the common people are not taught to rely upon the plain words of scripture and the

[h] Decret. dist. xix. c. 'Sic omnes.' [col. 87.] c. 'Enimvero.' [ibid.]
[i] Ibid.
[j] [col. 89.]
[k] [See title of the Decretum.]

apostles' creed for a sufficient rule of their faith, but are threatened with damnation if they do not believe whatever their church hath determined; and yet they neither do nor can know it but by the word of their parish priest, or confessor; it lies in the hand of every parish priest to make the people believe any thing, and be of any religion, and trust to any article, as they shall choose and find to their purpose. The council of Trent requires traditions to be added and received equal with scriptures, they both, not singly but in conjunction, making up the full object of faith; and so the most learned, and indeed generally their whole church understands one to be incomplete without the other: and yet Master White[1], who I suppose tells the same thing to his neighbours, affirms that it is not the catholic position that all its doctrines are not contained in scripture: which proposition being tied with the decree of the council of Trent, gives a very good account of it, and makes it excellent sense. Thus, "Traditions must be received with equal authority to the scripture," (saith the council) and wonder not; for (saith Master White) "all the traditions of the church are in scripture." You may believe so, if you please; for "the contrary is not a catholic doctrine." But if these two things do not agree better, then it will be hard to tell what regard will be had to what the council says; the people know not that but as their priest teaches them. And though they are bound under greatest pains to believe the whole catholic religion; yet that the priests themselves do not know it, or wilfully mis-report it, and therefore that the people cannot tell it, it is too evident in this instance, and in the multitude of disputes which are amongst themselves about many considerable articles in their catholic religion. Pius quintus speaking of Thomas Aquinas calls his doctrine the most certain rule of christian religion[m]. And divers particulars of the religion of the Romanists are proved out of the revelations of S. Bridget, which are contradicted by those of S. Catherine of Siena. Now they not relying on the way of God, fall into the hands of men, who teach them according to the interest of their order, or private fancy, and expound their rules by measures of their own, but yet such which they make to be the measures of salvation and damnation. They are taught to rely for their faith upon the church, and this when it comes to practice is nothing but their private priest; and he does not always tell them the sense of their church, and is not infallible in declaring the sense of it, and is not always (as appears in the instance now set down) faithful in relating of it, but first cozens himself by his subtilty, and then others by his confidence; and therefore it is impossible there can be any certainty to them that proceed this way, when God hath so plainly given them a better, and requires of them nothing but to live a holy life, as a superstructure of christian faith described by the apostles in plain places of scripture, and in the

[1] [See note to p. 311, supra.]

[m] Vide Wadding of Immac. concept., pp. 282, 334, et alibi. [fol. Lovan. 1624.]

apostolical creed; in which they can suffer no illusion, and where there is no uncertainty in the matters to be believed.

VI. The next thing I observe is that they all talking of the church as of a charm and sacred amulet, yet they cannot by all their arts make us certain where or how infallibly to find this church. I have already in this section proved this in the main enquiry, by shewing that the church is that body which they do not rely upon: but now I shall shew that the church which they would point out can never be certainly known to be the true church by those indications and signs which they offer to the world as her characteristic notes. S. Austin[n] in his excellent book *De unitate ecclesiæ* affirms that the church is no where to be found but *in præscripto legis, in prophetarum prædictis, in psalmorum cantibus, in ipsius unius Pastoris vocibus, in evangelistarum prædicationibus et laboribus; hoc est, in omnibus sanctorum canonicis auctoritatibus,* 'in the scriptures only.' And he gives but one great note of it; and that is, 'adliering to the head Jesus Christ;' for the church is Christ's body, who by charity are united to one another, and to Christ their head; and he that is not a member of Christ cannot obtain salvation. And he adds no other mark but that Christ's church is not this or that, viz., not of one denomination; but καθ' ὅλου, dispersed over the face of the earth. The church of Rome[o] makes adhesion to the head (not Jesus Christ but) the bishop of Rome to be of the essential constitution of the church. Now this being the great question between the church of Rome and the Greek church, and indeed of all other churches of the world, is so far from being a sign to know the church by, that it is apparent they have no ground of their faith; but the great question of christendom, and that which is condemned by all the christian world but themselves, is their foundation.

And this is so much the more considerable, because concerning very many heads of their church, it was too apparent that they were not so much as members of Christ, but the basest of criminals, and enemies of all godliness: and concerning others that were not so notoriously wicked, they could not be certain that they were members of Christ; or that they were not of their father the devil. The Spirit of truth was promised to the apostles upon condition; and Judas fell from it by transgression.—But the uncertainties are yet greater;—

Of the pope.

Adhering to the pope cannot be a certain note of the church, because no man can be certain who is true pope; for

1. The pope, if he be a simoniac, is *ipso facto* no pope; as ap-

[n] Lib. de unit. eccles., cap. xviii. et cap. xvii. [tom. ix. col. 371.] 'Ergo in scripturis canonicis eam (ecclesiam) requiramus.' cap. iii. [col. 341.]

[o] Bellarm. de eccles. militant., lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 'Nostra autem sententia.' [tom. ii. col. 137.]

pears in the bull of Julius the second. And yet besides that he himself was called a most notorious simoniac, Sixtus quintus gave an obligation under his hand, upon condition that the cardinal d'Este would bring over his voices to him and make him pope, that he would never make Hierome Matthew a cardinal; which when he broke, the cardinal sent his obligation to the king of Spain, who intended to accuse him of simony, but it broke the pope's heart, and so he escaped here, and was reserved to be heard before a more unerring judicatory. And when Pius quartus used all the secret arts to dissolve the council of Trent, and yet not to be seen in it, and to that purpose dispatched away the bishops from Rome, he forbad the archbishop of Turris to go, because he had been too free in declaring his opinion for the *jus divinum* of the residence of bishops[p]; he at the same time durst not trust the bishop of Cesena, for a more secret reason; but it was known enough to many: he was a familiar friend of the cardinal of Naples, whose father the count of Montebello had in his hand an obligation which that pope had given to the cardinal for a sum of money for his voice in the election of him to the papacy. And all the world have been full of noises and pasquils, sober and grave, comical and tragical accusations of the simony of the popes for divers ages together; and since no man can certainly know that the pope is not simoniacal, no man can safely rely on him as a true pope, or the true pope for an infallible judge.

2. If the pope be a heretic, he is *ipso facto* no pope; now that this is very possible Bellarmine supposes, because he makes that one of the necessary cases in which a general council is to be called, as I have shewed above. And this uncertainty is manifest in an instance that can never be wiped off; for when Liberius had subscribed Arianism, and the condemnation of S. Athanasius, and the Roman clergy had deprived Liberius of his papacy, S. Felix was made pope; and then either Liberius was no pope, or S. Felix was not; and one was a heretic, or the other a schismatic; and then as it was hard to tell who was their church's head, so it was impossible that by adherence to either of them their subjects could be proved to be catholics.

3. There have been many schisms in the church of Rome, and many anti-popes which were acknowledged for true and legitimate by several churches and kingdoms respectively; and some that were chosen into the places of the deposed even by councils, were a while after disowned and others chosen; which was a known case in the times of the councils of Constance and Basil. And when a council was sitting, and it became a question who had power to choose, the council or the cardinals, what man could cast his hopes of eternity upon the adherence to one, the certainty of whose legitimation was determined by power and interest, and could not by all the learning and wisdom of christendom?

[p] [Sarpi,] hist. concil. Trid., lib. vii. A.D. 1562. [p. 611.]

4. There was one pope who was made head of the church before he was a priest; it was Constantine the second, who certainly succeeded not in S. Peter's privileges when he was not capable of his chair, and yet he was their head of the church for a year; but how 'adherence to the pope' should then be a note of the church, I desire to know from some of the Roman lawyers, for the divines know it not. I will not trouble this account with any questions about the female head of their church[q]: I need not seek for matter, I am pressed with too much; and therefore I shall omit very many other considerations about the nullities, and insufficiencies, and impieties, and irregularities of many popes; and consider their other notes of the church, to try if they can fix this enquiry upon any certainty.

Of the notes of the church.

Bellarmine reckons fifteen notes of the church. It is a mighty hue and cry after a thing that he pretends is visible to all the world. 1) The very name 'catholic' is his first note; he might as well have said the word 'church' is a note of the church, for he cannot be ignorant but that all Christians who esteem themselves members of the church think and call themselves members of the catholic church; and the Greeks give the same title to their churches: nay all conventions of heretics anciently did so, and therefore I shall quit Bellarmine of this note by the words of Lactantius, which himself also (a little forgetting himself) quotes[r], *Sed tamen singuli quique hæreticorum cœtus se potissimum christianos et suam esse catholicam ecclesiam putant*[s]. 2) 'Antiquity' indeed is a note of the church, and Salmeron proves it to be so, from the example of Adam and Eve, most learnedly. But it is certain, that God had a church in paradise, is as good an argument for the church of England and Ireland, as for Rome; for we derive from them as certainly as do the Italians, and have as much of Adam's religion as they have. But a church might have been very ancient, and yet become no church; and without separating from a greater church. The church of the Jews is the great example; and the church of Rome, unless she takes better heed, may be another. S. Paul[t] hath plainly threatened it to the church of Rome. 3) 'Duration' is made a note; now this respects the time past, or the time to come: if the time past, then the church of Britain was christian before Rome was, and (blessed be God) are so at this day; if duration means the time to come (for so Bellarmine[u] says, *Ecclesia dicitur catholica non solum quia semper fuit sed etiam quia semper erit;* so we have a rare note for us who are alive to discern the church of Rome to be the catholic church, and we may possibly

[q] [Platina, in Joann. viii.—Sabellic. ennead. ix. lib. i.]

[r] Bellarm., lib. iv. de notis eccles., cap. i. [tom. ii. col. 203.]

[s] Lact., lib. iii. [leg. iv.] divinar. instit. cap. ult. [tom. i. p. 354.]

[t] Rom. xi. [20 sq.]

[u] De notis eccles., lib. iv. cap. 6. [tom. ii. col. 218.]

come to know it by this sign many ages after we are dead, because she will last always. But this sign is not yet come to pass, and when it shall come to pass, it will prove our church to be the catholic church as well as that of Rome, and the Greek church as well as both of us; for these churches, at least some of them, have begun sooner, and for ought they or we know, they all may so continue longer. 4) 'Amplitude' was no note of the church when the world was Arian, and is as little now, because that a great part of Europe is papal. 5) 'Succession of bishops' is an excellent conservatory of christian doctrine, but it is as notorious in the Greek church as in the Roman; and therefore cannot signify which is the true church, unless they be both true, and then the church of England can claim by this tenure, as having since her being christian, a succession of bishops never interrupted, but, as all others have been, in persecution. 6) 'Consent in doctrine with the ancient church' may be a good sign or a bad, as it happens; but the church of Rome hath not, and never can prove, the pure and prime antiquity to be of her side. 7) 'Union of members among themselves and with their head,' is very good, if the members be united in truth (for else it may be a conspiracy), and if by 'head' be meant Jesus Christ; and indeed this is the only true sign of the church: but if by head be meant the Roman pope, it may be *ecclesia malignantium*, and Antichrist may sit in the chair. But the uncertainty of this note as it relates to this question, I have already manifested; and what excellent concord there is in the church of Rome, we are taught by the question of supremacy of councils or popes; and now also by the strict and loving concord between the Jansenists and Molinists; and the abetters of the immaculate conception of the B. Virgin-mother, with their antagonists. 8) 'Sanctity of doctrine' is an excellent note of the church, but that is the question amongst all the pretenders; and is not any advantage to the church of Rome, unless it be a holy thing to worship images, to trample upon kings, to reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven at the last minute, by the charm of external ministries; to domineer over consciences, to impose useless and intolerable burdens, to damn all the world that are not their slaves, to shut up the fountains of salvation from the people; to be easier in dispensing with the laws of God than the laws of the church; to give leave to princes to break their oaths, as pope Clement the seventh did to Francis the first of France to cozen the emperor, and as pope Julius the second[v] did to Ferdinand of Arragon, sending him an absolution for his treachery against the king of France; not to keep faith with heretics; to find out tricks to entrap them that trusted to their letters of safe conduct[w]; to declare that popes cannot be bound by their

[v] Vid. the Legend of Flamens, [Legende des Flamands, in the 'Revieu' as follows,] et Revieu du concile de Trente, lib. iv. c. 7. [p. 91.—vid. p. 276, not. s, supra.]

[w] [See p. 274 above.]

promises: for pope Paul the fourth[x] in a conclave, A.D. MDLV. complained of them that said he could make but four cardinals, because (forsooth) he had sworn so in the conclave; saying, 'this was to bind the pope, whose authority is absolute; that it is an article of faith that the pope cannot be bound, much less can he bind himself; that to say otherwise was a manifest heresy; and against them that should obstinately persevere in saying so, he threatened the inquisition.' These indeed are holy doctrines taught and practised respectively by their holinesses at Rome, and indeed are the notes of their church, if by the doctrine of the head to whom they are bound to adhere, we may guess at the doctrine of their body. 9) 'The prevalency of their doctrine' is produced for a good note; and yet this is a greater note of Mahumetanism than of christianity; and was once of Arianism: and yet the argument is not now so good at Rome as it was before Luther's time. 10) That 'the chiefs of the pope's religion lived more holy lives than others,' gives some light that their church is the true one. But I had thought that their popes had been the chiefs of their religion, till now; and if so, then this was a good note while they did live well; but that was before popery: since that time, we will guess at their church by the holiness of the lives of those that rule and teach all; and then if we have none to follow amongst us, yet we know whom we are to fly amongst them. 11) 'Miracles' were in the beginning of christianity a note of true believers; Christ[y] told us so. And He also taught us that Antichrist should be revealed in lying signs and wonders; and commanded us by that token to take heed of them. And the church of Rome would take it ill if we should call them, as S. Austin did the Donatists, *mirabiliarios*, 'miracle-mongers;' concerning which he that pleases to read that excellent tract of S. Austin, *De unitate ecclesiæ*, cap. 14. will be sufficiently satisfied in this particular, and in the main ground and foundation of the protestant religion. In the meantime it may suffice that Bellarmine[z] says miracles are a sign of the true church, and Salmeron[a] says that they are no certain signs of the true church, but may be done by the false. 12) 'The spirit of prophecy' is also a pretty sure note of the true church, and yet in the dispute between Israel and Judah, Samaria and Jerusalem, it was of no force, but was really in both; and at the day of judgment Christ shall reject some who will allege that they prophesied in His name. I deny not but there have been some prophets in the church of Rome, Johannes de Rupe scissa, Anselmus Marsicanus, Robert Grosthead bishop of Lincoln, S. Hildegardis, abbot Joachim; whose prophecies and pictures prophetical were published by Theophrastus Paracelsus and John Adrasder, and by Paschalinus Regiselmus at Venice 1589; but (as Ahab said concerning Micaiah) these do not prophesy good

[x] [Sarpi,] hist. concil. Trident., lib. v. [p. 385.]

[y] [Mark xvi. 17.]

[z] [De not. eccles., lib. iv. cap. 14. tom. ii. col. 263 sqq.]

[a] Tom. xiii. [p. 193.]

concerning Rome, but evil: and that Rome should be reformed *in ore gladii cruentandi* was one of the prophecies; and, *Universa sanctorum ecclesia abscondetur*, that 'the whole church of the saints shall be hidden,' viz., in the days of Antichrist; and that 'in the days of darkness the elect of God shall have that faith or wisdom to themselves, which they have, and shall not dare to preach it publicly,' was another prophecy, and carries its meaning upon the forehead; and many more I could tell, but whether such prophecies as these be good signs that the church of Rome is the true church, I desire to be informed by the Roman doctors, before I trouble myself any further to consider the particulars. 13) Towards the latter end of this catalogue of wonderful signs, the 'confession of adversaries' is brought in for a note, and no question they intended it so; but did ever any protestant, remaining so, confess the church of Rome to be the true catholic church? Let the man be named, and a sufficient testimony brought that he was *mentis compos*, and I will grant to the church of Rome this to be the best note they have. 14) But since 'the enemies of the church have all had tragical ends,' it is no question but this signifies the church of Rome to be the only church. Indeed if all the protestants had died unnatural deaths, and all the papists, nay if all the popes had died quietly in their beds, we had reason to deplore our sad calamity, and enquired after the cause; but we could never have told by this: for by all that is before him, a man cannot tell whether he deserves love or hatred [b]. And all the world finds that as dies the papist, so dies the protestant; and the like event happens to them all: excepting only some popes have been remarked by their own histories, for funest and direful deaths. 15) And lately, 'temporal prosperity' is brought for a note of the true church; and for this there is great reason: because the cross is the high way to heaven, and Christ promised to His disciples for their lot in this world great and lasting persecutions, and the church felt this blessing for three hundred years together. But this had been a better argument in the mouth of a Turkish mufti, than a Roman cardinal.

And now if by all these things we cannot certainly know that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, how shall the poor Roman catholic be at rest in his enquiry? Here is in all this nothing but uncertainty of truth, or certainty of error.

And what is needful to be added more? I might tire myself and my reader if I should enumerate all that were very considerable in this enquiry. I shall not therefore insist upon their uncertainties in their great and considerable questions about the number of the sacraments: which to be seven is with them an article of faith; and yet since there is not amongst them any authentic definition of a sacrament, and it is not nor cannot be a matter of faith to tell what is the

[b] [vid. Eccles. ix. 1, 2.]

form of a sacrament, therefore it is impossible it should be a matter of faith to tell how many they are; for in this case they cannot tell the number, unless they know for what reason they are to be accounted so. The fathers and schoolmen differ greatly in the definition of a sacrament, and consequently in the numbering of them; S. Cyprian and S. Bernard reckon 'washing the disciples' feet' to be a sacrament; and S. Austin called *omnem ritum cultus divini,* a sacrament; and otherwhile he says there are but two: and the schoolmen dispute whether or no a sacrament can be defined. And by the council of Trent clandestine marriages are said to be a sacrament, and yet that the church always detested them, (which indeed might very well be, for the blessed eucharist is a sacrament, but yet private masses and communions the ancient church always did detest, except in the cases of necessity;) but then, when at Trent they declared them to be nullities, it would be very hard to prove them to be sacraments. All the whole affair in their sacrament of order is a body of contingent propositions; they cannot agree where the apostles received their several orders, by what form of words, and whether at one time or by parts. And in the institution of the Lord's supper the same words by which some of them say they were made priests, they generally expound them to signify a duty of the laity as well as the clergy; *Hoc facite,* which signifies one thing to the priest and another to the people, and yet there is no mark of difference. They cannot agree where or by whom extreme unction was instituted. They cannot tell whether any wafer be actually transubstantiated, because they never can know by divine faith whether the supposed priest be a real priest, or had right intention; and yet they certainly do worship it in the midst of all uncertainties. But I will add nothing more, but this; what wonder is it if all things in the church of Rome be uncertain, when they cannot, dare not, trust their reason or their senses in the wonderful invention of transubstantiation, and when many of their wisest doctors profess that their pretended infallibility does finally rely upon prudential motives?

I conclude this therefore with the words of S. Austin[c], *Remotis ergo omnibus talibus, &c.,* 'all things therefore being removed, let them demonstrate their church if they can, not in the sermons and rumours of the Africans [Romans], not in the councils of their bishops, not in the letters of any disputers, not in signs and deceitful miracles; because against these things we are warned and prepared by the word of the Lord: but in the prescript of the law, of the prophets, of the psalms, of the evangelists, and all the canonical authorities of the holy books.' And that's my next undertaking; to shew the firmness of the foundation and the great principle of the religion of the church of England and Ireland; even the holy scriptures.

[c] De unit. eccles., cap. xviii. [tom. ix. col. 371.]

§ 2. Of the sufficiency of the holy scriptures to salvation, which is the great foundation and ground of the protestant religion.

THIS question is between the church of Rome and the church of England, and therefore it supposes that it is amongst them who believe the scriptures to be the word of God. The Old and New testament are agreed upon to be the word of God; and that they are so is delivered to us by the current descending testimony of all ages of christianity: and they who thus are first led into this belief, find upon trial great after-proofs by arguments both external and internal, and such as cause a perfect adhesion to this truth, that they are God's word; an adhesion (I say) so perfect as excludes all manner of practical doubting. Now then amongst us so persuaded, the question is whether or no the scriptures be a sufficient rule of our faith, and contain in them all things necessary to salvation, or is there any other word of God besides the scriptures which delivers any points of faith or doctrines of life necessary to salvation? This was the state of the question till yesterday. And although the church of Rome affirmed tradition to be a part of the object of faith, and that without the addition of doctrine and practices delivered by tradition the scriptures were not a perfect rule, but together with tradition they are; yet now two or three gentlemen have got upon the coach-wheel, and have raised a cloud of dust enough to put out the eyes even of their own party, making them not to see, what till now all their seers told them[c]; and tradition is not only a suppletory to the deficiencies of scripture, but it is now the only record of faith. But because this is too bold and impossible an attempt, and hath lately been sufficiently reproved by some learned persons of our church; I shall therefore not trouble myself with such a frontless error and illusion; but speak that truth which, by justifying the scripture's fulness and perfection, will overthrow the doctrine of the Roman church denying it, and *ex abundanti* cast down this new mud-wall, thrown into a dirty heap by M. W. and his under-dawber M. S. who with great pleasure behold and wonder at their own work, and call it a marble building.

1. That the scripture is a full and sufficient rule to Christians in faith and manners, a full and perfect declaration of the will of God, is therefore certain, because we have no other. For if we consider the grounds upon which all Christians believe the scriptures to be the word of God, the same grounds prove that nothing else is. These indeed have a testimony that is credible as any thing that makes faith to men, the universal testimony of all Christians; in respect of which S. Austin[d] said, *Evangelio non crederem, &c.* 'I should not believe the gospel if the authority of the church' (that is, of the universal church) 'did not move me.' The apostles at first owned these writings; the churches received them; they transmitted them to their

[c] Vid. [Sarpi,] hist. concil. Trident. sub Paul. iii. A.D. 1546. [e. g. p. 147 sq.]

[d] [Contr. epist. Fundamenti, cap. v. tom. viii. col. 154.]

posterity; they grounded their faith upon them; they proved their propositions by them; by them they confuted heretics; and they made them the measures of right and wrong: all that collective body of doctrines of which all Christians consentingly made public confessions, and on which all their hopes of salvation did rely, were all contained in them; and they agreed in no point of faith which is not plainly set down in scripture. And all this is so certain, that we all profess ourselves ready to believe any other article which can pretend and prove itself thus proved, thus descended. For we know a doctrine is neither more nor less the word of God for being written or unwritten; that's but accidental and extrinsical to it; for it was first unwritten, and then the same thing was written; only when it was written it was better conserved, and surer transmitted, and not easily altered, and more fitted to be a rule: and indeed only can be so; not but that every word of God is as much a rule as any word of God; but we are sure that what is so written, and so transmitted, is God's Word; whereas concerning other things which were not written, we have no certain records, no evident proof, no sufficient conviction; and therefore it is not capable of being owned as the rule of faith or life, because we do not know it to be the word of God. If any doctrine which is offered to us by the church of Rome, and which is not in scripture, be proved as scripture is, we receive it equally: but if it be not, it is to be received according to the degree of its probation; and if it once comes to be disputed by wise and good men, if it came in after the apostles, if it rely but upon a few testimonies, or is to be laboriously argued into a precarious persuasion, it cannot be the true ground of faith, and salvation can never rely upon it. The truth of the assumption in this argument will rely upon an induction of which all churches have a sufficient experience, there being in no church any one instance of doctrine of faith or life, that can pretend to a clear, universal tradition and testimony of the first and of all ages and churches, but only the doctrine contained in the undoubted books of the Old and New testament. And in the matter of good life the case is evident and certain; which makes the other also to be like it; for there is no original or primary commandment concerning good life, but it is plainly and notoriously found in scripture: now faith being the foundation of good life, upon which it is most rationally and permanently built; it is strange that scripture should be sufficient to teach us all the whole superstructure, and yet be defective in the foundation.

Neither do we doubt but that there were many things spoken by Christ and His apostles which were never written; and yet those few only that were written are by the divine providence and the care of the catholic church of the first and all descending ages, preserved to us, and made our gospel. So that as we do not dispute whether the words which Christ spake, and the miracles He did, and are not written, be as holy and as true as those which are written, but only

say they are not our rule and measures because they are unknown: so there is no dispute whether they be to be preferred or relied upon, as the written or unwritten word of God; for both are to be relied upon, and both equally; always provided that they be equally known to be so. But that which we say is, that there are many which are called traditions which are not the unwritten word of God; at least not known so to be; and the doctrines of men are pretended and obtruded as the commandments of God; and the testimony of a few men is made to support a weight as great as that which relies upon universal testimony; and particular traditions are equalled to universal, the uncertain to the certain; and traditions are said to be apostolical if they be but ancient; and if they come from we know not whom, they are said to come from the apostles; and if postnate, they are called primitive; and they are argued and laboriously disputed into the title of 'apostolical traditions' by not only fallible but fallacious arguments; as will appear in the following numbers. This is the state of the question; and therefore first, it proves itself, because there can be no proof to the contrary; since the elder the tradition is, the more likely it can be proved, as being nearer the fountain, and not having had a long current; which, as a long line is always the weakest, so in long descent is most likely to be corrupted, and therefore a late tradition is one of the worst arguments in the world; it follows that nothing can now, because nothing of faith yet hath been sufficiently proved.

2. But besides this consideration, the scripture itself is the best testimony of its own fulness and sufficiency. I have already in the Introduction against J. S. proved from scripture that all necessary things of salvation are there abundantly contained; that is, I have proved that scripture says so. Neither ought it to be replied here, that no man's testimony concerning himself is to be accepted: for here we suppose that we are agreed that the scripture says true, that it is the word of God, and cannot be deceived; and if this be allowed, the scripture then can give testimony concerning itself: and so can any man if you allow him to be infallible, and all that he says to be true; which is the case of scripture in the present controversy. And if you will not allow scripture to give testimony to itself, who shall give testimony to it? shall the church, or the pope? Suppose which we will, but who shall give testimony to them? shall they give credit to scripture before it be known how they come themselves to be credible? If they be not credible of themselves, we are not the nearer for their giving their testimony to the scriptures. But if it be said that the church is of itself credible upon its own authority; this must be proved before it can be admitted, and then how shall this be proved? And at least the scripture will be pretended to be of itself credible as the church. And since it is evident that all the dignity, power, authority, office, and sanctity it hath or pretends to have, can no other way be proved but by the scriptures, a conformity

to them in all doctrines, laws, and manners being the only charter by which she claims: it must needs be that scripture hath the prior right, and can better be primely credible than the church, or any thing else that claims from scripture. Nay therefore, *quoad nos*, it is to be allowed to be primely credible, because there is no creature besides it that is so. Indeed God was pleased to find out ways to prove the scriptures to be His word, His immediate word, by miraculous consignations, and sufficient testimony, and confession of enemies, and of all men that were fit to bear witness that these books were written by such men, who by miracle were proved to be *divini homines*, men endued with God's spirit, and trusted with His message; and when it was thus far proved by God, it became the immediate and sole ministry of entire salvation, and the whole repository of the divine will; and when things were come thus far, if it be enquired whether the scriptures were a sufficient institution to salvation, we need no other, we can have no better testimony than itself, concerning itself. And to this purpose I have already brought from it sufficient affirmation of the point in question; in the preceding answer to J. S. his first way in his fourth appendix.

3. It is possible that the scriptures should contain in them all things necessary to salvation. God could cause such a book to be written. And He did so to the Jews; He caused His whole law to be written, He engraved in stones, He commanded the authentic copy to be kept in the ark, and this was the great security of the conveying it; and tradition was not relied upon: it was not trusted with any law of faith or manners. Now since this was once done, and therefore is always possible to be done; why it should not be done now, there is no pretence of reason, but very much for it. For 1) Why should the book of S. Matthew be called the gospel of Jesus Christ? and this is also the very title of S. Mark's book; and S. Luke affirms the design of his book is to declare the certainty of the things then believed, and in which his friend was instructed, which we cannot but suppose to be the whole doctrine of salvation. 2) What end could there be in writing these books but to preserve the memory of Christ's history and doctrine? 3) Especially if we consider that many things which were not absolutely necessary to salvation, were set down; and therefore to omit any thing that is necessary, must needs be an unreasonable and unprofitable way of writing. 4) There yet never was any catholic father that did affirm in terms, or in full and equivalent sense, that the scriptures are defective in the recording any thing necessary to salvation; but unanimously they taught the contrary, as I shall shew by and by. 5) The enemies of christian religion opposed themselves against the doctrine contained in the scriptures; and supposed by that means to conclude against christianity, and they knew no other repository of it, and estimated no other. 6) The persecutors of christianity, intending to destroy christianity, hoped to prevail by causing the bibles to be burnt;

which had been a foolish and unlikely design if that had not been the ark that kept the records of the whole christian law. 7) That the revealed will of God, the law of Christ, was not written in His lifetime, but preached only by word of mouth, is plain, and reasonable; because all was not finished, and the salvation of man was not perfected till the resurrection, ascension, and descent of the Holy Ghost; nor was it done presently. But then it is to be observed that there was a spirit of infallible record put into the apostles, sufficient for its publication and continuance. But before the death of the apostles, that is, before this spirit of infallibility was to depart, all was written that was intended, because nothing else could infallibly convey the doctrine. Now this being the case of every doctrine as much as of any, and the case of the whole rather than of any part of it; it must follow that it was highly agreeable to the divine wisdom, and the very end of this economy, that all should be written; and for no other reason could the evangelists and apostles write so many books.

4. But of the sufficiency of scripture we may be convinced by the very nature of the thing: for 1) The sermons of salvation being preached to all; to the learned and unlearned; it must be a common concern, and therefore fitted to all capacities; and consequently made easy, for easy learners. Now this design is plainly signified to us in scripture by the abbreviatures, the symbols and catalogues of *Credenda:* which are short and plain, and easy; and to which salvation is promised. Now if "he that believes Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, hath eternal life[e];" that is, so far as the value and acceptability of believing does extend, this faith shall prevail unto salvation; it follows, that this being the affirmation of scripture, and declared to be a competent foundation of faith; the scripture that contains much more, even the whole economy of salvation by Jesus Christ, cannot want any necessary thing, when the absolute necessities are so narrow. 'Christ the Son of God' is the great adequate object of saving faith; "to know God, and whom He hath sent Jesus Christ; this is eternal life[f]." Now this is the great design of the gospel; and is revealed largely in the scriptures: so that there is no adequate object of faith, but what is there. 2) As to the attributes of God, and of Christ, that is, all that is known of them and to be known is set down in scripture; that God "is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him;" that He is the fountain of wisdom, justice, holiness, power; that His providence is over all, and mercy unto all: and concerning Christ; all the attributes and qualifications, by which He is capable and fitted to do the work of redemption for us, and to become our Lord, and the great King of heaven and earth; able to destroy all His enemies eternally, and to reward His servants with a glorious and indefectible kingdom; all this is declared in scripture.

[e] [1 John v. 10; John xvii. 3.]

[f] [John xvii. 3.]

So that concerning the full object of faith manifested in the whole design of the gospel, the scriptures are full, and whatever is to be believed of the attributes belonging to this prime and full object, all that also is in scripture fully declared. And all the acts of faith, the antecedents, the formal, and the consequent acts of faith, are there expressly commanded; viz., to know God, to believe in His name and word, to believe in His Son; and to obey His Son by the consequent acts of faith; all this is set down in scripture: in which not only we are commanded to keep the commandments, but we are told which they are. There we are taught to honour and fear, to love and obey God, and His holy Son; to fear and reverence Him, to adore and invocate Him, to crave His aid, and to give Him thanks; not to trust in or call upon any thing that hath no divine empire over us, or divine excellence in itself. It is so particular in recounting all the parts of duty that it descends specially to enumerate the duties of kings and subjects, bishops and people, parents and children, masters and servants; to shew love and faithfulness to our equals; to our inferiors counsel and help, favour and good will, bounty and kindness, a good word and a good deed. The scripture hath given commandments concerning our very thoughts; to be thankful and hospitable, to be humble and complying; whatever good thing was taught by any or all the philosophers in the world, all that and much more is in the scriptures, and that in a much better manner: and that it might appear that nothing could be wanting, the very degrees and the order of virtues is there provided for. And if all this be not the high-way to salvation, and sufficient to all intents of God and the souls of men, let any man come forth and say as Christ said to the young man, *Restat adhuc unum*, 'there is one thing wanting yet,' and let him shew it. But let us consider a little farther.

5. What is or what can be wanting to the fulness of scripture? is not all that we know of the life and death of Jesus set down in the writings of the New testament? is there any one miracle that ever Christ did the notice of which is conveyed to us by tradition? do we know any thing that Christ did or said but what is in scripture? Some things were reported to have been said by Christ secretly to the apostles, and by the apostles secretly to some favourite disciples; but some of these things are not believed; and none of the other is known: so that either we must conclude that the scripture contains fully all things of faith and obedience, or else we have no gospel at all; for except what is in scripture, we have not a sufficient record of almost one saying or one miracle. S. Paul quotes one saying of Christ which is not in any of the four gospels, but it is in the scriptures, "It is better to give than to receive[g];" and S. Hierome[h] records another, "Be never very glad, but when you see your brother live in charity." If S. Paul had not written the first and transmitted

[g] [Acts xx. 35.]

[h] [In Eph. v. 4.—tom. iv. part. i. col. 380.]

it in scripture, we had not known it any more than those many other which are lost for not being written: and for the quotation of S. Hierome, it is true it is a good saying; but whether they were Christ's words or no we have but a single testimony. Now then how is it possible that the scriptures should not contain all things necessary to salvation, when of all the words of Christ in which certainly all necessary things to salvation must needs be contained, or else they were never revealed, there is not any one saying, or miracle, or story of Christ in any thing that is material, preserved in any indubitable record but in scripture alone?

6. That the scriptures do not contain in them all things necessary to salvation, is the fountain of many great and capital errors; I instance in the whole doctrine of the libertines, familists, quakers, and other enthusiasts, which issue from this corrupted fountain. For this, that the scriptures do need a suppletory, that they are not perfect and sufficient to salvation of themselves, is the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the great fundamental both of the Roman religion and that of the libertines and quakers, and those whom in Germany they call *spirituales;* such as David George, Harry Nicholas, Swenckfeld, Sebastian Franc, and others. These are the men that call the scriptures 'the letter of the scripture,' 'the dead letter,' 'insufficient,' 'inefficacious;' this is but 'the sheath and the scabbard,' 'the bark and the shadow,' 'a carcase void of the internal light,' not apt to imprint a perfect knowledge in us of what is necessary to salvation. But the Roman doctors say the same things: we know who they are that call the scriptures the 'outward letter,' 'ink thus figured in a book,' 'unsensed characters,' 'waxen-natured words not yet sensed, apt to blunder and confound, but to clear little or nothing[i];' these are as bad words as the other, and some of them the same; and all draw a long tail of evil consequents behind them. 1) From this principle, as it is promoted by the fanatics, they derive a wandering, unsettled, and a dissolute religion. For they supplying the insufficiency of scripture by an inward word, which being only within, it is subject to no discipline, reducible into no order, not 'submitted to the spirits of the prophets[k],' and hath no rule by which it can be directed, examined, or judged; hence comes the infinite variety and contradictions of religion, commenced by men of this persuasion; a religion that wanders from day to day, from fancy to fancy, and alterable by every new illusion; a religion in which some man shall be esteemed an infallible judge to-day, and next week another; but it may happen that any man may have his turn, and any mischief may be believed and acted, if the devil get into the chair. 2) From this very same principle, as it is promoted by the papists, they derive a religion imperious, interested, and tyrannical. For as the fanatics supply the insufficiency of scripture by the word 'internal;' so do the Roman doctors by the authority of the

[i] J. S. in 'Sure footing,' and in 4 append.

[k] [1 Cor. xiv. 32.]

church: but when it comes to practice, as the fanatics give the supreme power of teaching and defining to the 'chief elder in the love;' so do the papists, especially the Jesuits, give it to the pope: and the difference is not that the fanatics give the supreme judgment to some one, and the papists give it to the whole church; for these also give it but to one man, to the pope, whose judgment, voice, and definition must make up the deficiencies of scripture. But because the fanatics (as it happens) change their judge every month, therefore they have an ambulatory religion: but that of the Roman way establishes tyranny; because their judge being one, not in person but in succession, and having always the same interest, and having already resolved upon their way, and can when they list go further upon the stock of the same principles, and being established by human power, will unalterably persist in their right and their wrong, and will never confess an error, and are impatient of contradiction; and therefore they impose irremediably, and what they please, upon consciences, of which they have made themselves judges. Now for these things there is no remedy but from scripture; which if it be allowed full, perfect, and sufficient unto all the things of God, then whatsoever either of these parties say must be tried by scripture, it must be shewed to be there, or be rejected. But to avoid the trial there they tell you the scripture is but 'a dead letter,' 'unsensed characters,' 'words without sense,' or 'unsensed;' and therefore this must be supplied by the inward word, says one; by the pope's word *in cathedrâ*, says the other; and then both the inward word and the pope's word shall rule and determine every thing, and the scriptures will signify nothing: but as under pretence of 'the word internal' every new thing shall pass for the word of God, so it shall do also under the Roman pretence. For not he that makes a law, but he that expounds the law, gives the final measures of good or evil. It follows from hence that nothing but the scripture's sufficiency can be a sufficient limit to the inundations of evil which may enter from these parties, relying upon the same false principle.

My last argument is from tradition itself: for,

Sufficiency of scripture proved by tradition.

7. If we enquire upon what grounds the primitive church did rely for their whole religion, we shall find they knew none else but the scriptures; *Ubi scriptum?* was their first inquiry, 'Do the prophets and the apostles, the evangelists or the epistles say so?' Read it there, and then teach it; else reject it: they call upon their charges in the words of Christ, "Search the scriptures;" they affirm that the scriptures are full, that they are a perfect rule, that they contain all things necessary to salvation: and from hence they confuted all heresies.

This I shall clearly prove by abundant testimonies: of which though many of them have been already observed by very many learned persons, yet because I have added others not so noted, and have collected with diligence and care, and have rescued them from

elusory answers; I have therefore chosen to represent them together; hoping they may be of more usefulness than trouble, because I have here made a trial whether the church of Rome be in good earnest or no when she pretends to follow tradition, or how it is that she expects a tradition shall be proved. For this doctrine of the scripture's sufficiency I now shall prove by a full tradition; therefore if she believes tradition, let her acknowledge this tradition which is so fully proved; and if this do not amount to a full probation, then it is but reasonable to expect from them that they never obtrude upon us any thing for tradition, or any tradition for necessary to be believed, till they have proved it such, by proofs more, and more clear, than this Essay concerning the sufficiency and perfection of the divine scriptures.

I begin with S. Irenæus[l]. "We know that the scriptures are perfect, for they are spoken by the word of God and by His spirit:" therefore[m] "read diligently the gospel given unto us by the apostles; and read diligently the prophets, and you shall find every action, and the whole doctrine, and the whole passion of our Lord preached in them:" and indeed "we have received the economy of our salvation by no other but by those by whom the gospel came to us; which truly they then preached, but afterwards by the will of God delivered to us in the scriptures, which was to be the pillar and ground to our faith[n]." These are the words of this saint, who was one of the most ancient fathers of the church, a Greek by birth, by his dignity and employment a bishop in France, and so most likely to know the sense and rule of the eastern and western churches.

Next to S. Irenæus we have the doctrine of S. Clemens of Alexandria[o] in these words. "He hath lost the being a man of God, and of being faithful to the Lord, who hath kicked against tradition ecclesiastical, and hath turned to the opinions of human heresies." What is this tradition ecclesiastical, and where is it to be found? That follows. "But he who, returning out of error, obeys the scriptures, and hath permitted his life to truth, he is of a man in a manner made a God. For the Lord is the principle of our doctrine, who by the prophets and the gospel and the blessed apostles, at sundry times and in divers manners, leads us from the beginning to the end[p]; . . be that is faithful of himself is worthy of faith in the voice and scripture of the Lord, which is usually exercised[q] through the Lord to the benefit of men; for this (scripture) we use for the finding out of things, this we use as the rule of judging; . . but[r] if it be

[l] Rectissime scientes quia scripturæ quidem perfectæ sunt, quippe a verbo Dei et spiritu ejus dictæ.—Lib. ii. cap. 47. [al. 28. p. 156.]

[m] Legite diligentius id quod ab apostolis est evangelium nobis datum, et legite diligentius prophetas, et invenietis universam actionem et omnem doctrinam Domini nostri prædicatam in ipsis. —Lib. iv. cap. 66. [al. cap. 34. p. 274.]

[n] [lib. iii. cap. 1. p. 174.]

[o] Strom., lib. vii. [cap. 16.] p. 757. edit. Paris. 1629. [al. p. 890.]

[p] [εἰς τέλος τῆς γνώσεως.]

[q] [εἰκότως ἂν . . ἐνεργουμένη.]

[r] [p. 891.]

not enough to speak our opinions absolutely, but that we must prove what we say, we expect no testimony that is given by men, but by the voice of the Lord we prove the question; and this is more worthy of belief than any demonstration, or rather it is the only demonstration, by which knowledge they who have tasted of the scriptures alone[s] are faithful." Afterwards he tells how the scriptures are a perfect demonstration of the faith: "perfectly demonstrating out of the scriptures themselves, concerning themselves, we" (speak or) "persuade demonstratively of the faith. Although even they that go after heresies do dare to use the scriptures of the prophets. But first[t] they use not all, neither them that are perfect[u], nor as the whole body and contexture of the prophecy does dictate; but choosing out those things which are spoken ambiguously, they draw them to their own opinion." Then he tells how we shall best use and understand the scriptures, "Let every one consider what is agreeable to the almighty Lord God, and what becomes Him, and in that[x] let him confirm every thing from those things which are demonstrated from the scriptures, out of those and the like scriptures[y]." And he adds that, "It is the guise of heretics, when they are overcome by shewing that they oppose scriptures, . . yet still they choose to follow that which to them seems evident, rather than that which is spoken of the Lord by the prophets and by the gospel, and what is proved and confirmed by the testimony of the apostles:" and at last concludes[z], "they become impious because they believe not the scriptures;" and a little before this[a] he asks the heretics, "will they deny or will they grant there is any demonstration? I suppose they will all grant there is, except those who also deny that there are senses. But if there be any demonstration, it is necessary to descend to questions, and from the scriptures themselves to learn demonstratively how the heresies are fallen; and on the contrary, how the most perfect knowledge is in the truth and the ancient church." But again[b], "they that are ready to spend their time in the best things, will not give over seeking for truth until they have found the demonstration from the scriptures themselves." And after this adds his advice to Christians, "to wax old in the scriptures, and thence to seek for demonstrations." These things he spoke, not only by way of caution to the Christians, but also of opposition to the Gnostics, who were very busy in pretending ancient traditions. This is the discourse of that great christian philosopher S. Clement, from which, besides the direct testimony given to the fulness and sufficiency of scripture in

[s] [ἀπογευσάμενοι μόνον τῶν γραφῶν.]

[t] ['Although. . . first,' &c. — Leg. 'And if they . . . prophets, first,' &c.]

[u] [ἔπειτα, οὐ τελείαις, 'and those, not entire.']

[x] [The rendering of these passages is in some trifling points incorrect, but not so as to affect the sense.]

[y] [p. 891.]

[z] ἀσεβεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ταῖς γραφαῖς. [p. 892.]

[a] καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν ἐκμανθάνειν ἀποδεικτικῶς. [p. 888.]

[b] πρὶν ἂν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λάβωσι τῶν γραφῶν. [p. 889.]

all matters of faith, or questions in religion; we find him affirming that the scriptures are a certain, and the only demonstration of these things; they are the κριτήριον, the 'rule of judging' the controversies of faith: that the 'tradition ecclesiastical,' that is, 'the whole doctrine taught by the church of God, and preached to all men,' is in the scripture; and therefore that it is the plenary and perfect repository of tradition, that is, of the doctrine delivered by Christ and His apostles: and they who believe not these are impious. And lest any man should say that, suppose scripture do contain all things necessary to salvation, yet it is necessary that tradition, or some infallible church do expound them, and then it is as long as it is broad, and comes to the same issue: S. Clement tells us how the scriptures are to be expounded; saying that they who rely upon them must expound scriptures by scriptures, and by the analogy of faith, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual," one place with another, a part with the whole, and all by the proportion to the divine attributes. This was the way of the church in S. Clement's time, and this is the way of our churches.—But let us see how this affair went in other churches and times, and whether there be a succession and an universality of this doctrine of the sufficiency of scripture in all the affairs of God.

The next is Tertullian[c], who writing against Hermogenes that affirmed God made the world not out of nothing, but of I know not what pre-existent matter, appeals to scripture in the question, whose fulness Tertullian adores; 'Let the shop of Hermogenes shew that this thing is written; if it be not written let him fear the woe pronounced against them that add to or take from scripture.' Against this testimony it is objected, that here Tertullian speaks but of one question: so Bellarmine[d] answers: and from him E. W. and A. L.[e] To which the reply is easy: for when Tertullian challenges Hermogenes to shew his proposition in scripture, he must mean that the fulness of the scripture was sufficient not only for this but for all questions of religion, or else it had been an ill way of arguing, to bring a negative argument from scripture against this alone. For why was Hermogenes tied to prove this proposition from scripture more than any other? Either scripture was the rule for all, or not for that. For suppose the heretic had said, 'It is true it is not in scripture, but I have it from tradition,' or 'it was taught by my forefathers:' there had been nothing to have replied to this, but that it may be he had no tradition for it. Now if Hermogenes had no tradition, then indeed he was tied to shew it in scripture; but then Tertullian should have said 'Let Hermogenes shew where it is written, or that it is a tradition:' for if the pretending and proving tradition (in case there were any such pre-

[c] Contr. Hermog., c. xxii. [p. 241 D.] 'Profert undecimo.' [tom. i. col. 249.]
[d] De verb. Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. sect.
[e] [See note to p. 285 above.]

tence in this question) had been a sufficient answer; then Tertullian had no sufficient argument against Hermogenes by calling for authority from scripture: but he should have said, If it be not *scriptum* or *traditum*, 'written or delivered,' let Hermogenes fear the woe to the adders or detracters. But if we will suppose Tertullian spoke wisely and sufficiently, he must mean that the scripture must be the rule in all questions, and no doctrine is to be taught that is not taught there. But to put this thing past dispute, Tertullian[e] himself extends this rule to an universal comprehension, and by this instrument declares that heretics are to be confuted, "Take, from the heretics that which they have in common with the heathens" (viz., their ethnic learning), "and let them dispute their questions by scripture alone, and they can never stand." By which it is plain that the scripture is sufficient for all faith, because it is sufficient to convince all heresies and deviations from the faith. For which very reason the heretics also (as he observes) attempted to prove their propositions by arguments from scripture; for indeed there was no other way, because 'the articles of faith are to be proved by the writings of faith[f],' that is, the scripture; that was the rule. How contrary this is to the practice and doctrine of Rome at this day, we easily find by their doctors charging all heresies upon the scriptures, as occasioned by them; and forbidding the people to read them for fear of corrupting their weak heads; nay, it hath been prohibited to certain bishops to read the scriptures, lest they become heretics. And this folly hath proceeded so far that Erasmus[g] tells us of a Dominican[h] who, being urged in a scholastical disputation with an argument from scripture, cried out 'it was a Lutheran way of disputation,' and protested against the answering it: which besides that it is more than a vehement suspicion that these men find the scriptures not to look like a friend to their propositions, it is also a manifest procedure contrary to the wisdom, religion, and economy of the primitive church.

The next I note is Origen[i], who when he propounded a question concerning the angels guardians of little children, viz., 'when the angels were appointed to them, at their birth or at their baptism,' he adds, "You see, he that will discuss both of them warily, it is his part to produce scripture for testimony, agreeing to one of them both:" that was the way of the doctors then[j]. And scripture is so full and perfect to all intents and purposes, that for the confirmation of our discourses scripture is to be brought, saith Origen[k]; "We

[e] [De resurr. carn., c. 3. p. 327.]
[f] De præscript. [cap. xv. p. 207.]
[g] In epist. [679. tom. iii. col. 798 D.]
[h] ['Carmelite,' in Erasmus.]
[i] Tract. v. in Matth. versus finem. [al. iii. § 27. vers. antiq. lat., tom. iii. p. 607.]
[j] Vide etiam Origen. homil. xxv. in Matth. [tom. iii. p. 847.] homil. vii. in Ezek. [tom. iii. p. 383.] hom. i. in Jerem. [tom. iii. p. 129.]; quos locos citat Bellarm. ubi supra, sect. 'Secundo profert.' [col. 246.]
[k] Jesum Christum scimus Deum; quærimus verba quæ dicta sunt juxta personæ exponere dignitatem: quapropter necesse nobis est scripturas sanctas in testimonium vocare: sensus quippe nostri et enarrationes sine iis testibus non habent fidem.—[In Jerem., hom. i. tom. iii. p. 129.]

know Jesus Christ is God, and we seek to expound the words which are spoken according to the dignity of the person; wherefore it is necessary for us to call the scriptures into testimony, for our meanings and enarrations without these witnesses have no belief." To these words Bellarmine answers most childishly, saying that Origen speaks of the hardest questions, such as for the most part traditions are not about: but it is evident that therefore Origen requires testimony of scriptures, not because of the difficulty of things to be enquired, but because 'without such testimony they are not to be believed;' for so are his very words, and therefore whether they be easy or hard, if they be not in scripture, the questions will be indeterminable. That is the sense of Origen's argument. But more plainly yet[l]; "After these things, as his custom is, he will affirm" (or prove) "from the holy scriptures what he had said; and also gives an example to the doctors of the church, that those things which they speak to the people, they should prove them, not as produced[m] by their own sentences, but defended by divine testimonies; for if he, so great and such an apostle, believes not that the authority of his sayings can be sufficient unless he teaches that those things which he says are written in the law and the prophets, how much rather ought we, who are the least, to observe this thing, that we do not when we teach produce our own, but the sentences of the Holy Ghost." Add to this what he says in another place[n], "As our Saviour imposed silence upon the sadducees by the word of His doctrine, and faithfully convinced that false opinion which they thought to be truth; so also shall the followers of Christ do by the examples of scripture, by which according to sound doctrine every voice of Pharaoh ought to be silent."

The next in order is S. Cyprian[o], who indeed speaks for tradition, not meaning the *modus tradendi* but the *doctrina tradita;* for it is such a tradition as is in scripture, the doctrine delivered first by word of mouth, and then consigned in scripture. "Let nothing be innovated but that is delivered. Whence is that tradition? whether descending from the Lord's and from the evangelical authority, or coming from the commandments and epistles of the apostles? For that those things are to be done which are written, God witnesses, and propounds to Jesus Nave[p], saying, the book of this law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate in it day and night, that thou mayest observe to do all things which are written in it. Our Lord also sending His apostles, commands the nations to be baptized and taught, that they may observe all things whatsoever He hath commanded. If therefore it be either commanded in the gospel,

[l] In epist. ad Rom., lib. iii. [tom. iv. p. 504.]

[m] ['præsumpta.']

[n] Tract. xxiii. in Matth. [tom. iii. p. 830.]

[o] Epist. ad Pompeium. [epist. lxxiv. p 211.]

[p] ['Ιησοῦς υἱὸς Ναυῆ, 1 Reg. xvi. 34, LXX.]

or in the epistles of the apostles, that they that come from any heresy should not be baptized, but that hands[q] should be imposed upon them unto repentance, then let even this holy tradition be observed." This doctrine and counsel of S. Cyprian Bellarmine says was one of the errors of S. Cyprian; but S. Austin[r] commends it as the best way. And this procedure is also the same that the church in the descending ages always followed: of which there can in the world be no plainer testimony given than in the words of S. Cyril of Jerusalem; and it was in the high questions of the holy and mysterious Trinity; concerning which he advises them[s] to "retain that zeal in their minds which by heads and summaries is expounded to you, but, if God grant, shall according to my strength be demonstrated to you by scripture.—For it behoveth us not to deliver, no not so much as the least thing of the holy mysteries of faith without the holy scriptures: neither give credit to me speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the holy scriptures; for that is the security of our faith, not which is from our inventions, but from the demonstration of the holy scriptures."

To the same purpose in the Dissuasive was produced the testimony of S. Basil[t]; but the words which were not there set down at large are these. 'What's proper for the faithful man? That with a certain fulness of mind he believes the force of those things to be true which are spoken in the scripture, and that he rejects nothing, and that he dares not to decree any thing that is new: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin, but faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; without doubt, since whatsoever is without the scripture is not of faith, it is a sin;' these words are so plain, as no paraphrase is needful to illustrate them. To which may be added those fiercer words of the same saint[u], "It is a manifest defection from the faith and a conviction of pride, either to reject any thing of what is written, or to introduce any thing that is not, since our Lord Jesus Christ hath said, My sheep hear My voice; and a little before He said the same thing, A stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him, because they know not the voice of strangers." By which words S. Basil

[q] ['Sed tantum manus,' &c.]

[r] Lib. iv. de Bapt. contra Donatist., capp. 3. et 5. [tom. ix. coll. 123, 5.]

[s] Catech. iv. v. xii. xvi. xviii. Illuminat. Μὴ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὑρεσιολογίαις πρόσεχε, ἐὰν μὴ μάθῃς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν.—Catech. iv. Illuminat. Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παραδίδοσθαι γραφῶν· . . . ἡ σωτηρία γὰρ αὕτη τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξ εὑρεσιολογίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποδείξεως τῶν θείων ἐστὶ γραφῶν.—[p. 267 supra.]

[t] S. Basil. moral. reg. viii. c. 12. edit. Paris. 1547. ex officina Carol. Guillard. [leg. reg. lxxx. cap. 22. tom. ii. p. 317.] Vide etiam epist. lxxx. [al. clxxxix. tom. iii. p. 277 E.] 'Stemus itaque arbitratui a Deo inspiratæ scripturæ.' Quæstio erat an dicendum in Deo tres hypostases et unam naturam; apud Bellarm. De verbo Dei non scripto, lib. iv. cap. 11. Sect. 'Alium locum.' [col. 247.]—Vide etiam reg. lxxii. c. 1. cum titulo præfixo capiti, [p. 306.]

[u] Homil. de vera fide. Φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τι τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων, κ.τ.λ.—[tom. ii. p. 224 D.]

plainly declares that the whole voice and words of Christ are set down in scripture, and that all things else is the voice of strangers; and therefore "the apostle does most vehemently forbid by an example taken from men, lest any thing of those which are in scripture be taken away, or" (which God forbid) "any thing be added." To these words Bellarmine, and his followers that write against the Dissuasive, answer[y], that S. Basil speaks against 'adding to the scripture things contrary to it, and things so strange from it as to be invented out of their own head; and that he also speaks of certain particular heresies.' Which endeavour to escape from the pressure of these words is therefore very vain, because S. Basil was not then disputing against any particular heresies, as teaching any thing against scripture, or of their own head; but he was about to describe the whole christian faith: and that he may do this with faithfulness and simplicity, and without reproof, he declares he will do it from the holy scriptures; for it is infidelity and pride to do otherwise; and therefore what is not in the scriptures, if it be added to the faith, it is contrary to it, as contrary as unfaithfulness or infidelity: and whatsoever is not delivered by the Spirit of God, is an invention of man, if offered as a part of the christian faith. And therefore Bellarmine and his followers make here a distinction where there is no difference. S. Basil here declared, 'that as formerly he had it always fixed in mind to fly every voice and every sentence which is a stranger to the doctrine of the Lord, so now also at this time[z],' viz., when he was to set down the whole christian faith. Neither can there be hence any escaping by saying[a], that 'nothing indeed is to be added to the scriptures, but yet to the faith something is to be reckoned, which is not in scripture.' For although the church of Rome does that also, putting more into the canon than was among the Jews acknowledged, or by the primitive church of Christians; yet besides this S. Basil having said, 'Whatsoever is not in the scriptures is not of faith, and therefore it is a sin[b];' he says also by certain consequence that to add to the scriptures is all one as to add to the faith. And therefore he exhorts even the novices to study the scriptures: for to his ninety-fifth question[c], 'Whether it be fit for novices presently to learn the things of the scriptures,' he answers, 'It is right, and it is necessary, that those things which appertain to use, every one should learn from the scriptures, both for the replenishing of their mind with piety, as also that they may not be accustomed to human traditions.' By which words he not only declares that by the scriptures our minds are abundantly filled with piety; but that human traditions (by which he means every thing that is not con-

[y] Letter [viz. of A. L., see p. 285, above.] 'In the Preface, 2.' [p. 2.]

[z] Ibidem in sequentibus. [not. u. supr.]

[a] 'Truth will out,' p. 3. [See p. 285 above.]

[b] Ubi supra.

[c] In regul. brev., reg. xcv. [tom. ii. p. 449.] Εἴς τε πληροφορίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προσεθισθῆναι ἀνθρωπίναις παραδόσεσιν.

tained in scripture) are not to be received, but ought to be, and are best of all banished from our minds by entertaining of scripture. To the same purpose are his words in his Ethics[d], 'Whatsoever we say or do, ought to be confirmed by the testimony of divinity inspired by scriptures, both for the full persuasion of the good, and the confusion or damnation of evil things.' There's your rule; that's the ground of all true faith.

And therefore S. Athanasius[e] speaking concerning the Nicene council, made no scruple that the question was sufficiently determined concerning the proper divinity of the Son of God, because it was determined, and the faith was expounded, according to the scriptures; and affirms that the faith so determined was sufficient for the reproof of all impiety (meaning in the article of Christ's divinity) and for the establishment of the orthodox faith in Christ. Nay, he affirms[f] that 'the catholic Christians will neither speak nor endure to hear any thing in religion that is a stranger to scripture, it being an evil heart of immodesty to speak those things which are not written.' Which words I the rather remark, because this article of the consubstantiality of Christ with the Father is brought as an instance by the Romanists of the necessity of tradition to make up the insufficiency of scripture. But not in this only, but for the preaching of the truth indefinitely, that is, the whole truth of the gospel, he affirms[g] the scriptures to be sufficient. For writing to Macarius[h] a priest of Alexandria, he tells him that the knowledge of true and divine religion and piety does not much need the ministry of man, and that he might abundantly draw this forth from the divine books and letters; for "truly the holy and divinely-inspired scriptures are sufficient for the preaching of the truth;" *ad omnem instructionem veritatis,* so the Latin translation[i], 'for the whole instruction of truth,' or 'the instruction of all truth.' But because Macarius desired rather 'to hear others teach him this doctrine and true religion, than himself to draw it from scripture,' S. Athanasius tells him that 'there are many written monuments of the holy fathers, and our masters, which if men will diligently read over, he shall learn the interpretation of scriptures, and obtain that notion of truth which he desires.' Which is perfectly the same advice which the church of England commands her sons, that they shall teach nothing but what the fathers and doctors of the church draw forth from scriptures[k].

The same principal doctrine in the whole is taught frequently by S. Chrysostom[l], who compares the scriptures to a 'door,' which is shut to hinder the heretics from entering in, and introduce us to

[d] Moral. regul. xxvi. [in titulo.—tom. ii. p. 256.]
[e] Epist. ad Epictetum Corinthiorum episc. [init. tom. i. p. 901.]
[f] De Incarnat., [p. 174, not. i, supra.]
[g] Idem Athanas. in exhort. ad monachos. [tom. ii. p. 709.]
[h] Moral. contra gentiles, in initio. [tom. i. p. 1 B.]
[i] Coloniæ ex officin. Melchioris Novesiani, 1548.
[k] [See p. 182, note f, above.]
[l] Homil. lviii. [al. lix.] in Joan. [tom. viii. p. 346.]

God, and to the knowledge of God. This surely is sufficient; if it does this, it does all that we need; and if it does not, S. Chrysostom was greatly deceived; and so are we, and so were all the church of God in all the first ages. But he is constant in the same affirmative[m]: 'If there be need to learn, or to be ignorant, thence we shall learn it; if to confute or argue that which is false, thence we shall draw it: if to be corrected or chastised, to exhortation[n]; if any thing be wanting for our comfort, and that we ought to have it, nevertheless from thence (from the scriptures) we learn it. That the man be perfect: therefore without it he cannot be perfected. Instead of me (he saith) thou hast the scriptures; if thou desirest to learn any thing, hence thou mayest. But if he writes these things to Timothy, who was filled with the holy Spirit, how much more must we think these things spoken to us?' To the same purpose he discourses largely in his eighth homily on the epistle to the Hebrews[o], which is here too long to transcribe. 'Let[p] no man look for another master; thou hast the oracles of God, no man teaches thee like to them.' 'Because[q] ever since heresy did infest those churches, there can be no proof of true christianity, nor any other refuge for Christians who would know the truth of faith, but that of the divine scripture; but now by no means is it known by them who would know which is the true church of Christ, but only by the scriptures.' (Bellarmine[r], very learnedly, says that these words were put into this book by the Arians, but because he offers at no pretence of reason for any such interpolation, and it being without cause to suspect it though the author of it had been an Arian, because the Arians were never noted to differ from the church in the point of the scriptures' sufficiency, I look upon this as a pitiful shift of a man that resolved to say any thing rather than confess his error.) And at last he concludes with many words to the same purpose, 'Our Lord therefore knowing what confusion of things would be in the last days, therefore commands that Christians, who in christianity would receive the firmness of true faith, should fly to nothing but to the scriptures; otherwise, if they regard other things, they will be scandalized and perish, not understanding which is the true church, and by this shall fall into the abomination of desolation, which stands in the holy places of the church.' The sum is this, delivered by the same author[s], 'Whatsoever is sought for unto salvation it is now filled full in the scriptures; . . therefore there is in this feast nothing less than what is necessary to the salvation of mankind.' Sixtus Senensis, though he

[m] Homil. ix. in 2 Tim. [tom. xi. p. 714.] Idem in psal. xcv. versus finem. [tom. v. p. 636.]

[n] [The construction of these sentences is slightly misunderstood.]

[o] [tom. xii. p. 89.]

[p] Homil. ix. in Coloss. [tom. xi. p. 391 C.] et in 2 Thess. ii. [hom. iii. tom. xi. p. 528.]

[q] Homil. xlix. in Matth. xxiii. oper. imperfecti, [tom. vi. append., p. 204.]

[r] De verbo Dei, lib. iv. c. 11. sect. 'Sexto profert.' [col. 248.]

[s] Idem homil. xli. in Matth. [op. imperf., tom. vi. append. p. 174.]

greatly approves this book, and brings arguments to prove it to be S. Chrysostom's, and alleges from others that it hath been for many ages approved by the commandment of the church, which among the divine laws reads some of these homilies as of S. Chrysostom; and that it is cited in the ordinary and authentic glosses, in the Catena's upon the gospels, in the decrees of the popes, and in the theological sums of great divines; yet he would have had it purged from these words here quoted (as also from many others.) But when they cannot shew by any probable argument that any heretics have interpolated these words; and that these are so agreeing to other words of S. Chrysostom, spoken in his unquestioned works; he shews himself and his party greatly pinched, and for no other reason rejects the words but because they make against him, which is a plain self-conviction and self-condemnation. Theophilus Alexandrinus is already quoted[t] in these words, and they are indeed very severe; 'It is the part of a devilish spirit to think any thing divine without the authority of the holy scriptures.' Here E. W. and A. L. say, the Dissuasive left out some words of Theophilus. It is true, but so did a good friend of theirs before me; for they are just so quoted by Bellarmine[u], who in all reason would have put them in, if they had made way for any answer to the other words. The words are these as they lie entirely[x], 'Truly I cannot know with what temerity Origen, speaking so many things, and following his own error, not the authority of scriptures, does dare to publish such things which will be hurtful.' And a little after adds, *Sed ignorans quod dæmoniaci spiritus esset instinctus, sophismata humanarum mentium sequi, et aliquid extra scripturarum auctoritatem putare divinum.* 'Sophisms of his own mind,' and 'things that are not in scriptures,' are explicative one of another: and if he had not meant it merely diabolical to induce any thing without the authority of scripture, he ought to have added the other part of the rule, and have called it 'devilish' to add any thing without scripture or tradition, which because he did not, we suppose he had no cause to do; and then whatsoever is not in scripture Theophilus[y] calls the sophism of human minds. He spake it indefinitely and universally; it is true, it is instanced in a particular against Origen, but upon that occasion he gives a general rule. And therefore it is a weak subterfuge of Bellarmine to say that Theophilus only speaks concerning certain apocryphal books, which some would esteem divine: but, by the way, I know not how well Bellarmine will agree with my adversaries; for one or two of them[z] say Theophilus spake against Origen for broaching fopperies of his own; and particularly that Christ's flesh was consubstantial with the

[t] Dissuasive in the Preface, [p. 174 above.]

[u] Lib. iv. de verbo Dei, cap. 11. sect. 'Profert nono Theophilum.' [tom. i. col. 249.] In censuris super Matth. expositoribus.

[x] [Epist. pasch. ii. cap. 6.—Bibl. vett. patr. Galland., tom. vii. p. 617.]

[y] Paschal. ii. [ubi supra,] vide etiam paschal. iii. [cap. 5. p. 615.]

[z] A. L., and E. W., p. 4.

godhead: and if they say true, then Bellarmine in his want invented an answer of his own without any ground of truth. But all agree in this, that these words were spoken in these cases only: and it is foolish (says Bellarmine[a]) to wrest that which is spoken of one thing, to another. But I desire that it may be observed that to the testimony of Tertullian it is answered, 'he speaks but of one particular;' to that of S. Basil it is answered, 'he spake but against a few particular heresies.' And to one of the testimonies of S. Athanasius, it is answered, 'he spake but of one particular,' viz., the heresy of Samosatenus; and to this of Theophilus Alexandrinus it is just so answered; he spake likewise 'but of this particular,' viz., that against Origen: and to that of S. Hierome[b] in xxiii. Matth., 'he only spake of a particular opinion' pretended out of some apocryphal book; and to another of S. Austin[c], it is spoken 'but of a particular matter,' the case of widowhood. But if Hermogenes, and Origen, and Samosatenus, and the heretics S. Basil speaks of, and they in S. Hierome, be all to be confuted by scripture, and by nothing else; nay, are therefore rejected because they are not in scripture; if all these fathers confute all these heresies by a negative argument from scripture; then the rule which they establish must be more than particular. It is fitted to all as well as to any: for all particulars make a general. This way they may answer five hundred testimonies, if five hundred authors should upon so many several occasions speak general words. But in the world no answer could be weaker, and no elusion more trifling and less plausible could have been invented. However, these and other concurrent testimonies will put this question beyond such captious answers.

S. Hierome[d] was so severe in this article, that disputing what Zachary it was who was slain between the porch and the altar, whether it was the last but one of the small prophets, or the father of the Baptist; he would admit neither, because it was not in the scriptures; in these words, 'this because it hath not authority from scripture, is with the same easiness despised as it is approved;' and 'they that prattle without the authority of scriptures have no faith, or trust;' that is, none would believe them; 'unless they did seem to strengthen their perverse doctrine with divine testimonies.' But most pertinent and material to the whole enquiry are these words[e];

[a] Lib. iv. de verb. Dei, cap. 11. [col. 249.]

[b] Cited below [note d.]

[c] Lib. de bono viduitatis, c. i. [tom. vi. col. 369.]

[d] S. Hieron. in. xxiii. Matth. [tom. iv. part. 1. col. 112.] 'Hoc quia de scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.'—Et in epist. ad Titum. [ibid. col. 419.] 'Sine auctoritate scripturarum garrulitas non haberet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam etiam divinis testimoniis roborare.' Sic citantur verba apud Bellarm. qui sequutus Kemnitium in objectionibus responsionem de bene esse paravit; non curavit tamen nec metuit ne non recte citarentur verba.

[e] In c. 1. Aggæi.—'Sed et alia, quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis scripturarum quasi traditione apostolica sponte reperiunt atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei.' [tom. iii. col. 1690.]

'Those things which they make and find as it were by apostolical tradition, without the authority and testimonies of scripture, the word of God smites.' By which words it appears that in S. Hierome's time it was usual to pretend traditions apostolical; and yet that all which was then so early called so, was not so; and therefore all later pretences, still as they are later are the worse: and that the way to try those pretences was the authority and testimony of scriptures, without which testimony they were to be rejected, and God would punish them. And disputing against Helvidius[f] in defence of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin: 'But as we deny not those things which are written, so we refuse those things which are not written: we believe our Lord to be born of a virgin, because we read it; we believe not Mary was married after her delivery, because we read it not.' And therefore this very point the fathers endeavour to prove by scripture, particularly S. Epiphanius[g], S. Ambrose[h], and S. Austin[i], though S. Basil[k] believed it not to be a point of faith: and when he offered to prove it by a tradition concerning the slaying of Zachary upon that account, S. Hierome rejects the tradition as trifling; as before I have cited him. And therefore S. John Damascene[l], going upon the same principle, says, 'We look for nothing beyond these things which are delivered by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists.'

And after all this, S. Austin[m], who is not the least amongst the greatest doctors of the church, is very clear in this particular, 'If any one concerning Christ or His church, or concerning any other thing which belongs to faith or our life, I will not say if we, but (what Paul hath added) if an angel from heaven shall preach unto you,' *præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis*, 'beside what ye have received in the legal and evangelical scriptures, let him be accursed.' The words Bellarmine quotes, and for an answer to them says that *præter* must signify *contra*, 'besides,' that is, 'against:' and the same is made use of by Hart the Jesuit, in his Conference, and by the Louvain doctors. But if this answer may serve, *Non habebis Deos alienos præter me* may signify *contra me*; and then a man may for all this commandment say there are two Gods, so one be not contrary to the other; and the apostle[n] may glory in any thing else in that sense in which he glories in the cross

[f] Advers. Helvid. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 141.]

[g] Epiphan. hæres. lxxviii. [tom. i. p. 1040.]

[h] Ambr., tom. ii. ep. 9, [leg. 79, (see Pearson on the Creed); al. 'Ep. de causa Bonosi,' tom. ii. col. 1009.]

[i] August. de hæres. lxxxiv. [tom. viii. col. 24.]

[k] S. Basil. de human. gen. Christi. [tom. ii. p. 600.]

[l] Lib. i. de orthod. fide, cap. 1. [tom. i. p. 123,] Πάντα τὰ παραδεδομένα ἡμῖν διά τε νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν δεχόμεθα καὶ γινώσκομεν, καὶ σέβομεν, οὐδὲν περαιτέρω τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες.

[m] Lib. iii. cont. litt. Petiliani, c. 6. [tom. ix. col. 301.]

[n] Absit mihi gloriari præterquam in cruce Jesu Christi. [Gal. vi. 14; sed 'nisi,' ed. vulg.]

of Christ, so that thing be not contrary to Christ's cross. But S. Austin was a better grammarian than to speak so improperly. *Præter* and *præterquam* are all one; as, I am covetous of nothing *præter laudem, vel præterquam laudis: Nulli places præterquam mihi; vel, præter me.* And indeed *Præterquam, eandem aut prope parem vim obtinet, quam Nisi,* said Laurentius Valla[o]; but to make *præterquam* to signify *contra quam* is a violence to be allowed by no master of the Latin tongue, which all the world knows S. Austin was. And if we enquire what signification it hath in law, we find it signifies variously indeed, but never to any such purpose[p]. When we speak of things whose nature is wholly separate, then it signifies inclusively, as, 'I give all my vines,' *præter domum,* 'besides my house;' there the house is supposed also to be given. But if we speak of things which are subordinate and included in the general, then *præter* signifies exclusively; as, I give unto thee all my books *præter Augustinum de civitate Dei,* 'besides or except S. Austin of the city of God:' there S. Austin's book is not given. And the reason of this is, because the last words in this case would operate nothing unless they were exclusive; and if in the first they were exclusive they were not sense. But that *præterquam* should mean only what is contrary, is a novelty taken up without reason, but not without great need. But however, that S. Austin[q] did not mean only to reprove them that introduced into faith and manners such things which were against scripture, but such which were besides it, and whatsoever was not in it, is plain by an established doctrine of his, affirming that 'all things which appertain to life and doctrine are found in those things which are plainly set down in the scriptures[r].' And if this be true (as S. Austin supposed it to be) then who ever adds to this any thing of faith and manners, though it be not contrary, yet if it be not here, ought to be an *anathema,* because of his own he adds to that rule of faith and manners which God (who only could do it) hath made. To this Bellarmine[s] answers that S. Austin speaks only of the creed and the ten commandments, such things which are simply necessary to all. He might have added that he speaks of the Lord's prayer too, and all the other precepts of the gospel, and particularly the eight beatitudes and the sacraments. And what of the infallibility of the Roman church; is the belief of that necessary to all? But that is neither in the creed nor the ten commandments. And what of the five precepts of the church; are they plainly in the scripture? And after all this, and much more, if all that belongs to faith and good

[o] Elegant., lib. iii. cap. 54. [p. 107. fol. Basil. 1540.]

[p] In vocabular. utriusque juris. [p. 529. 8vo. Lugd. 1579.]

[q] S. August. vocat scripturas sacras divinam stateram, lib. ii. [de bapt.] contr. Donat., c. 14. [tom. ix. col. 107.]

[r] Lib. ii. de doctr. christ., c. 9. [tom. iii. part. 1. col. 24.] Vide eundem, lib. i. c. ult. De consensu evangelistarum. 'Quicquid Servator de suis factis et dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit.' [tom. iii. part. ii. col. 26.]

[s] Lib. iv. De verbo Dei non scripto, c. 11. [tom. i. col. 251.]

life be in the plain places of scripture, then there is enough to make us "wise unto salvation." And he is a very wise and learned man that is so. For as by 'faith' S. Austin understands the whole christian faith, so by *mores vivendi* he understands hope and charity, as himself in the very place expresses himself. And beyond faith, hope, and charity, and all things that integrate them, what a Christian need to know I have not learned: but if he would learn more yet, there are in places less plain things enough to make us learned unto curiosity. Briefly, by S. Austin's[t] doctrine the scripture hath enough for every one, and in all cases of necessary religion; and much more than what is necessary: nay, there is nothing besides it that can come into our rule: 'The scripture is the consummation or utmost bounded rule of our doctrine that we may not dare to be wiser than we ought;' and that not only in the question of widowhood, but 'in all questions which belong unto life and manners of living;' as himself in the same place declares. And it is not only for laics and vulgar persons, but for all men; and not only for what is merely necessary, but 'to make us wise[u],' to make us perfect, saith the apostle. "And how can this man say that the scriptures make a man perfect in justice? and he that is perfect in justice, needs no more revelation[x]." Which words are well enlarged by S. Cyril, 'The divine scripture is sufficient to make them who are educated in it wise and most approved, and having a most sufficient understanding; and to this we need not any foreign teachers.' But lastly, if in the plain words of scripture be contained all that is simply necessary to all; then it is clear, by Bellarmine's confession, that S. Austin affirmed that the plain places of scripture are sufficient to all laics and all idiots or private persons; and then as it is very ill done to keep them from the knowledge and use of the scriptures, which contain all their duty, both of faith and good life; so it is very unnecessary to trouble them with any thing else: there being in the world no such treasure and repository of faith and manners, and that so plain that it was intended for all men, and for all such men is sufficient. 'Read the holy scriptures, wherein you shall find some things to be holden, and some to be avoided[z].' This was spoken to the monks and brethren in the desert, and to them that were to be guides of others, and the pastors of the reasonable flock; and in that whole sermon he enumerates the admirable advantages, fulness and perfection of the holy scriptures, out of which themselves are to be taught, and by the fulness of which they are to teach others in all things.—I shall not be troublesome by adding those many clear testimonies from other of the fathers; but I cannot omit that

[t] Lib. de bono viduitat., cap. i. [tom. vi. col. 369.]

[u] [2 Tim. iii. 15, 7.]

[x] Salmeron in hunc locum, tom. xv. p. 607.—Vide plura apud eundem, p. 606.

[y] Cyril. Alex., lib. vii. contr. Julian. [tom. vi. p. 230 C.]

[z] S. August. serm. xxxviii. ad fratres in eremo, [tom. vi. append., col. 345.]

of Anastasius of Antioch[a], 'It is manifest that these things are not to be enquired into which the scripture hath passed over in silence; for the Holy Spirit hath dispensed and administered to us all things which conduce to our profit.' 'If the scriptures be silent, who will speak?' said S. Prosper[b], 'what things we are ignorant of, from them we learn,' said Theodoret[c], and 'there is nothing which the scriptures deny to dissolve,' said Theophylact[d]. And the former of these brings in[e] the Christian saying to Eranistes, 'Tell not me of your logisms and syllogisms, I rely upon scripture only.' But Rupertus Tuitiensis[f] his words are a fit conclusion to this heap of testimonies, 'Whatsoever is of the word of God, whatsoever ought to be known and preached of the incarnation, of the true divinity, and humanity of the Son of God, is so contained in the two testaments, that besides these there is nothing ought to be declared or believed. The whole celestial oracle is comprehended in these; which we ought so firmly to know, that besides these it is not lawful to hear either man or angel.' And all these are nothing else but a full subscription to, and an excellent commentary upon, those words of S. Paul, 'Let no man pretend to be wise above what is written.'

By the concourse of these testimonies of so many learned, orthodox, and ancient fathers we are abundantly confirmed in that rule and principle upon which the whole protestant and christian religion is established. From hence we learn all things, and by these we prove all things, and by these we confute heresies, and prove every article of our faith; according to this we live, and on these we ground our hope, and whatsoever is not in these we reject from our canon. And indeed that the canonical scriptures should be our only and entire rule, we are sufficiently convinced by the title which the catholic church gives and always hath given to the holy scriptures; for it is *κανὼν*, the 'rule' of Christians for their whole religion: the word itself ends this enquiry; for it cannot be a canon if any thing be put to it or taken from it, said S. Basil[g], S. Chrysostom[h], and Varinus[i].

I hope I have competently proved the tradition I undertook; and by it, that the holy scriptures contain all things that are necessary to salvation. The sum is this, if tradition be not regardable, then the scriptures alone are: but if it be regarded, then here is a full tradi-

[a] Lib. viii. anagogic. contempl. in Hexameron. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. vi. part. i. p. 666.]

[b] De vocat. gentium, [lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 176 F.]

[c] In 1 Tim. iii. in illud, 'Ad docendum.' [tom. iii. p. 691.]

[d] Ibidem. [p. 825.]

[e] Dial. i. [tom. iv. p. 5.]

[f] Comment. in lib. Regum, lib. iii. c. 12. [tom. i. p. 477.]

[g] Lib. i. contr. Eunom. [§ 5. tom. i. p. 213.]

[h] Ὁ κανὼν οὔτε πρόσθεσιν οὔτε ἀφαίρεσιν δέχεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ κανὼν εἶναι ἀπόλλυσι. —S. Chrysost. hom. xii. in iii. Philip. [tom. xi. p. 293 D.] —Idem dixit Theophyl. [ibid. p. 611.]

[i] Κανὼν ἐστὶ μέτρον ἀδιάψευστον, πᾶσαν πρόσθεσιν καὶ ἀφαίρεσιν οὐδαμῶς ἐπιδεχόμενον.—Varinus. [al. Phavorin., in voc. *κανών*.]

tion that the scriptures are a perfect rule: for that the scriptures are the word of God, and contain in them all the word of God (in which we are concerned), is delivered by a full consent of all these and many other fathers, and no one father denies it; which consent therefore is so great, that if it may not prevail, the topic of tradition will be of no use at all to them who would fain adopt it into a part of the canon. But this I shall consider more particularly.

Only one thing more I am to add concerning the interpretation and finding out the sense and meaning of the scriptures. For though the scriptures be allowed to be a sufficient repository of all that is necessary to salvation, yet we may mistake our way if we have not some infallible judge of their sense.

1. To him therefore that shall ask how we shall interpret and understand the scriptures, I shall give that answer which I have learned from those fathers whose testimony I have alleged to prove the fulness and sufficiency of scripture. For if they were never so full, yet if it be *fons signatus*, and the waters of salvation do not issue forth to refresh the souls of the weary, full they may be in themselves, but they are not sufficient for us, nor for the work of God in the salvation of man. But that it may appear that the scriptures are indeed written by the hand of God, and therefore no way deficient from the end of their design, God hath made them plain and easy to all people that are willing and obedient.

So S. Cyril[k], *Nihil in scripturis difficile est iis qui in illis versantur ut decet.* It is our own fault, our prejudice, our foolish expectations, our carnal fancies, our interests and partialities, make the scriptures difficult. The apostles did not, would not, could not understand their Master and Lord when He told them of His being put to death; they looked for some other thing, and by that measure they would understand what was spoken, and by nothing else. "But to them that are conversant in scriptures as they ought, nothing is difficult;" so S. Cyril; that is, nothing that is necessary for them to know; nothing that is necessary to make us wise unto salvation, which is the great end of man. To this purpose are the words of S. Austin[l], *Inclinavit Deus scripturas ad infantium et lactentium capacitatem*, 'God hath made the scriptures to stoop to the capacity of babes and sucklings,' that so out of their mouths He may perfect praise. And S. Chrysostom[m] says that the scriptures are *faciles ad intelligendum et prorsus expositæ*, they are 'expounded and easy to be understood to the servant and the countryman, to the widow and the boy, and to him that is very unskilful.' *Omnia clara sunt et plana in divinis literis*, 'all things are clear and plain in the divine writings'; all

[k] Lib. ix. contr. Julian. [tom. vi. vid. p. 298 D.]

[l] In psal. viii. [tom. iv. col. 42 A.]

[m] Homil. prima in Matth. [tom. vii. p. 11, Aniano interpr.]

things, 'that is,' saith S. Chrysostom[n], *omnia necessaria aperta sunt et manifesta*, 'all that is necessary is open and manifest.'

2. The fathers say that in such things (viz., in which our salvation is concerned) the scriptures need no interpreter; but a man may find them out himself by himself. *Apostoli vero et prophetæ omnia contra fecerunt manifesta, claraque; quæ prodiderunt, exposuerunt nobis veluti communes orbis doctores, ut per se quisque discere possit ea quæ dicuntur, ex sola lectione;* so S. Chrysostom[o], and therefore (saith he) what need is there of a preacher? All things are clear and plain out of the divine scriptures. But ye seek for preachers because you are nice and delicate, and love to have your ears pleased. To the same purpose are those words of S. Cyril. Alex.[p], 'The divine scripture is sufficient to make them who are educated in it wise and most approved, and having a most sufficient understanding; and to this we need not any foreign teachers.' There is no question but there are many places in the divine scriptures mysterious, intricate and secret; but these are for the learned, not the ignorant; for the curious and inquisitive, not for the busied and employed and simple: they are not the repositories of salvation, but instances of labour and occasions of humility, and arguments of forbearance and mutual toleration, and an endearment of reverence and adoration. But all that by which God brings us to Himself is plain and easy. In S. Paul's epistles S. Peter said there were some things hard to be understood, but they were but *quædam*, 'some things;' there are enow besides which are very plain and easy, and sufficient for the instruction and the perfecting the man of God. S. Peter is indeed supposed to say that in S. Paul's epistles some things were hard; yet if we observe it rightly, he does not relate to S. Paul's writings and way of expressing himself, but ἐν οἷς, 'in which,' relates to the mysterious matters contained in S. Paul's epistles, of which S. Peter[q] also there treats; the mysteries were so deep and sublime, so far removed from sense and human experience, that it is very hard for us poor ignorants to understand them without difficulty, and constancy of labour and observation. But then when such mysterious points occur, let us be wary and wise, not hasty and decretory, but fearful and humble, modest and inquisitive. S. Paul expressed those deep mysteries of the coming of Christ to judgment, and the conflagration of the world, as plainly as the things would easily bear; and therefore the difficulty was not in the style but in the subject matter; nor there indeed, as they are in themselves, so much as by the ignorance and instability or unsettledness of foolish people; and although when things are easy there needs no interpreter but the very reading and observing, and humility and diligence, simplicity and holiness are the best expositors

[n] Homil. iii. in 2 Thess. [tom. xi. p. 528.]

[o] Homil. iii. de Lazaro, [tom. i. p. 739.] et homil. iii. in 2 Thess. [tom. xi. p. 528.]

[p] Lib. vii. contr. Julian. [tom. vi. p. 230 C.]

[q] [2 Pet. iii. 16.]

in the world; yet when any such difficulty does occur, we have a guide sufficient to carry us as far as we need or ought to go. Therefore,

3. The way of the ancient and primitive church was to expound the scriptures by the scriptures. So S. Clemens of Alexandria[r], "perfectly demonstrating out of the scriptures themselves concerning themselves;" *βεβαιοῦν ἕκαστον τῶν ἀποδεικνυμένων κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν ὁμοίων γραφῶν*, 'confirming every thing from[s] those things which are demonstrated from the scriptures out of those and the like scriptures[t].' To the same purpose are the words of S. Athanasius[u], 'The knowledge of true and divine religion and piety does not much need the ministry of man, and he might abundantly draw this forth from the divine books and letters.' S. Paul's way of teaching us to expound scripture is, that he that prophesies should do it *κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως*, 'according to the analogy of faith;' the fundamental proportions of faith are the measures by which we are to exact the sense and meaning of points more difficult and less necessary. This way S. Clement[v] urges in other expressions; "Truth is not found in the translation of significations, for so they might overthrow all true doctrine," *ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ διασκέψασθαι τὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ τελείως οἰκεῖον τε καὶ πρέπον*, 'but in this, that every one consider what is perfectly agreeable to our Lord the almighty God, and what is decent or fit to be said of Him.' If we follow this way close, our interpretations of scripture can never be impious, and can never lead into dangerous error.

4. In pursuance of this, the ancient fathers took this way, and taught us to do so too, to expound difficult places by the plain. So S. Austin[x], *Magnifice et salubriter Spiritus sanctus, &c.*, 'the holy Spirit hath magnificently and wholesomely qualified the holy scriptures, that in the more open' or plainer 'places, provision is made for our hunger,' viz., for our need, 'and in the obscure there is nothing tedious' or loathsome. *Nihil enim fere de illis obscuritatibus eruitur quod non planissime dictum alibi reperiatur*, 'for there is scarce any thing drawn from those obscure places, but the same in other places may be found spoken most plainly.' Bellarmine[y] observes that S. Austin uses the word *fere*, 'almost;' meaning that though by plainer places most of the obscure places may be cleared, yet not all. And truly it is very probable that S. Austin did mean so: but then if there be any obscure places that cannot be so enlightened, what is to be done with them? S. Austin[z] says that in such places 'let

[r] Strom., lib. vii. [cap. 16.] p. 757 sq. [al. p. 891.]

[s] [rather, 'of.']

[t] ['the like scriptures themselves.']

[u] Contr. gentil. in initio. [tom. i. p. 1 A.]

[v] Ubi supra, p. 758.

[x] Lib. ii. de doctr. christ., cap. 6. [tom. iii. part. 1. col. 22 A.]

[y] De verbo Dei, lib. iii. cap. 2. sect. 'Respondeo, non frustra.' [tom. i. col. 166.]

[z] Lib. de unit. ecclesiæ, cap. xviii. [tom. ix. col. 371.]

every one abound in his own sense[a],' and expound as well as he can,—*Quæ obscure vel ambigue vel figurate dicta sunt, quæ quisque sicut voluerit interpretetur secundum sensum suum.* But yet still he calls us to the rule of plain places, *Talia autem recte intelligi exponique non possunt nisi prius ea quæ apertissime dicta sunt, firma fide teneantur;* the plain places of scripture are the way of expounding the more obscure, and there is no other, viz., so apt and certain.

And after all this, I deny not but there are many other external helps. God hath set bishops and priests, preachers and guides of our souls over us; and they are appointed to teach others as far as they can, and it is to be supposed they can do it best; but then the way for them to find out the meaning of obscure places is that which I have now described out of the fathers, and by the use of that means they will be best enabled to teach others.

If any man can find a better way than the fathers have taught us, he will very much oblige the world by declaring it, and giving a solid experiment that he can do what he undertakes. But because no man, and no company of men, hath yet expounded all hard places with certainty and without error; it is an intolerable vanity to pretend to a power of doing that which no charity hath ever obliged them to do for the good of the church, and the glory of God, and the rest of enquiring souls.

I end this tedious discourse with the words of S. Austin[b], *Nolo humanis documentis sed divinis oraculis ecclesiam demonstrari;* if you enquire where or which is the church, from human teachings you can never find her, she is only demonstrated in the divine oracles: therefore "if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God[c]."

§ 3. Of traditions.

TRADITION is any way of delivering a thing or word to another; and so every doctrine of christianity is by tradition. "I have delivered unto you," saith S. Paul[d], "that Christ died for our sins." Παράδοσις is the same with δόγμα[e], and παραδιδόναι is the same with διδάσκειν, say the grammarians; and the παραδοθεῖσα πίστις in S. Jude, 'the faith delivered,' is the same which S. Paul[f] explicates by saying παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε, the 'traditions,' that is, the 'doctrines ye were taught.' And S. Irenæus[g] calls it a tradition apostolical that "Christ took the cup, and said it was His blood;" and "to believe in one God, and in Christ who was born of a virgin, was the old tradition[h];" that is, the thing delivered, and not at first written, which the 'barbarians' kept diligently. But

[a] [Rom. xiv. 5, ed. vulg.]
[b] De unit. eccles., cap. iii. [col. 341 D.]
[c] [1 Pet. iv. 11.]
[d] [1 Cor. xv. 3.]
[e] Sic S. Basilius, lib. iii. contr. Eunomium, [tom. i. p. 276 E.] Τοῦτο σαφῶς μάχεται τῇ παραδόσει τοῦ σωτηρίου βαπτίσματος.
[f] 1 [leg. 2.] Thess. ii. 15.
[g] [lib. iv. cap. 17. p. 249.]
[h] Lib. iii. cap. 4. [p. 178.]

'tradition' signified either preaching or writing, as it happened. When it signified preaching, it was only the first way of communicating the religion of Jesus Christ; and until the scriptures were written, and consigned by the full testimony of the apostles and apostolical churches respectively, they in the questions of religion usually appealed to the tradition, or the constant retention of such a doctrine in those churches where the apostles first preached, and by the succession of bishops in those churches, who without variety or change had still remembered and kept the same doctrine which at first was delivered by the apostles. So Irenæus[j], "If the apostles had not left the scriptures to us, must not we" (viz., in this case) "have followed the order of tradition which they delivered to them to whom they entrusted the church, to which ordination many nations of barbarians do assent?" And that which was true then, is also true now; for if the apostles had never written at all, we must have followed tradition, unless God had "provided for us some better thing." But it is observable that Irenæus says that this way is only in the destitution of scripture; but since God hath supplied not only the principal churches with the scriptures, but even all the nations which the Greek and Romans called barbarous; now to run to tradition, is to make use of a staff or a wooden leg when we have a good leg of our own. The traditions at the first publication of scriptures were clear, evident, recent, remembered, talked of by all Christians in all their meetings, public and private; and the mistaking of them by those who carefully endeavoured to remember them, was not easy; and if there had been a mistake, there was an apostle living, or one of their immediate disciples, to set all things right. And therefore until the apostles were all dead[k], there was no dispute considerable amongst Christians but what was instantly determined, or suppressed; and the heresies that were, did creep and sting clancularly, but made no great show. But when the apostles were all dead, then that apostasy foretold, began to appear; and heresies, of which the church was warned[l], began to arise. But it is greatly to be remarked, there was then no heresy that pretended any foundation from scripture; but from tradition, many: for it was accounted so glorious a thing to have been taught by an apostle, that even good men were willing to believe any thing which their scholars pretended to have heard their masters preach; and too many were forward to say they heard them teach, what they never taught; and the pretence was very easy to be made by the contemporaries or immediate descendants after the apostles; and now that they were dead, it was so difficult to confute them, that the heretics found it an easy game to play, to say they heard it delivered

[j] Ibid.

[k] Hegesip. apud Eccles. [? Eusebium,] lib. iii. c. 32 græc. 26 latin. [p. 127.]

[l] [Acts xx. 29 sq.; 1 Tim. iv. 1, &c.; 2 Tim. iii. 13, &c.; iv. 3; 2 Thess. ii. 3; 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c.; 1 John ii. 18, 19; Jude 4, 5, &c.]

by an apostle. Many did so, and some were at first believed, and yet were afterwards discovered; some were cried down at first, and some expired of themselves, and some were violently thrust away. But how many of those which did descend and pass on to custom were of a true and apostolical original, and how many were not so, it will be impossible to find now; only, because we are sure there was some false dealing in this matter, and we know there might be much more than we have discovered, we have no reason to rely upon any tradition for any part of our faith; any more than we could do upon scripture, if one book or chapter of it should be detected to be imposture. But there were two cases in which tradition was then used; the one was, when the scriptures had not been written or communicated, as among divers nations of the barbarians. The other was, when they disputed with persons who received not all the scriptures; as did the Carpocratians, of whom Irenæus[m] speaks. In these cases tradition was urged, that because they did not agree about the authority of one instrument, they should be admitted to trial upon the other. For as Antonius Marinarius said truly and wisely, the fathers served themselves of this topic only in case of necessity, never thinking to make use of it in competition against holy scripture.

But then it is to be observed that in both these cases the use of tradition is not at all pertinent to the question now in hand. For first, the question was not then as now it is, between persons who equally account of scriptures as the word of God, and to whom the scriptures have been from many generations consigned: for they that had received scriptures at the first, relied upon them; they that had not, were to use tradition, and the topic of succession, to prove their doctrine to have come from the apostles; that is, they were fain to call witnesses when they could not produce a will in writing. But secondly, in other cases the old heretics had the same question as we have now. For besides the scripture they said[n] that "Jesus in mystery spake to His disciples and apostles some things in secret and apart, because they were worthy[o]." And so Christ said, "I have many things to say, but ye cannot hear them now." For this place of scripture was to this purpose urged by the "most foolish heretics[p]." Just thus do the doctors of the church of Rome at this day. So Bellarmine[q], "they preached not to the people all things, but those which were necessary to them, or profitable, but other things they delivered apart to the more perfect." Here then is the popish ground of their traditions; they cannot deny but necessary and pro-

[m] Lib i. c. 1. [?] et c. 24. [al. 25. p. 103 sqq.]

[n] S. Irenæus, lib. i. c. 24. [p. 104.]

[o] [καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶσαι τοῖς ἀξίοις . . . ταῦτα παραδιδόναι, 'and enjoined them to transmit these things to those who were worthy,' &c.]

[p] S. August. tract. xcvii. in Johan. [tom. iii. part. 2. col. 738.]

[q] De verb. Dei non script., lib. iv. c. 11. sect. 'His notatis.' [tom. i. col. 246.]

fitable things were delivered in public, and to all; "but some secret things were reserved for the secret ones: for the scriptures are as the credential letters to an embassador, but traditions are as the private instructions." This was the pretence of the old heretics, and is of the modern papists; who while they say the same thing, pretend for it also the same authority, saying[r] that traditions also are to be received because they are recommended in scripture. Of this I shall hereafter give account; in the mean time,

Concerning this, I remember that a great man of the Roman party[s] falls foul upon Castellio for saying, the apostle had some more secret doctrine which he did not commit to writing, but delivered it to some more perfect persons; and that the word of God was not sufficient for deciding controversies of religion, however it be expounded, but that a more perfect revelation is to be expected. Upon which he hath these words, *Intolerabile est ut Paulus quam accepit reconditiorem doctrinam non scripto consignaverit, fuisset enim alioqui infidelis depositi minister.* And it was most reasonable which Antonius Marinarius, a friar Carmèlite, did say, "If some things were delivered in secret, it was under secret; because the apostles might as well have published it as their disciples; but if it was delivered as a secret, and consequently to be kept as secret, how came the successors of the apostles to publish this secret; to break open the seal, and reveal the forbidden secret?" And secondly, if the secret tradition which certainly was not necessary to all, be made public, how shall we know which traditions are necessary and which are not? Certain it is the secret tradition could not of itself be necessary; and therefore if it becomes so by being made public, it is that which the apostles intended not, for they would have it secret. And therefore it follows that now no man can tell that any of their traditions was intended as necessary; because the only way by which we could know which was and which was not necessary, viz., the making the one public and keeping the other private, is now destroyed, since they are all alike common. All that which was delivered to all and in public, was, by the providence of God ministering apt occasions, and by the Spirit of God inspiring the apostles and evangelists with a will to do it, set down in writing, that they might remain upon record for ever to all generations of the church. So S. Peter promised to the Jews of the dispersion, that he would do something to 'put them in remembrance of the things he had taught them[t];' and he was as good as his word, and employed S. Mark to write the gospel. Others also of the apostles took the same care; and all were directed by God, and particular occurrences were concentred in the general design and counsel of God. So S. Irenæus[u], "The gospel which the apostles preached, afterwards by the will of God they delivered to us in the

[r] ['Truth will out,' by E. W. (see note to p. 285, above)] p. 16.

[s] Salmeron, tom. xv. in 2 Tim. iii. disp. 4. [p. 607.]

[t] [vid. 2 Pet. i. 12—15.]

[u] Lib. iii. c. 1. [p. 173.]

scriptures." It was a tradition still; but now the word signified in its primitive and natural sense, not in the modern and ecclesiastical. But Irenæus speaks of the gospel, that is, the whole gospel of God; not all the particulars that Jesus spake and did, but 'Whatever Christ would have us to read of His words and works, He commanded them to write, as if it were by His own hands[x].' And therefore *Electa sunt quæ scriberentur, quæ saluti credentium sufficere viderentur*[y]. There was a choice made of such things as were to be written; it was not therefore done by chance and contingency (as many of the Roman doctors in disparagement of the scriptures' sufficiency do object) but 'the things were chosen,' saith S. Austin; it was 'according to the will of God,' said S. Irenæus; and the choice was very good; all that sufficed to the salvation of believers: according to the words of S. John[z], "These things were written that ye might believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through His name." And indeed there cannot be any probable cause inducing any wise man to believe that the apostles should pretend to write the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they should insert many things more than necessary, and yet omit any thing that was, and yet still call it "the gospel of Jesus Christ." Nicephorus[a] calls the epistles of S. Paul, 'a summary of what he plainly and explicitly did teach;' much more is every gospel. But when all the four gospels, and the apostolical acts, and epistles, and the visions of S. John were all tied into a volume, by the counsel of God, by the dictate of the Holy Spirit, and by the choice of the apostles; it cannot be probable that this should not be all the gospel of Jesus Christ, all His will and testament. And therefore in vain does the cardinal Perron[b] strive to escape from this by acknowledging that the gospel is the foundation of christianity, as grammar is the foundation of eloquence; as the institutions of Justinian is of the study of the law; as the principles and institutions of a science are of the whole profession of it. It is not in his sense the foundation of christian doctrine, but it contains it all; not only in general, but in special; not only virtual, but actual; not mediate, but immediate. For a few lines would have served for a foundation general, virtual and mediate; if the scripture had said, the church of Rome shall always be the catholic church, and the foundation of faith; she shall be infallible, and to her all Christians ought to have recourse for determination of their questions; this had been a sufficient virtual and mediate foundation: but when four gospels containing Christ's sermons and His miracles, His precepts and His promises; the mysteries of the kingdom, and the way of salvation; the things hidden from the beginning of the

[x] S. Augustin., lib. i. c. 35. de consensu evangel. [tom. iii. part. ii. col. 26 D.]

[y] [Idem] tract. xlix. in Joan. [tom. iii. part. ii. col. 619 B.]

[z] [John xx. 30 sq.]

[a] Lib. ii. hist., c. 34. [tom. i. p. 189 C.]

[b] Contre le roy Jacq. [lib. iii. cap. 11. p. 825.]

world, and the glories reserved to the great day of light and manifestation of Jesus; to say that yet all these gospels, and all the epistles of S. Paul, S. Peter, S. James and S. John, and the acts and sermons of the apostles, in the first establishing the church, are all but a foundation virtual; and that they point out the church indeed, by saying she is 'the pillar and ground of truth,' but leave you to her for the foundation actual, special and immediate; is an affirmation against the notoriety of fact. Add to this that S. Irenæus[c] spake these words concerning the scriptures, in confutation of them who leaving the scriptures did run to traditions pretendedly apostolical.

And though it be true that the traditions they relied upon were secret, apocryphal, forged and supposed; yet because even at that time there were such false wares obtruded, and even then the heretics could not want pretences sufficient to deceive, and hopes to prevail; how is it to be imagined that in the descent of sixteen ages the cheat might not be too prevalent, when, if the traditions be questioned, it will be impossible to prove them, and if they be false, it will (except it be by scripture) be impossible to confute them? And after all, if yet there be any doctrines of faith or manners which are not contained in scripture and yet were preached by the apostles, let that be proved, let the traditions be produced, and the records sufficient, primely credible and authentic, and we shall receive them. So vain a way of arguing it is to say, the traditions against which S. Irenæus speaks were false, but ours are true; theirs were secret, but ours are open and notorious: for there are none such; and Bellarmine[d] himself acknowledges that the necessary things are delivered in scriptures, and those which were reserved for tradition were delivered apart; that is, secretly by the apostles. Now if they were so on all sides, what rule shall we have to distinguish the Valentinian traditions from the Roman, and why shall we believe these more than those, since all must be equally taken upon private testimony at first? And although it will be said that the Roman traditions were received by after-ages, and the other were not; yet this shews nothing else but that some had the fate to prevail, and others had not. For it is certain that some were a long time believed, even for some whole ages, under the name of apostolical tradition (as the Millenary opinion, and the Asiatic manner of keeping Easter) which yet came to be disbelieved in their time: and also it is certain that many which really were apostolical traditions, perished from the memory of men, and had not so long lives as many that were not; so that all this is by chance, and can make no difference in the just authority. And therefore it is vainly said of cardinal Perron that the case is not the same, because theirs are wrong and ours are right. For this ought not to have been said till it were proved; and if it were

[c] Lib. iii. cap. 2. [p. 175.]
[d] Ubi supra, c. 11. de verb. Dei non script., lib. iv. [tom. i. col. 246.]

proved, the whole question were at an end; for we should all receive them which were manifested to be doctrines apostolical. But in this there need no further dispute from the authority of Irenæus, his words concerning the fulness of scripture as to the whole doctrine of Christ being so clear and manifest, as appears in the testimonies brought from him in the foregoing section. Optatus[e] compares the scriptures to the testator's will; if there be a controversy amongst the descendants of the house, run to the scriptures, see the original will; the gospels are Christ's testament; and the epistles are the codicils annexed, and but by these we shall never know the will of the testator. But because the books of scripture were not all written at once, nor at once communicated, nor at once received, therefore the churches of God at first were forced to trust their memories, and to try the doctrines by appealing to the memories of others; that is, to the consenting report, and faith delivered and preached to other churches, especially the chiefest, where the memory of the apostles was recent and permanent. The mysteriousness of Christ's priesthood, the perfection of His sacrifice, and the unity of it, Christ's advocation and intercession for us in heaven, might very well be accounted traditions before S. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews was admitted for canonical; but now they are written truths, and if they had not been written, it is likely we should have lost them. But this way could not long be necessary, and could not long be safe: not necessary, because it was supplied by a better; and to be tied to what was only necessary in the first state of things, is just as if a man should always be tied to suck milk, because at first in his infancy it was fit he should: not safe, because it grew worse and worse every day; and therefore in a little while even the traditions themselves were so far from being the touchstone of true doctrine, that themselves were brought to the stone of trial, and the tradition would not be admitted unless it were in scripture. By which it appears that tradition could not be a part of the rule of faith, distinct from the scriptures, but itself was a part of it; that is, whatsoever was delivered and preached, was recorded; which they so firmly believed, that they rejected the tradition, unless it were so recorded: and secondly, it hence also follows that tradition was, and was esteemed, the worse way of conveying propositions and stories; because the church required that the traditions should be proved by scriptures, that is, the less certain by the more. That this was so, S. Cyprian[f] is a sufficient witness. For when pope Stephen had said, "Let nothing be changed, only that which is delivered," meaning the old tradition, "that was to be kept," S. Cyprian enquires from whence that tradition comes, "Does it come from the gospels, or the epistles, or the Acts of the apostles?" So that after the writing and reception

[e] Contr. Parmen., lib. v. [cap. 3. p. 81.] Biblioth. patrum per Binium, tom. iv. Paris. 1589. p. 510.

[f] Epist. ad Pompeium contra epist. Stephani. [epist. lxxiv. p. 211.]

of scriptures, tradition meant the same thing which was in scripture; or if it did not, the fathers would not admit it. 'All things which are delivered to us by the law and the prophets, the apostles and evangelists, we receive and know and reverence; but we enquire not further; nothing beyond them[g].' If 'the traditions be agreeable to scripture' (said S. Irenæus[h]), that is, if that which is pretended to be taught at first, be recorded by them who did teach it, then all is well. And this affair is fully testified by the words of Eusebius[i], which are greatly conclusive of this enquiry. "We have" (saith he) "promised that we would propose[k] the voices of the old ecclesiastical presbyters and writers, by which they declared the traditions by the authority witnessed and consigned of the approved scriptures[l];" amongst whom was Irenæus, says the Latin version[m].

But I shall descend to a consideration of the particulars which pretend to come to us by tradition, and without it cannot (as it is said) be proved by scripture.

And of those doctrines and practices that most need the help of that topic.

First, it is said that the scripture itself is wholly derived to us by tradition, and therefore besides scripture, tradition is necessary in the church. And indeed no man that understands this question, denies it. This tradition, that these books were written by the apostles, and were delivered by the apostles to the churches as the word of God, relies principally upon tradition universal; that is, it was witnessed to be true by all the christian world at their first being so consigned. Now then this is no part of the word of God, but the notification or manner of conveying the word of God, the instrument of its delivery. So that the tradition concerning the scriptures being extrinsical to scripture is also extrinsical to the question; this tradition cannot be an objection against the sufficiency of scripture to salvation, but must go before this question. For no man enquires whether the scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, unless he believe that there are scriptures, that these are they, and that they are the word of God; all this comes to us by tradition, that is, by universal undeniable testimony. After the scriptures are thus received, there is risen another question, viz., whether or no these scriptures so delivered to us do contain all the word of God; or whether or no, besides the tradition that goes before scripture, which is an instrumental tradition only of scripture, there be not also something else that is necessary to salvation consigned by tradition, as well as the scripture, and of things as necessary or useful as what is contained in scripture, and that is equally the word of God as scrip-

[g] Damasc. de orthod. fide, [lib. i.] cap. 1. [tom. i. p. 123.]

[h] Apud Euseb. hist. eccl., lib. v. cap. 20. Πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς.

[i] Hist. eccles., lib. v. [cap. 8.]

[k] [παραθήσεσθαι, 'adducturos.']

[l] [τὰς περὶ τῶν ἐνδιαθήκων γραφῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς κατελθούσας παραδόσεις.]

[m] [and the original Greek.]

ture is. The tradition of scripture we receive, but of nothing else but what is in scripture. And if it be asked why we receive one and not the rest; we answer, because we have but one tradition of things necessary; that is, there is an universal tradition of scripture[n], and what concerns it, but none of other things which are not in scripture; and there is no necessity we should have any, all things necessary and profitable to the salvation of all men being plainly contained in scriptures, and this sufficiency also being part of that tradition, as I am now proving.

But because other things[o] also are pretended to be or are necessary, and yet are said not to be in scripture, it is necessary that this should be examined.

As of the Trinity.

1. First, all the Nicene definitions, Trinity of persons in one divine essence. This I should not have thought worthy of considering in the words here expressed[p], but that a friend, it seems, of my own, whom I know not, but yet an adversary, as he who should know him best (that is, himself) assures me[q], is pleased to use these words in the objection. To this I answer first, that this gentleman would be much to seek if he were put to it to prove the Trinity of persons in one divine essence to be an express Nicene definition; and therefore if he means that as an instance of the Nicene definitions, he will find himself mistaken. Indeed at Nice the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was determined, but nothing of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, that was the result of after councils. But whatever it was which was there determined, I am sure it was not determined by tradition, but by scripture. So S. Athanasius[r] tells us of the faith which was confessed by the Nicene fathers; it was the faith 'confessed according to the holy scriptures;' and speaking to Serapion of the holy Trinity, he says[s], 'Learn this out of the holy scriptures; for the documents you find in them, are sufficient.' And writing against Samosatenus[t], he proves the incarnation of the Son of God out of the gospel of S. John, saying, "It becomes us to stick close to the word of God." And therefore when Constantine[u] the emperor exhorted the Nicene fathers to concord in the question then to be disputed, they being divine matters, he would they should be ended by the authority of the divine scriptures.

[n] It is therefore weakly said by E. W., p. 5. 'If he says that he impugns all tradition in general, all doctrine not expressly contained in scripture, forced he is to throw away scripture itself,' &c.

[o] E. W. ibid. 'He is forced not only to throw away scripture itself, and the Nicene definitions; not only to disclaim a Trinity of persons in one divine essence, baptizing of children,' &c., 'but every tenet of protestant religion (as protestantism,) e. g. the belief of two sacraments only,' &c.

[p] The same also he says concerning the Nicene and the other three councils, and S. Athanasius' creed, p. 8.

[q] ['By his friendly adversary, E. W.']

[r] Epist. ad Epictet. Corinth. episc. [tom. i. p. 901.]

[s] Lib. iii. [leg. epist. i.] ad Serap. de Spir. S. [tom. i. p. 677.]

[t] Id. de incarnat. [vid. p. 174 supra.]

[u] Theodoret. H. E., lib. i. c. 7. [cap. 6. tom. iii. p. 757.] Et apud Gelas. Cyzicen. in actis concil. Nicæn., lib. ii. c. 7. [p. 84. 8vo. Lutet. 1599.]

'For,' saith he, 'the books of the evangelists and apostles, as also the oracles of the old prophets, do evidently teach us what we are to think of the deity; therefore all seditious contention being laid aside, let us determine the things brought into question by the testimonies of the divinely inspired scriptures.' And they did so. And by relying on scriptures only, we shall never be constrained to quit these glorious portions of evangelical truth, the incarnation of the eternal Word, and the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. "Whatsoever ought to be known of these mysteries is contained in both Testaments," saith Rupertus Tuitiensis, before quoted[v]. And if the holy scriptures did not teach us in these mysteries, we should find tradition to be but a lame leg, or rather a reed of Egypt. For Artemon[x], who was the first founder of that error which afterwards belched into Arianism, pretended a tradition from the apostles that Christ was a mere man; and that tradition descended to the time of pope Zephyrinus, who first gave a stop to it; and Justin Martyr[y] says that divers among the Christians affirmed Christ to be not 'God of God,' but 'man of man.' And the Arians[z] offered to be tried by tradition and therefore pretended to it, and therefore the catholics did not; at least according to the new doctrine, that 'if one pretends tradition, the other cannot.' But for all that trifle, S. Athanasius did sometimes pretend to it, though not always; and this shews that there was no clear, indubitate, notorious, universal tradition in the question; and if there were not such an one, as good none at all; for it could not be such a foundation as was fit to build our faith upon, especially in such mysterious articles. But it is remarkable what Eusebius recites out of an old author, who wrote against the heresy of Artemon, which afterwards Samosatenus renewed, and Arius made public with some alteration, "They all say," says he[a], "that our ancestors and the apostles themselves, not only to have[b] received from our Lord those things which they now affirm, but that they taught it to others; and the preaching or tradition of it run on to the days of pope Victor, and was kept entire, but was depraved by pope Zephyrin. And truly that which was said by them might seem to have in it much of probability, if the divine scriptures did not first of all contradict them, and that there were writings of some brethren elder than the times of Victor." The brethren whose writings he names, are Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clemens, Irenæus, and the psalms and hymns of divers made in honour of Christ. From all which it is evident, 1) that the questions at Nice were not and could not be determined by tradition. 2) That tradition might be and was pretended on both sides. 3) That when it is pretended by the

[v] [p. 402, note f, above.]

[x] Apud Euseb. eccles. hist., lib. v. cap. 27. [27 lat., 28 græc.]

[y] Dial. contr. Tryph. Jud. [§ 48. p. 144.]

[z] Vide etiam Theodoret., lib. i. eccles. hist., c. 8. [al. 7. tom. iii. pp. 762 sq.]

[a] Euseb. eccles. hist., lib. v. c. 27. lat. [28 græc.]

[b] [sic ed.—See note to p. 309 above.]

contradicting parties with some probability, it can effectually serve neither. 4) That the tradition the Samosatenians and Arians boasted of, had in it much probability, when looked upon in its own series and proper state. 5) That the divine scriptures were at that time the best firmament of the church, and defended her from that abuse which might have been imposed upon her under the title of tradition. 6) That even when tradition was opposed to tradition, and the right to the wrong, yet it was not oral or verbal tradition (according to the new mode) but the writings of the doctors that were before them.— But after all this, I cannot but observe and deplore the sad consequents of the Roman doctors' pretension, that this great 'mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh,' relies wholly upon unwritten traditions. For the Socinians, knowing that tradition was on both sides claimed in this article, please themselves in the concession of their adversaries, that this is not to be proved by scripture. So they allege the testimony of Eckius[c], and cardinal Hosius, one of the legates presiding at Trent, *Doctrinam de trino et uno Deo esse dogma traditionis, et ex scriptura nulla ratione probari posse.* The same was affirmed by Tanner[d], and all that were on that side, in the conference at Ratisbon, by Hieronymus a S. Hyacintho, and others. Now they being secured by their very enemies that they need not fear scriptures in this question, and knowing of themselves that tradition cannot alone do it; they are at peace, and dwell in confidence in this their capital error: and the false peace is owing to the Roman doctors; who in Italy help to make atheists, and in Polonia, Socinians: and as a consequent to all this, I remember they[e] scorn Cichovius who endeavoured to confute them by a hundred arguments from scripture, since his own parties do too freely declare that not one of those hundred prove the question.

Pædo-baptism.

2. The next necessary article pretended to stand upon tradition is the baptizing children. Concerning which, I consider either the matter of fact, or matter of doctrine. The matter of fact is indifferent, if abstracted from the doctrine; for at the first they did or they did not, according as they pleased: for there is no pretence of tradition that the church in all ages did baptize all the infants of christian parents; it is more certain that they did not do it always, than that they did it in the first age. S. Ambrose, S. Hierome, and S. Austin were born of christian parents, and yet not baptized until the full age of a man, and more. But that the apostle did baptize any children, is not at all reported by a primely credible tradition, or a famous report: but that they did so is only conjectured at; or if it be more, yet that more, what-

[c] In locis commun., p. 208, 209. [?]

[d] [See vol. v. p. 406.]

[e] Confessionis christianæ ad rogum damnatæ et combustæ manium a R. [Rev.] D. Nicolao Cichovio lacessitorum, sui vindices. Impress. A.D. 1652. [A copy of this work is in the library bequeathed by Dr. Allestree to the Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford.]

soever it be, relies upon the testimony of scripture; as S. Paul's baptizing the households of Stephanas and the jailor. But then if they did or if they did not, yet without an appendent doctrine this passes on by the voluntary practice of the church; and might be or not be, as they pleased; as it was in the case of confirming them, and communicating them at the same time they baptized them; concerning which because we live to have seen and read of several customs of the church in several ages; it is also after the same manner in baptism, if we consider it only in the matter of fact.

But then if we consider the doctrine appendent to it, or the cause why it is pretended they were baptized; even that children should be brought to Christ, should receive His blessing, should be adopted into the kingdom of God, should be made members of the second Adam, and be translated from the death introduced by the first to the life revealed by the second, and that they may receive the holy Spirit, and a title to the promises evangelical, and be born again, and admitted into a state of covenant in which they can receive the gift of eternal life (which I take to be the proper reasons why the church baptizes infants); all these are wholly derived to us from scripture grounds. But then as to that reason upon which the church of Rome baptizes infants, even because it is necessary, and because without it children shall not see God; it is certain there is no universal or prime tradition for that; S. Austin was the hard father[f] of that doctrine. And if we take the whole doctrine and practice together without distinction, that it was the custom so to do in some churches and at some times, is without all question; but that there is a tradition from the apostles so to do, relies but upon two witnesses, Origen and S. Austin; and the latter having received it from the former, it relies wholly upon his single testimony, which is but a pitiful argument to prove a tradition apostolical. He is the first that spoke it[g]; but Tertullian[h], that was before him, seems to speak against it, which he would not have done if it had been a tradition apostolical. And that it was not so is but too certain if there be any truth in the words of Ludovicus Vives[i], saying that anciently none were baptized but persons of ripe age; which words I suppose are to be understood κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον, and 'for the most part.' But although the tradition be uncertain, weak, little and contingent; yet the church of God, whenever she did it (and she might do it at any time) did do it upon scripture grounds. And it was but weakly said by cardinal Perron[k] that 'there is no place of scripture by which we can evidently and necessarily convince the

[f] ['S. Augustinus, durus pater infantum.'—vol. i. p. 269.]

[g] 'Secundum ecclesiæ observantiam,' ait in Levit., c. 12, 13. hom. viii. [tom. ii. p. 230 C.] quem locum citat Perron; hæc autem verba non aiunt ab apostolis hanc manasse observantiam.

[h] Lib. de baptismo, cap. xviii. [p. 231 D.]

[i] In S. August. de civit. Dei, lib. i. cap. 27. [tom. i. p. 51.]

[k] Replique a la response du roy Jacques, [lib. iii. cap. 8. p. 809.]

Anabaptists.' For 1) if that were true, yet it is more certain that by tradition they will never be persuaded, not only because there is no sufficient and full tradition, but because they reject the topic. 2) Although the anabaptists endeavour to elude the arguments of scripture, yet it follows not that scripture is not clear and certain in the article: for it is an easy thing to say something to every thing; but if that be enough against the argument, then no heretic can be convinced by scripture, and there is in scripture no pregnant testimony for any point of faith, for in all questions all heretics prattle something. And therefore it is not a wise procedure to say, 'The adversaries do answer the testimonies of scripture, and by scripture cannot be convinced; and therefore choose some other way of probation.' For when that is done, will they be convinced? and cannot the cardinal satisfy himself by scripture, though the heretic will not confess himself confuted? The papists say they answer the protestants' arguments from scripture; but though they say so to eternal ages, yet in the world nothing is plainer than that they only say so, and that for all that confident and enforced saying, the scriptures are still apparently against them. 3) If the anabaptists speak probably and reasonably in their answers, then it will rather follow that the point is not necessary, than that it must be proved necessary by some other topic. 4) All people that believe baptism of infants necessary, think that they sufficiently prove it from scripture; and Bellarmine, though he also urges this point as an argument for tradition, yet upon wiser thoughts he proves it (and not unsuccessfully) by three arguments from scripture.

Baptism by heretics,

3. Like to this is the pretence of the validity of the baptism of heretics: it is cardinal Perron's own instance, and the first of the four he alleges for the necessity of tradition; this he holds for a doctrine orthodox and apostolic, and yet (says he) there is no word of it in scripture. Concerning this I think the issue will be short. 1) If there be nothing of it in scripture, it is certain there was no apostolical tradition for it: for S. Cyprian[l] and all his colleagues were of an opinion contrary to that of the Roman church in this article, and when they opposed against S. Cyprian a tradition, he knew of no such thing, and bade them prove their tradition from scripture. 2) S. Austin[m], who was something warm in this point, yet confesses the apostles commanded nothing in it; but then he does almost beg us to believe it came from them; *Consuetudo illa quæ opponebatur Cypriano ab eorum traditione exordium sumpsisse credenda est, sicut sunt multa quæ universa tenet ecclesia, et ob hoc ab apostolis præcepta bene creduntur, quanquam scripta non reperiantur:* which in plain meaning is this, 'We find a custom in the church, and we know not

[l] Epist. ad Pompeium. [epist. lxxiv. p. 211.]

[m] [De bapt. contr. Donatist., lib. v. cap. 23. tom. ix. col. 156.]

whence it comes; and it is so in this as in many other things, and therefore let us think the best, and believe it came by tradition from the apostles.' But it seems himself was not sure that so little a foundation could carry so big a weight, he therefore plainly hath recourse to scripture in this question[n]; "Whether is more pernicious, not to be baptized, or to be re-baptized, is hard to judge: nevertheless, having recourse to the standard of our Lord, where the monuments of this are not estimated by human sense but by divine authority, I find concerning each of them the sentence of our Lord;" to wit, in the scriptures. But 3) the question itself is not of a thing necessary; for S. Cyprian and the bishops of Cappadocia and Galatia, and almost two parts of the known world, whose sentiment was differing from others, yet lived and died in the communion of those churches who believed the contrary doctrine; and so it might have been still if things were estimated but according to their intrinsic value. And since, as S. Austin[o] says, they might safely differ in judgment before the determination of this question in a council; it follows evidently that there was no clear tradition against them, or if there were, that was not esteemed a good catholic or convincing argument. For as it is not imaginable so great and wise a part of the catholic church should be ignorant of any famous apostolical tradition, especially when they were called upon to attend to it, and were urged and pressed by it; so it is also very certain there was none such in S. Cyprian's time, because the sixth[p] general council approved of the canon made in the council of Carthage, because *in prædictorum præsulum locis et solum, secundum traditam eis consuetudinem servatus est.* 4) It had been best if the question had never been moved, and the next best had been to have suppressed and forgotten it instantly; for as it came in by zeal and partiality in the hands of the Cappadocian bishops, so it was fed by pride and faction in the hands of the Donatists; and it could have no determination but the mere nature of the thing itself; all the apostles and ministers of religion were commanded to baptize in water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and this was an admission to christianity, not to any sect of it; and if this had been considered wisely, so it had been done by a christian minister in matter and form, there could be no more in it. And therefore the whole thing was to no purpose: so far was it from being an article of faith.

4. The next pretence is that the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son is an article of our faith and yet no where told in scripture, and consequently tradition must help to make up the object of our faith. To this some very excellent persons have opposed this consideration, that the Greeks and Latins differ but in

[n] Contra Donatist., lib. iv. c. 14, 17, 24. [tom. ix. col. 133 sqq.]

[o] Lib. i. de Baptism., cap. 18. [col. 93.]

[p] [Sive Quinisext.] can. ii. [tom. iii. col. 1659.]

modo loquendi, and therefore both speaking the same thing in differing words, shew that the controversy itself is trifling or mistaken. But though I wish them agreed, yet when I consider that in all the endeavours for union at the council of Florence they never understood one another to purposes of peace, I am apt to believe that those who would reconcile them, shew their piety more than the truth of the thing, and that the Greeks and Latins differed entirely in this point. But then that on the Latin side there should be a tradition apostolical, can upon no other account be pretended, but that they could not prove it by scripture, or shew any ecclesiastical law or authority for it. Now if we consider that the Greeks pretend their doctrine not only from scripture but also from immemorial tradition, that is, that they have not innovated the doctrine which their fathers taught them; and on the other side that the Latins have, contrary to the canon of the council of Ephesus, superadded the clause of *Filioque* to the Constantinopolitan creed, and that by authority of a little convention of bishops at Gentilly[p], near to Paris, without the consent of the catholic church; and that by the confession of cardinal Perron[q] not only the scripture favours the Greeks, but reason also; because it is unimaginable that the same particular effect should proceed from two principles in the same kind; and although the three Persons created the world, yet that production was from the divine essence, which is but one principle; but the opinion of the Latins is that the Holy Ghost proceeds from two Persons, as Persons, and therefore from two principles it will be very hard to suppose that because all this is against them, therefore it is certain that they had this from apostolical tradition. The more natural consequence is that their proposition is either mistaken, or uncertain, or not an article of faith (which is rather to be hoped, lest we condemn all the Greek churches as infidels or perverse heretics), or else that it can be derived from scripture, which last is indeed the most probable, and pursuant to the doctrine of those wiser Latins who examined things by reason and not by prejudice. But cardinal Perron's argument is no better than this: Titius was accused to have deserted his station in the battle, and carried false orders to the legion of Spurinna; he answers, I must either have received orders from the general, or else you must suppose me to be a coward or a traitor; for I had no warrant for what I did from the book of military discipline. Well, what if you be supposed to be a coward or traitor, what hurt is in that supposition? But must I conclude that you had order from the general, for fear I should think you did it on your own head, or that you are a traitor? That's the case; either this proposition is derived to us by apostolical tradition, or we have nothing else to say for ourselves. Well, *Nempe*

Hoc Ithacus velit[r]; —

[p] [A.D. 767.—tom. iii. col. 2011.]
[q] Contre le roy Jacques, [lib. iii. cap. 9. p. 818.]
[r] [Virg. Æn. ii. 104.]

the Greeks allow the argument, and will say thus, 'You had nothing to say for yourselves, unless we grant that to you which is the question, and which you can never prove, viz., that there is for this article an apostolical tradition: but because both sides pretend that, let us try this thing by scripture.' And indeed that's the only way. And cardinal Perron's argument may by any Greek be inverted, and turned upon himself. For he saying, 'It is not in scripture, therefore it is a tradition of the church;' it is as good an argument, 'It is not delivered to us by universal tradition, therefore either it is not at all, or it is derived to us from scripture:' and upon the account of this, for my part, I do believe it.

and the Lord's day.

5. The last instance of cardinal Perron is the observation of the Lord's day; but this is matter of discipline and external rite; and because it cannot pretend to be an article of faith or essentially necessary doctrine, the consideration is different from the rest. And it is soon at an end, but that the cardinal would fain make something of nothing, by telling that the Jews complain of the Christians for changing circumcision into baptism, and the saturday sabbath into the dominical or Lord's day. He might as well have added, 'They cry out against the Christians for changing Moses into Christ, the law into the gospel, the covenant of works into the covenant of faith, ceremonies into substances, and rituals into spiritualities.' And we need no further enquiry into this question but to consider what the cardinal[s] says, that "God did the sabbath a special honour by writing this ceremonial alone into the summary of the moral law." Now I demand whether there be not clear and plain scripture for the abolishing of the law of ceremonies: if there be, then the law of the sabbath is abolished; it is part of 'the hand-writing of ordinances,' which 'Christ nailed to His cross.' Now when the sabbath ceases to be obligatory, the church is at liberty: but that there should be a time sanctified or set apart for the proper service of God, I hope is also very clear from scripture, and that the circumstances of religion are in the power of the presidents of religion; and then it will follow from scripture that the apostles, or their successors, or whoever did appoint the sunday-festival, had not only great reason, but full authority, to appoint that day; and that this was done early, and continued constantly for the same reason, and by an equal authority, is no question. But as to the sabbath, S. Paul gave express order that no man should be judged by any part of the ceremonial law, and particularly names the sabbath days, saying, "They all were a shadow of things to come, but Christ is the substance[t]." And yet after all this, the keeping of the Lord's day was no law in christendom till the Laodicean council, but the Jewish sabbath was kept as strictly as the christian Lord's day; and yet both of them with liberty, but with an intuition to the avoiding

[s] Perron, ibid. [lib. iii. cap. 10. p. 819.]

[t] [Coloss. ii. 16.]

offence, and the interests of religion: and the Lord's day came not instead of the sabbath, and it did not succeed in the place of the sabbath, but was merely a christian festival and holy day. But at last: that the keeping of the Lord's day be a tradition apostolical I desire it were heartily believed by every Christian, for though it would make nothing against the sufficiency of scriptures in all questions of faith and rules of manners, yet it might be an engagement on all men to keep it with the greater religion.

6. At the end of this, it is fit I take notice of another particular offered by the by, not in justification of tradition, but in defiance of them that oppose it. "If the protestants oppose all tradition in general, they must quit every tenet of protestant religion (as protestantism); for example sake, the belief of two sacraments only[u]," &c. The charge is fierce, and the stroke is little. It was unadvisedly said that every protestant doctrine, *qua talis*, must be quitted if scripture be the rule: for this very proposition, that scripture is the rule of our faith, is a main protestant doctrine, and therefore certainly must not be quitted if scripture be the rule; that is, if the doctrine be true it must not be forsaken. And although in the whole progress of this book protestant religion will be greatly justified by scripture, yet for the present I desire the gentleman to consider a little better about giving the chalice to all communicants, whether their denying it to the laity be by authority of scripture; and I desire him to consider what place of the Old or New testament he hath for worshipping and making the images of God the Father and the Holy Ghost, or for having their public devotions in an unknown tongue. But of these hereafter.

As to the instance of two sacraments only, I desire the gentleman to understand our doctrine a little better. It is none of the doctrine of the church of England that there are two sacraments only, but that of those rituals commanded in scripture which the ecclesiastical use calls sacraments (by a word of art) "two only" are "generally necessary to salvation." And although we are able to prove this by a tradition much more universal than by which the Roman doctors can prove seven, yet we rely upon scripture for our doctrine; and though, it may be, I shall not dispute it with this gentleman that sends his chartel, unless he had given better proof of his learning and his temper; yet I suppose, if he reads this book over, he shall find something first or last to instruct him, or at least to entertain him in that particular also. But for the present, lest such an unconcerning trifle be forgotten, I desire him to consider that he hath little reason to concern himself in the just number of seven sacraments; for that there are brought in amongst them some new devices, I cannot call them sacraments, but something like what they have already forged, which being but external rites, yet out-do most of

[u] E. W., p. 5.

their sacraments. About the year MDCXXX. there were introduced into Ireland by the Franciscans and Carmelite friars three pretty propositions. 1) Whosoever shall die in the habit of S. Francis shall never be prevented with an unhappy death. 2) Whosoever shall take the scapular of the Carmelites, and die in the same, shall never be damned. 3) Whosoever shall fast the first Saturday after they have heard of the death of Luissa, a Spanish nun of the order of S. Clare, shall have no part in the second death. Now these external rites promise more grace than is conferred by their sacraments, for it promises a certainty of glory, and an intermediate certainty of being in the state of grace; which to them is not and cannot be done (according to their doctrine) by all the other sacraments and sacramentals of their church. Now these things are derived to them by pretended revelations of S. Francis, and S. Simon Stock[v]. And though I know not what the priests and friars in England will think or say of this matter, yet I assure them in Ireland they are of great account, and with much fancy, religion and veneration used at this day. And not long since visiting some of my churches, I found an old nun in the neighbourhood, a poor Clare (as I think), but missing her cord about her which I had formerly observed her to wear, I asked the cause, and was freely answered that a gentlewoman who had lately died had purchased it of her to put about her in her grave. And of how great veneration the saturday fast is here, every one knows, but the cause I knew not till I had learned the story of S. Luissa, and that Flemming their archbishop of Dublin had given countenance to it by his example and credulity. But now it may be perceived that the question of seven sacraments is outdone by the intervention of some new ones, which although they want the name, do greater effects, and therefore have a better title.

But I proceed to more material considerations. Cardinal Perron hath chosen no other instances of matters necessary (as he supposes them), but there are many ritual matters, customs and ceremonies, which were (at least it is said so) practised by the apostolical churches; and some it may be are descended down to us: but because the churches practise many things which the apostles did not, and the apostles did and ordained many things which the church does not observe; it will not appertain to the question to say there are or are not in these things 'traditions apostolical.' The college of widows is dissolved; the canon of abstaining from things strangled[x] obliges not the church; and S. Paul's rule of not electing a bishop that is a novice or young Christian is not always observed at Rome, nay S. Paul himself consecrated Timothy when he was but twenty-five years of age; and the wednesday and friday fast[y] is pretended to have been

[v] [See Moreri, in 'Stock;' and Launoi, De Simonis Stochii viso, &c. 8vo. Par. s. a.]

[x] Vide Ductor. dubitantium, 'Rule of Conscience,' lib. iii. reg. 11. n. 5, 6.

[y] Reginald., Praxis fori pœnit., lib. iv. c. 12. sect. 3. n. 133. [tom. i. p. 155.]

a precept from the very times of the apostles, and yet it is observed but in very few places; and of the fifty canons called apostolical very few are observed in the church at this day; and of eighty-four collected by Clement (as was supposed) Michael Medina[z] says scarce six or eight are observed by the Latin church; "for in them many things are contained," saith Peresius, "which by the corruption of times are not fully observed; others according to the quality of the matter and time being obliterated, or abrogated by the magistery of the whole church." Tertullian[a] speaks of divers unwritten customs of which 'tradition is the author, custom is the confirmer, and faith is the observer.' Such are the renunciations in the office of baptism, trine immersion, tasting milk and honey; abstinence from the bath for a week after; the receiving the eucharist before day, or in the time of their meal from the hand of the presidents of religion; anniversary oblations on birthdays, and for the dead; not to fast, not to kneel, on Sundays; perpetual festivities from Easter to Whitsuntide; not to endure without great trouble bread or drink to fall upon the ground; and at every motion to sign the forehead with the sign of the cross. Some of these are rituals, and some are still observed, and some are superstitious and observed by nobody; and some that are not, may be if the church please: these indeed were traditions, or customs before his time; but not so much as pretended to be apostolical; but if they were, are yet of the same consideration with the rest. If they be customs of the church, they are not without great reason and just authority to be laid aside; but are of no other argument against scripture, than if all the particular customs of all churches were urged. For if they had come from the apostles (as these did not), yet if the apostles say, *Dicit Dominus,* they must be obeyed for ever; but if the word be, *Dico ego, non Dominus,* the church hath her liberty to do what in the changing times is most for edification. And therefore in these things let the church of Rome pretend what traditions apostolical she please of this nature, the church may keep them or lay them aside, according to what they judge is best. For if those canons and traditions of the apostles of which there is no question, and which are recorded in scripture, yet are worn out and laid aside; those certainly which are pretended to be such, and cannot be proved, cannot pass into perpetual obligation, whether the churches will or no.

I shall not need upon this head to consider any more instances, because all the points of popery are pretended to rely upon tradition. The novelty of which because I shall demonstrate in their proper places, proving them to be so far from being traditions apostolical that they are mere innovations in religion; I shall now represent the uncertainty and fallibility of the pretence of traditions in ordinary,

[z] De sacr. hom. contin., lib. v. c. 105. [fol. 243 a. 8vo. Par. 1562.] [p. 526. fol. Ven. 1569.] Peres. de tradit., part. iii. c. 'De auctor. canon. apost.'

[a] De coron. milit., capp. 3, 4. [p. 102.]

and the certain deceptions of those who trust them, and the impossibility of ending many questions by them. I shall not bring the usual arguments which are brought from scriptures against traditions; because although those which Christ condemns in the pharisees, and the apostles in heretical persons, are not reproved for being traditions, but for being without divine authority; that is, they are either against the commandment of God, or without any warrant from God: yet if there be any traditions, real and true;. that is, words of God not written, they (if they could be shewn) would be very good. But then I desire the same ingenuity on the other side; and that the Roman writers would not trouble the question, or abuse their readers, by bringing scriptures to prove their traditions, not by shewing they are recorded in scripture, but by bringing scriptures[b] where the word 'tradition' is named. For besides that such places cannot be with any modesty pretended as proofs of the particular traditions; it is also certain that they cannot prove that in general there are, or can be, any unrecorded scripture, when the whole canon should be written, consigned, and entertained. For it may be necessary that traditions should be called on to be kept before scriptures were written, and yet afterwards not necessary; and those things which were delivered and are not in scripture, may be lost, because they were not written; and then that may be impossible for us to do, which at first might have been done. But this being laid aside, I proceed to considerations proper to the question.

Tertullian, S. Hierome, and S. Austin are pretended the great patrons of tradition, and they have given rules by which we shall know apostolical traditions; and it is well they do so, for sand ought to be put into a glass, and water into a vessel; something to limit the running element, that when you have received it you may keep it. A nuncupative record is like figures in the air, or diagrams in sand; the air and the wind will soon disorder the lines. And God knowing this, and all things else, would not trust so much as the ten words of Moses to oral tradition, but twice wrote them in tables of stone with His own finger. 'I know,' said S. Clement[c], 'that many things are lost by length of time, for want of writing; and therefore I of necessity make use of memorials, and collection of chapters, to supply the weakness of my memory.' And when S. Ignatius in his journey towards martyrdom confirmed the churches through which he passed by private exhortations as well as he was permitted, he exhorted them all to adhere to the tradition of the apostles (meaning that doctrine which was preached by them in their churches), and added this advice or caution[d], 'that he esteemed it was necessary that this tradition should be committed to writing,' that it might be preserved to posterity. And reports by word of

[b] [2 Thess. ii.; 2 Tim. ii.]

[c] Clem. Alex. strom., lib. i. [cap. 1. p. 324.]

[d] Euseb., lib. iii. eccles. hist., c. 36. græc. [p. 131.]

mouth are uncertain, that for want of good records we cannot tell who was S. Peter's successor immediately, whether Clemens, Linus, or Anacletus; and the subscriptions of S. Paul's epistles, having no record but the uncertain voice of tradition, are in some things evidently mistaken, and in some others very uncertain. And upon the same account we cannot tell how many bishops were convened at Nice; Eusebius[e] says they were two hundred and fifty, S. Athanasius says they were just three hundred, Eustratius in Theodoret[f] says they were above two hundred and seventy, Sozomen says they were about three hundred and ten, Epiphanius and others say they were three hundred and eighteen. And when we consider how many pretences have been and are daily made of traditions apostolical which yet are not so, a wise man will take heed lest his credulity and good nature make him to become a fool. S. Clemens Alexandrinus[g] says that the apostles preached to dead infidels, and then raised them to life; and that the Greeks were justified by their philosophy; and accounts these among the ancient traditions. Pope Marcellus[h] was bold to say that it was an apostolical tradition or canon that a council could not be called but by the authority of the bishop of Rome; but the churches in the first ages practised otherwise, and the Greeks never believed it; nor are all the Latin churches of that opinion, as shall be shewn in the sequel. The second canon of the council *in Trullo* commands observation of no less than fourscore and five canons apostolical delivered to the church; but besides that no church keeps them, there are not many who believe that they came from the apostles. S. Austin[i] said that the communicating of infants was an apostolical tradition, but neither the protestants nor the papists believe him in that particular. Clemens Alexandrinus[k] said that Christ preached but one year; S. Irenæus[l] confutes that tradition vehemently, and said it was an apostolical tradition 'that Christ was about fifty years of age when He died, and therefore it must be that He preached almost twenty years; for the scripture says[m], Jesus began to be about thirty years old when He was baptized; and presently after He began to preach.' Now this story of the great age of Christ, Irenæus says that "all the old men that were with S. John the disciple of our Lord say that S. John did deliver unto them." Nay, not only so, but "some of them heard the same from others also of the apostles." There were many more of such traditions: "the day would fail to reckon all the unwritten

[e] Bellarm. de concil. et eccles., lib. i. cap. 5. sect. 'De numero.' [tom. ii. col. 6.]

[f] Theodoret., lib. i. c. 8. eccles. hist. [al. cap. 7. tom. iii. p. 759.]

[g] [Strom., lib. ii. cap. 9. p. 452; et lib. i. cap. 20. p. 377; et lib. vi. cap. 5. p. 761.]

[h] Epist. ad episc. Antioch. [Conc. reg., tom. i. p. 621.]

[i] [Passim; see Bingham, Antiquities, book xv. chap. 4. § 7.]

[k] Stromat., lib. i. [cap. 21. p. 407.]

[l] Lib. ii. cap. 39. [p. 148.]

[m] [Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 14; Luke iii. 23.]

mysteries of the church," said the author of the last chapters of the book *De Spiritu sancto*, falsely imputed to S. Basil[n]: and yet he could reckon but a few; all the rest are lost: and of those that remain, some are not at all observed in any church. But there cannot be a greater instance of the vanity of pretending traditions, than the collection of the canons apostolical by Clement which Damascene[o] reckons as parts of the New testament, that is, equal to canonical writings of the apostles; but Isidore Hispalensis[p] says "they were apocryphal, made by heretics and published in the name of the apostles, but neither the fathers nor the church of Rome did give assent to them;" and yet their authority is received by many in the church of Rome even at this day. But it is to be observed that men accept them or refuse them, not according to their authority, which in all the first fifty at least is equal; but if they be for their interest, then they are apostolical; if against them, then they are interpolated, and apocryphal, and spurious, and heretical: as it hath happened in the fifth canon, and the eighty-fourth (or eighty-fifth[q].)

But this is yet more manifest, if we consider what Origen[r] says, "No man ought for the confirmation of doctrines" (or opinions) "to use books which are not canonized scriptures." Now for ought appears to the contrary, many traditions were two or three hundred years old the first day they were born; and it is not easy to reckon by what means the fathers came, or might come, to admit many things to be tradition; and themselves were not sure: therefore they made rules of their conjecture, presumptions, and sometimes weak arguings. It will be much more hard for us to tell which are right and which are wrong; who have nothing but their rules, which were then but conjectural, and are since proved in many instances to be improbable.

Such is that rule of S. Austin[s], "whatsoever was anciently received, and not instituted (so far as men looking back may observe) by posterity, that is, not decreed by councils, may most rightly be believed to descend from apostolical tradition:" that is, if we do not know the beginning of an universal custom, we may safely conclude it to

[n] Cap. 29. [tom. iii. p. 57.]

[o] Lib. i. c. 18. Orth. fide. [leg. lib. iv. cap. 17. tom. i. p. 284 C.]

[p] Apud Gratian. dist. xvi. c. 'Canones.' [col. 63.]

[q] ['8½,' edd.]

[r] Tract. xxvi. in Matth. Oportet caute considerare, ut nec omnia secreta quæ feruntur nomine sanctorum, suscipiamus, propter Judæos, qui forte ad destructionem veritatis scripturarum nostrarum quædam finxerunt confirmantes dogmata falsa, nec omnia abjiciamus quæ pertinent ad demonstrationem scripturarum nostrarum. Magni ergo viri est audire et adimplere quod dictum est, 'Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.' Tamen propter eos qui non possunt quasi trapezitæ inter verba discernere vera habeantur an falsa, et non possunt semetipsos caute servare ut verum quidem teneant apud se, ab omni autem specie mala abstineant, nemo uti debet ad confirmationem dogmatum libris qui extra canonizatas scripturas.—[tom. iii. p. 848 sq.]

[s] Lib. iv. de baptis. contr. Donat., c. 24. [tom. ix. col. 140.] et cap. 6. [col. 126.]

be primitive and apostolic. Which kind of rule is something like what a witty gentleman said of an old man and an old woman in Ireland; that if they should agree to say that they were Adam and Eve, no man living could disprove them. But though these persons are so old that no man remembers their beginning, and though a custom be immemorial, and hath prevailed far and long; yet to reduce this to the beginning of things may be presumed by him that hath a mind to it, but can never convince him that hath not. And it is certain this rule is but a precarious pitiful presumption, since every ancient custom that any succeeding age hath a mind to continue, may, for the credit of it, and the ignorance of the original, like new upstart gentlemen, be entituled to an honourable house. "Every one believes the commandments of his ancestors to be traditions apostolical," said S. Hierome[t]: and that these came in by private authority, and yet obtained a public name, we have competent warranty from Tertullian[u], who justifies it thus far, "Do you not think it lawful for every faithful man to appoint whatever he thinks may please God, unto discipline and salvation?" And 'from whomsoever the tradition comes, regard not the author but the authority.' And S. Irenæus[x] tells that the variety of keeping Lent (which puts in strongly also to be an apostolical tradition) began among his ancestors "who did not accurately observe their customs, who by a certain simplicity or private authority appointed any thing for their posterity." So that here it is apparent that every private man that was of an ancient standing in the church, might introduce customs and usages which himself thought pious. And next, it is also evident that when these customs derived from their ancestors happened to continue in a lasting use, their posterity was very apt to call them traditions apostolical: according to Tertullian[y], who confessed this very thing. Thus things indifferent being esteemed useful or pious, became customary, and then came for reverence into a putative and usurped authority: but they who, having this warning from the very persons whence the mistake comes, will yet swallow the hook, deserve to live upon air and fancy, and to chew deceit.

But this topic of pretended tradition is the most fallible thing in the world; for it is discovered, of some things that are called apostolical tradition, that they had their original of being so esteemed upon the authority and reputation of one man. Some I say have been so discovered. Papias was the author of the millenary opinion, which prevailed for about three whole ages; and that so universally,

[t] [vid. ep. lii. (tom. iv. part. 2. col. 579) et passim.]

[u] De corona milit., c. iv. [p. 103.]

[x] Apud Euseb., lib. v. c. 26. gr. 24. lat. [p. 247.—Of the interpretation of this disputed passage (in which Taylor follows Christophorson's translation, as in 'Liberty of Prophesying,' § 5. n. 6) see Gunning on Lent Fast, append. cap. 5.]

[y] Lib. de corona militis.—'Si legem nusquam reperio, sequitur ut traditio consuetudini morem hunc dederit, habiturum quandoque apostoli auctoritatem ex interpretatione rationis.' [cap. iv. p. 102 C.]

that Justin Martyr[z] said it was believed by all that were perfectly orthodox; and yet it recurs to him only as the fountain of the tradition. But of this I shall say no more, because this instance hath been by others examined and cleared. The assumption of the Virgin Mary is esteemed a tradition apostolical, but it can derive no higher than S. Austin[a], whose doctrine alone brought into the church the veneration of the assumption; which S. Hierome yet durst not be confident of[b]. But the tradition of keeping Easter the fourteenth day of the moon, derived only from S. John and the Asiatic bishops; but the other from S. Peter and S. Paul prevailed, though it had no greater authority. But the communicating of infants prevailed for many ages in the west, and to this day in the east, and went for an apostolical tradition; but the fortune of it is changed, and it now passes for an error: and S. Hierome[c] said it was an apostolical tradition that a priest should never baptize without chrism; but of this we have scarce any testimony but his own.

But besides this, there was in the beginning of christianity some apocryphal books; of these Origen[d] gave great caution; and because the falsity of these every good man could not discover, therefore he charges them that they should offer to prove no opinion from any books but from the canonical scriptures, as I have already quoted him; but these were very busy in reporting traditions. The book of Hermas seduced S. Clemens of Alexandria[e] into a belief that the apostles preached to them that died infidels, and then raised them to life; and the apocryphal books under the title of Peter and Paul make him believe that the Greeks were saved by their philosophy: and the gospel of Nicodemus[e] (so far as yet appears) was author of the pretended tradition of the signing with the sign of the cross at every motion of the body; and led Tertullian[e], and S. Basil[e], and in consequence the churches of succeeding ages, into the practice of it. A little thing will draw on a willing mind, and nothing is so credulous as piety and timorous religion; and nothing was more fearful to displease God and curious to please Him, than the primitive Christians; and every thing that would invite them to what they thought pious was sure to prevail; and how many such pretences might enter in at this wide door, every man can easily observe.

Add to this, that the world is not agreed about the competency of the testimony, or what is sufficient to prove tradition to be apostolical. Some require and allow only the testimony of the present catholic church, to prove a tradition: which way if it were sufficient, 1) Then it is certain that many things which the primitive fathers and

[z] [Dial. cum Tryph. Jud., § 80. p. 178.]

[a] [Pseud-Aug.] In serm. de assumptione, [tom. vi. append. col. 249 sqq.]

[b] Salmeron, tract. li. in Rom. v. [tom. xiii.] p. 468. in marg.

[c] S. Hieron. dial. adv. Lucifer. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 295.]

[d] Tract. xxvi. in Matth. [tom. iii. p. 848, 9.]

[e] [See vol. v. p. 437, notes q—t.]

churches esteemed tradition, would be found not to be such; because (as appears in divers instances above reckoned) they admitted many traditions which the present church rejects. 2) If this were the way, then truth were as variable as time; and there could be no degrees of credibility in testimony, but still the present were to carry it; that is, every age were to believe themselves and nobody else. And the reason of these things is this, because some things have in some ages been universally received, in others universally rejected. I•instance in the state of saints departed, which once was the opinion of some whole ages, and now we know in what ages it is esteemed an error. 3) The communicating infants, before instanced in, was the practice of the church for six hundred years together[f]; now all that while there was no apostolical tradition against this doctrine and practice, or at least none known; for if there had, these ages would not have admitted this doctrine: but if there were no tradition against it at that time, there is none now. And indeed the testimony of the present church cannot be useful in the question of tradition, if ever there was any age or number of orthodox and learned men that were against it: only in a negative way it can be pretended; that is, if there was no doctrine or practice or report ever to the contrary, then they that have a mind to it may suppose or hope it was apostolical; or at least they cannot be sure that it was not. But this way can never be useful in the questions of christendom, because in them there is father against son, and son against father; Greeks against Latins, and their minds differ as far as east and west; and therefore it cannot be in our late questions, that there was never any thing said to the contrary; but if there was, then the testimony of the present church is not sufficient to prove the tradition to be catholic and apostolic. 4) If the testimony of the present church were a sure record of tradition apostolical, then it is because the present church is infallible; but for that there is neither scripture, nor tradition: or if there were for its infallibility in matter of faith, yet there is none for its infallibility in matter of fact; and such is the tradition: concerning which the question only is whether such a thing was actually taught by an apostle, and transmitted down by the hand of uninterrupted succession of sees and churches. *Antiquissimum quodque verissimum*[g]; we know the fountains were pure, and the current by how much the nearer it is to the spring, it is the less likely to be corrupted. And therefore it is a beginning at the wrong end to say, the present church believes this, therefore so did the primitive; but let it be shewed that the primitive did believe this; for else it is out-facing of an opponent, as if he ought to be ashamed to question whether you have done well or no. For if that question may be asked, it must be

[f] Maldonat. in vi. Joh. 53. [col. 1486.] —Vide etiam Espencæum de adorat. eucharist., lib. ii. c. 12. [p. 1107 sqq.,—opp. fol. Par. 1619.]

[g] [vid. Tertull. de præscr. hæret., cap. xxxi., et adv. Prax., cap. ii.]

submitted to trial, and it must be answered; and the holding the opinion will not justify the holding it; that must be done by something else: therefore the sampler and the sampled must be compared together: and it will be an ill excuse if a servant who delivers a spotted garment to his lord, and tells him, 'Thus it was delivered to me, for thus you see it is now.' If he can prove it was so at first, he may be justified, but else at no hand. And I and all the world will be strangely to seek what the church of Rome means by making conformity to the primitive church a note of the true church, if being now as it is be the rule for what it ought to be: for if so, then well may we examine the primitive church by the present, but not the present by the primitive. 5) If the present catholic church were infallible, yet we were not much the nearer unless this catholic church could be consulted with and heard to speak; nor then neither, unless we know which were indeed the catholic church. There is no word in scripture that the testimony of the present church is the infallible way of proving the unwritten word of God; and there is no tradition that it is so, that I ever yet heard of; and it is impossible it should be so, because the present church of several ages have had contrary traditions: and if neither be, why shall we believe it? if there be, let it be shewed. In the mean time, it is something strange that the infallibility of a church should be brought to prove every particular tradition, and yet itself be one of those particular traditions which proves itself.

But there is a better way; Vincentius Lirinensis his way of judging a traditional doctrine to be apostolical and divine is the 'consent of all churches and all ages.' It is something less that S. Austin[h] requires, *Ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sunt quæ apostolicas sedes habere et epistolas accipere meruerunt;* he speaks it of the particular of judging what books are canonical; in which as tradition is the way to judge, so the rule of tradition is, the consent of most of the catholic churches, particularly those places where the apostles did sit, and to which the apostles did write. But this fancy of S. Austin's is to be understood so as not to be measured by the practice but by the doctrine of the apostolical churches. For that any or more of these churches did or did not do so, is no argument that such a custom came from the apostles, or if it did that it did oblige succeeding ages, unless this custom began by a doctrine, and that the tradition came from the apostles with a declaration of its perpetual obligation; and therefore this is only of use in matters of necessary doctrine. But because there is in this question many differing degrees of authority, he says that our assent is to be given accordingly. "Those which are received of all the catholic churches are to be preferred before those which are not received by all; and of these, those are to be preferred which have the more and the graver testimony: but if it

[h] Lib. ii. de doctr. christiana, c. 8. [tom. iii. part. 1. col. 23.]

should happen (which yet is not) that some are witnessed by the more and others by the graver, let the assent be equal." This indeed is a good way to know nothing; for if one apostolical church differ from another in a doctrinal tradition, no man can tell whom to follow, for they are of equal authority; and nothing can be thence proved, but that oral tradition is an uncertain way of conveying a doctrine. But yet this way of S. Austin is of great and approved use, in the knowing what books are canonical; and in these things it can be had, in some more, in some less, in all more than can be said against it: and there is nothing in succeeding times to give a check to our assents in their degrees, because the longer the succession runs, still the more the church was established in it. But yet concerning those books of scripture of which it was long doubted in the church whether they were part of the apostolical canon of scripture, there ought to be no pretence that they were delivered for such by the apostles, at least not by those churches who doubted of them, unless they will confess that either their churches were not founded by an apostle; or that the apostle who founded them was not faithful in his office in transmitting all that was necessary; or else that those books (particularly the epistle to the Hebrews, &c.) were no necessary part of the canon of scripture; or else lastly, that that church was no faithful keeper of the tradition which came from the apostle. All which things because they will be denied by the church of Rome concerning themselves, the consequent will be that tradition is an uncertain thing, and if it cannot be entire and full in assigning the canon of scripture, it is hardly to be trusted for any thing else which consists of words subject to divers interpretations. But in other things (it may be) the case is not so; for we find that in divers particulars, to prove a point to be a tradition apostolical, use is made of the testimony of the three first ages. Indeed these are the likest to know, but yet they have told us of some things to be traditions which we have no reason to believe to be such. Only thus far they are useful; if they never reported a doctrine, it is the less likely to descend from the apostles; and if the order of succession be broken any where, the succeeding ages can never be surer. If they speak against a doctrine, as for example against the half-communion, we are sure it was no tradition apostolical; if they speak not at all of it, we can never prove the tradition, for it may have come in since that time, and yet come to be thought or called 'tradition apostolical' from other causes, of which I have given account. And indeed there is no security sufficient, but that which can never be had; and that is, the universal positive testimony of all the church of Christ; which he that looks for in the disputed traditions pretended by the church of Rome, may look as long as the Jews do for their wrong Messias. So much as this is can never be had, and less than this will never do it. I will give one considerable instance of this affair[1]. "The

[1] Salmeron, disp. li. in Rom. v. [tom. xiii. p. 467.]

patrons of the opinion of the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin-mother allege that they have the consent of almost the universal church, and the agreeing sentence of all universities, especially of the chief, that is, of Paris; where no man is admitted to be master in theology unless he binds himself by oath to maintain that doctrine. They allege that since this question began to be disputed, almost all the masters in theology, all the preachers of the word of God, all kings and princes, republics and peoples, all popes and pastors and religions (except a part of one) consent in this doctrine. They say that of those authors which are by the other side pretended against it, some are falsely cited, others are wrested and brought in against their wills: some are scarce worth the remembering, and are of an obsolete and worn out authority." Now if these men say true, then they prove a tradition, or else nothing will prove it but a consent absolutely universal, which is not to be had. For on the other side, "they that speak against the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin, particularly cardinal Cajetan, bring (as he says) the irrefragable testimony of fifteen fathers against it; others bring no less than two hundred, and Bandellus brings in almost three hundred;" and that will go a great way to prove a tradition. But that this also is not sufficient, see what the other side say to this. "They say that Scotus, and Holcot, and Ubertinus de Casalis, and the old definition of the university of Paris, and S. Ambrose, and S. Augustine are brought in falsely or violently: and if they were not, yet they say it is an illiteral disputation, and not far from sophistry, to proceed in this way of arguing, for it happens sometimes that a multitude of opiners proceeds only from one famous doctor; and that when the Donatists did glory in the multitude of authors, S. Austin answered that it was a sign the cause wanted truth when it endeavoured to rely alone upon the authority of many; and that it was not fit to relate the sentiment of S. Bernard, Bonaventure, Thomas, and other devotees of the blessed Virgin, as if they were most likely to know her privileges, and therefore would not have denied this of immaculate conception if it had been her due. For she hath many devout servants the world knows not of; and Elisha, though he had the spirit of Elias doubled upon him, yet said, *Dominus celavit a me et non indicavit mihi;* and when Elias complained he was left alone, God said He had seven thousand more. And the apostles did not know all things; and S. Peter walked not according to the truth of the gospel; and S. Cyprian erred in the point of rebaptizing heretics. For God hath not given all things unto all persons, that every age may have proper truths of its own which the former age knew not." Thus Salmeron discourses, and this is the way of many others more eminent; who make use of authority and antiquity when it serves their turn, and when it does not, it is of no use and of no value.

But if these things be thus, then how shall tradition be proved? If the little remnant of the Dominican party which are against the immaculate conception, should chance to be brought off from their opinion (as, if all the rest of the other orders, and many of this be already, it is no hard thing to conjecture that the rest may) and that the whole church (as they will then call it) be of one mind, shall it then be reasonable to conclude that then this doctrine was and is an apostolical tradition, when as yet we know and dare say it is not? That's the case, and that's the new doctrine: but how impossible it is to be true, and how little reason there is in it, is now too apparent. I see that vowing to saints is now at Rome accounted an apostolical doctrine: but with what confidence can any Jesuit tell me that it is so, when by the confession of their chief parties it came in later than the fountains of apostolical doctrines. 'When the scriptures were written, the use of vowing to saints was not begun,' saith Bellarmine[m], and cardinal Perron[n] confesses that in the authors more near to the apostolical age, no footsteps of this custom can be found. Where then is the tradition apostolical? or can the affirmation of the present church make it so? To make a new thing, is easy; but no man can make an old thing.

The consequence of these things is this: all the doctrines of faith and good life are contained and expressed in the plain places of scripture, and besides it there are and there can be no articles of faith; and therefore they who introduce other articles and upon other principles, introduce a faith unknown to the apostles and the fathers of the primitive church: and that the church of Rome does this, I shall manifest in the following discourses.

§ 4. There is nothing of necessity to be believed, which the apostolical churches did not believe.

In the first part of the Dissuasive it was said that the two testaments are the fountains of faith; and whatsoever (viz., as belonging to the faith) came in after these, *foris est*, 'is to be cast out,' it belongs not to Christ; and now I suppose what was then said is fully verified. And the church of Rome, obtruding many propositions upon the belief of the church which are not in scripture, and of which they can never shew any universal or apostolical tradition, urging those upon pain of damnation, imposing an absolute necessity of believing such points which were either denied by the primitive church, or were counted but indifferent and matters of opinion, hath disordered the christian religion, and made it to-day a new thing, and unlike the great and glorious Founder of it, who is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." The charge here then is double, they have made new necessities, and they have made new articles.

[m] De cultu SS., lib. iii. c. 9. sect. 'Præterea.' [tom. ii. col. 1090.]
[n] Contre le roy Jacques, [lib. v. cap. 19. p. 1009.]

I choose to speak first of their tyrannical manner of imposing their articles; viz., every thing under pain of damnation: the other, of the new matter, is the subject of the following sections.

First then, I allege that the primitive church being taught by scripture and the examples apostolical, affirmed but few things to be necessary to salvation. They believed the whole scriptures; every thing they had learned there, they equally believed; but because every thing was not of equal necessity to be believed, they did not equally learn and teach all that was in scripture. But the apostles, say some,—others say that immediately after them, the church,—did agree upon a creed, a symbol of articles which were in the whole the foundation of faith, the ground of the christian hope, and that upon which charity or good life was to be built. There were in scripture many creeds[o]; the gentiles' creed, Martha's creed, the eunuch's creed, S. Peter's creed, S. Paul's creed. To 'believe that God is, and that He is the rewarder of them that seek Him diligently;' to 'believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of the living God,' that 'Jesus is come in the flesh,' that He 'rose again from the dead;' these confessions were the occasions of admirable effects. By the first the gentiles come to God: by the following blessedness[p] is declared; salvation is promised to him that believes, and to him that confesses this, 'God will come and dwell in him, and he shall dwell in God;' and this 'belief' is 'the end of writing the gospel,' as 'having life through Christ' is the end of this belief: and all this is more fully explicated by S. Paul's[q] creed, "This is the word of faith which we preach, that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." This is "the word of faith," which if we confess with our mouths, and entertain and believe in our heart, that is, do live according to it, we shall certainly be saved. If we acknowledge Christ to be our Lord, that is, our law-giver and our Saviour, to rescue us from our sins and their just consequents, we have all faith; and nothing else can be the foundation, but such articles which are the confession of those two truths, 'Christ Jesus our Lord,' 'Christ Jesus our Saviour;' that by faith we be brought unto obedience and love, and by this love we be brought to Christ, and by Christ unto God; this is the whole complexion of the christian faith, the economy of our salvation. There are many other doctrines of christianity of admirable use, and fitted to great purposes of knowledge and government; but 'the word of faith' (as S. Paul calls it[r]), that which the apostles preached, viz., to all, and as of particular remark and universal efficacy, and absolute sufficiency to salvation, is that which is described by himself in those

[o] [Matt. xvi. 16; 1 John iv. 2, 15; John xx. 31; xi. 27; Hebr. xi.; [John] vi. 69.]

[p] [Matt. xvi. 17.]

[q] [Rom. x. 8; Matt. x. 32; Mark viii. 38; Luke ix. 26; xii. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 12; Apocal. iii. 5.]

[r] [Rom. x. 8.]

few words now quoted. "Other foundation than this no man can lay, that is, Jesus Christ[s]." Every thing else is but a superstructure; and though it may, if it be good, be of advantage; yet if it be amiss, so the foundation be kept, it will only be matter of loss and detriment, but consistent with salvation. And therefore S. Paul judged that he would 'know nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.' And this is the sum total of all, this is 'the gospel:' so S. Paul, most fully; "I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received, and wherein ye stand; by which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I have preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain." And what is this gospel, this word 'preached and received,' that 'by which we stand,' and that 'by which we are saved?' It is nothing but this, "I delivered unto you first of all that which I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the scriptures." This was the *traditum*, the *depositum*, this was the *evangelium;* Christ died, He 'died for our sins, and He rose again for us;' and this being the great tradition by which they tried the spirits, yet was it laid up in scriptures. That 'Christ died,' was 'according to the scriptures;' that 'He rose again,' was 'according to the scriptures;' and that S. Paul twice[t], and that so immediately, remarks this, is not without mystery; but it can imply to us nothing but this, that our whole faith is laid up in the scriptures; and this faith is perfected, as to the essentiality of it, in the death and resurrection of Christ; as being the whole economy of our pardon and justification. And it is yet further remarkable that when S. Paul[u] (as he often does) renews and repeats this christian creed, he calls upon us not to be wise above what is written, and to 'be wise unto sobriety.' Which he afterwards[v] expounding, says "He that prophesies, let him do it according to the proportion of faith;" that is, if he will enlarge himself he may, and prophesy greatly; but still to keep himself to the analogy of faith; not to go beyond that, not to be wiser than that measure of sobriety. And if we observe the three sermons of S. Peter[x], the sermon of S. Philip, and S. Silas, the sermons of S. Paul often preached in the synagogues; they were all but this[y]; that 'Jesus Christ is the Son of God;' that 'He is the Lord of all;' that He is 'the Christ of God,' that 'God anointed Him,' that 'He was crucified, and raised again from the dead; and that repentance, and remission of sins, was to be preached in His name.'

But as the Spirit of God did purpose for ever with strictness to retain the simplicity of faith, so also He was pleased so far to descant upon the plain ground, as to make the mystery of godliness to be

[s] [1 Cor. iii. 11.]
[t] [1 Cor. xv. 3, 4; ii. 2.]
[u] [1 Cor. iv. 6; Rom. xii. 6.]
[v] [ver. 6.]
[x] [Acts ii. 24; iii. 12.]
[y] [Acts viii. 12, 37, 38; ix. 20; xvii. 2, [sqq.]; xvi. 31; xvii. 18; xxviii. 31.]

clearly understood by all men. And therefore that we might see it necessary to believe in Jesus, it was necessary we should understand He was a person to be relied upon, that He was infinitely credible, powerful, and wise, just and holy; and that we might perceive it necessary and profitable to obey Him, it was fit we understood why; that is, what good would follow him that is obedient, and what evil to the refractory. This was all; and this indeed was the necessary appendage of the simple and pure word of faith; and this the apostles drew into a symbol and particular minute of articles. Now although the first was sufficient; yet they knowing it was fit we should understand this simplicity with the investiture of some circumstances, and yet knowing that it was not fit the simplicity of faith should be troubled with new matter, were pleased to draw the whole into a scheme, sufficient and intelligible, but nothing perplexed, nothing impertinent: and this the church hath called the Apostles' Creed; which contains all that which is necessary to be enquired after, and believed by an universal and prime necessity.

True it is, other things may become necessary by accident and collateral obligations; and if we come to know what God in the abundance of His wisdom and goodness hath spoken to mankind, we are bound to believe it: but the case is different. Many things may be necessary to be believed, that we may acknowledge God's veracity: and so also many things are necessary to be done, in obedience to the empire and dictates of the conscience; which oftentimes hath authority, when she hath no reason; and is a peremptory judge, when she is no wise counsellor. But though these things are true, yet nothing is a necessary article of faith but that which ministers necessarily to the great designs of the gospel, that is, a life conformable to God, a god-like life, and an imitation of the holy Jesus. To 'believe,' and to 'have faith' in the evangelical sense, are things very different. Every man is bound to have faith in all the proper objects of it: but only some men are bound to believe truths which are not matters of faith. This obliges upon supposition of a manifest discovery, which may, or may not happen; but in the other case, we are bound to enquire; and all of us must be instructed, and every man must assent: and without this, we cannot be Christ's disciples; we are rebels, if we oppose the other, and no good man can or does.

For if he be satisfied that it is the word and mind of God, he must and will believe it, he cannot choose; and if he will not confess it when he thinks God bids him, or if he opposes it when he thinks God speaks it, he is malicious and a villain; but if he does not believe God said it, then he must answer for more than he knows, or than he ought to believe, that is, the articles of faith: but we are not subjects or children, unless we consent to these. The other cannot come into the common accounts of mankind, but as a man may become a law unto himself by a confident, an unnecessary, and even a

false persuasion (because even an erring conscience can bind[z]), so much more can God become a law unto us when we by any accident come into the knowledge of any revelation from God: but these are not the christian faith, in the strict and proper sense; that is, these are not the foundation of our religion: many a man is a good Christian without THEM, and goes to heaven though he know nothing of them, but without THESE no Christian can be saved.

Now then the apostles, the founders of christianity, knowing the nature, design, efficacy and purpose of the articles of faith, selected such propositions which in conjunction did integrate our faith, and were therefore necessary to be believed unto salvation, not because these articles were for themselves commanded to be believed, but because without the belief of them we could not obtain the purposes and designs of faith; that is, we could not be enabled to serve God, to destroy the whole body of sin, to be partakers of the divine nature. This collect or symbol of propositions is that which we call the apostles' creed, which I shall endeavour to prove to have been always in the primitive church esteemed a full and perfect digest of all the necessary and fundamental articles of christian religion; and that beyond this the christian faith or the foundation was not to be extended; but this, as it was in the whole complexion necessary, so it was sufficient for all men unto salvation.

S. Paul gave us the first formal intimation of this measure, in his advices to S. Timothy[a], "Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. That good thing which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost which dwelleth in us." This was the *depositum* that S. Paul left with Timothy, the *hypotyposis* or summary of christian belief, the christian creed; which S. Paul[b] opposes to the 'profane new talkings,' and the 'disputations' of pretended learning: meaning, that this symbol of faith is the thing on which all Christians are to rely; and this is the measure of their faith; other things it is odds but they are babblings, and profane quarrelling, and unedifying argumentations. S. Ignatius[c] recites the substance of this creed in four of the epistles usually attributed to him; some of which are witnessed by Eusebius and S. Hierome; and adds at the end of it this *epiphonema, Hæc qui plane cognorit et crediderit, beatus est.* And S. Irenæus[d] reciting the same creed or form of words, differing only in order of placing them, but justly the same articles and foundation of faith, affirms that this is "the faith which the catholic church to the very ends of the earth hath received from the apostles and their disciples." And this is that tradition apostolical of which the churches of old did so much glory, and to which with so much confidence they

[z] [Duct. dubit., book i. chap. 3. rule 2.]
[a] [2 Tim. i. 13.]
[b] [1 Tim. vi. 20.]
[c] Epist. 3. ad Magnes. et 5. ad Philipp. et 7. ad Smyrnens. et 11. ad Ephesios.
[d] S. Irenæus, lib. i. cap. 2. [al. cap. 10. p. 48.]

appealed, and by which they provoked the heretics to trial. "This preaching[e] and this faith when the church scattered over the face of the world had received, she keeps diligently as dwelling in one house; and believes, as having one soul and one heart; and preaches and teaches, and delivers these things, as possessing one mouth. For although there are divers speeches in the world, yet the force of the tradition is one and the same. Neither do the churches founded in Germany believe otherwise, *aut aliter tradunt,* or have any other tradition; nor the Iberian churches, or those among the Celtæ, nor the churches in the east, in Egypt, or in Libya, nor those which are in the midst of the world." But he adds that this is not only for the ignorant, the idiots or *catechumeni;* but "neither he who is most eloquent among the bishops can say any other things than these, for no man is above his master; neither hath he that is the lowest in speaking lessened the tradition: for the faith is one and the same; he that can speak much can speak no more, and he that speaks little says no less." This creed also he recites again, affirming that even those nations who had not yet received the books of the apostles and evangelists, yet by this confession and this creed did 'please God, and were most wise through faith[f]:' for this is that which he calls the 'tradition of the truth;' that is, of that truth which the apostles taught the church, and by the actual retention of which truth it is that the church is rightly called 'the pillar and ground of truth' by S. Paul; and in relation to this S. Irenæus[g] reckoned it to be all one, *extra veritatem, id est, extra ecclesiam.* Upon this collect of truths the church was founded, and upon this it was built up; and in this all the apostolical churches did hope for life eternal; and by this they opposed all schisms and heresies, as knowing what their and our great Master himself said[h] in His last sermon, "This is life eternal, to know Thee the only true God, and whom Thou hast sent Jesus Christ."

This also is most largely taught by Tertullian[i], who when he had recited the apostolical creed in the words and form the church then used it, calls it the 'rule of faith;' he affirms this 'rule to have been instituted by Christ;' he affirms that it "admits of no questions, and hath none but those which the heresies brought in, and which indeed makes heretics. But this form remaining in its order, you may seek and handle, and pour out all the desires of curiosity, if any thing seems ambiguous or obscure, in case any brother be a doctor endued with the grace of knowledge: but be curious with yourself, and seek with yourself[k]: but at length, it is better for you to be ignorant, lest you come to know what ye ought not, for you already know what you

[e] Et cap. 3. [p. 49.]

[f] Propter fidem perquam sapientissimi sunt.—Lib. iii. cap. 4. [p. 178.]

[g] Lib. iv. cap. 62. [al. 33. p. 272.]

[h] [John xvii. 3.]

[i] Tertul. de præscript. adv. hæret., capp. xiii. et xiv. [pp. 206, 7.]

[k] ['but be . . . self,' 'est aliqui tecum curiosus, tecum tamen quærens.']

ought. Faith consists in the rule: to know nothing beyond this, is to know all things." To the same purpose he affirms[l] that this 'rule is unalterable, is immovable, and irreformable;' it is the 'rule of faith,' and it is 'one;' unchangeably the same: which when he had said, he again recites the apostles' creed; he calls it[m] *legem fidei;* 'this law of faith remaining, in other things of discipline and conversation the grace of God may thrust us forward, and they may be corrected and renewed:' but the faith cannot be altered, there is neither more nor less in that. And it is of great remark what account Tertullian[n] gives of the state of all the catholic churches, and particularly of the church of Rome in his time, "That church is in a happy state into which the apostles with their blood poured forth all their doctrine; let us see what she said, what she taught, what she published in conjunction with the African churches: she knows one God, the Creator of the world; and Jesus Christ of the Virgin Mary, the Son of God the Creator; and the resurrection of the flesh: she mingles the law and the prophets with the evangelical and apostolical writings, and from thence she drinks that faith: she signs with water, she clothes with the Holy Spirit, she feeds with the eucharist, she exhorts to martyrdom, and against this institution receives none." This indeed was a happy state, and if in this she would abide, her happiness had been as unalterable as her faith; but from this how much she hath degenerated, will too much appear in the order of this discourse.

In the confession of this creed the church of God baptized all her catechumens, to whom in the profession of that faith they consigned all the promises of the gospel. For the truth of God, the faith of Jesus Christ, the belief of a Christian, is the purest, simplest thing in the world. *In simplicitate fides est, in fide justitia est, in confessione pietas est: nec Deus nos ad beatam vitam per difficiles quæstiones vocat, nec multiplici eloquentis facundiæ genere sollicitat; in absoluto nobis ac facili est æternitas. Jesum Christum credimus suscitatum a mortuis per Deum, et ipsum esse Dominum confitemur.* This is the breviary of the christian creed: and this is the way of salvation, saith S. Hilary[o]. But speaking more explicitly to the churches of France and Germany, he calls them happy and glorious[p], *qui perfectam atque apostolicam fidem conscientiæ professione retinentes, conscriptas fides huc usque nescitis;* because they kept the apostolical belief, for that is perfect.

Thus the church remaining in the purity and innocent simplicity of the faith, there was no way of confuting heretics but by the words of scripture, or by appealing to the tradition of this faith in the apostolical form: and there was no change made till the time of the

[l] Lib. de veland. virg., c. i. Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis. [p. 173 A.]

[m] Lib. de veland. virg., c. i. [ibid.]

[n] De præscript., cap. xxxvi. [p. 215.]

[o] S. Hilar., lib. x. de Trinit. vers. finem. [vid. col. 1080.]

[p] Lib. de synodis, [col. 1187 B.]

Nicene council; but then it is said that the first simplicity began to fall away, and some new thing to be introduced into the christian creed. True it is that then christianity was in one complexion with the empire, and the division of hearts by a different opinion was likely to have influence upon the public peace, if it were not composed by peaceable consent, or prevailing authority; and therefore the fathers there assembled, together with the emperor's power, did give such a period to their question as they could; but as yet it is not certain that they at their meeting recited any other creed than the apostolical; for that they did not, Laurentius Valla[q], a canon in the Lateran church, affirms that himself hath read in the ancient books of Isidore, who collected the canons of the ancient councils. Certain it is, the fathers believed it to be no other than the apostolical faith; and the few words they added to the old form, was nothing new, but a few more explicate words, of the same sense intended by the apostles and their successors; as at that time the church did remember by the successive preachings and written records which they had, and we have not; but especially by scripture. But the change was so little, or indeed so none as to the matter, that they affirmed of it, 'This was the creed delivered by the holy apostles[r];' and in the old Latin Missal published at Strasburgh, An. Dom. 1557, after the recitation of the Nicene creed (as we usually call it) it is added in the rubric, *Finito symbolo apostolorum dicat sacerdos, Dominus vobiscum;* so that it should seem the Nicene fathers used no other creed than what themselves thought to be the apostolical. And this is the more credible, because we find that some other copies of the apostles' creed, particularly that which was used in the church of Aquileia[s], hath divers words and amplifications of some one article; as, to the article of 'God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth,' is added 'invisible' and 'impassible:' which, though the words were set down there because of the Sabellian heresy, yet they said nothing new, but what to every man of reason was included in the very nature of God; and so was the addition of Nice, concerning the divinity of the Son of God, included in the very natural filiation expressed in the apostles' creed: and therefore this Nicene creed was no more a new creed than was that of Aquileia; which although it was not in every word like the Roman symbol, yet it was no other than the apostolical. And the same is the case even of those symbols where something was omitted that was sufficiently in the bowels of the other articles. Thus in some creeds Christ's death is omitted, but His crucifixion and burial are set down. The same variety also is observable in the article of Christ's descent into hell; which as it is omitted in that form of the apostolical creed which I am now saying was used by the Nicene

[q] In antidoto ad Nicolaum V. papam. [lib. iv. p. 359.—opp. fol. Basil. 1540.]

[r] Epiphan. in Ἀγκυρ. [§ 119. tom. ii. p. 122.]

[s] [Apud Ruffinum, 'Expos. in symb. apost.' ad calc. opp. S. Cyprian. p. 17.]

fathers, so was it omitted in the six several recitations and expositions of it made by Chrysologus, and in the five expositions made of it by S. Austin, in his book *De fide et symbolo,* and in his four books *De symbolo ad catechumenos,* and divers others. So the article of the communion of saints, which is neither in the Nicene nor Constantinopolitan creed, nor in the ancient apostolical creeds expounded by Marcellus, Ruffinus, Chrysologus, Maximus Taurinensis, Venantius Fortunatus, Etherius[t] and Beatus: yet because it is so plain in the article of the church, as the omission is no prejudice to the integrity of the christian faith, so the inserting it is no addition of an article, or innovation. So these copies now reckoned omit in the beginning of the creed, 'Maker of heaven and earth:' but out of the Constantinopolitan creed it is now inserted into all the copies of the apostolical symbol. Now as these omissions or additions respectively, that is, this variety, is no prejudice to these being the apostles' creed; so neither is the addition made at Nice any other but a setting down what was plainly included in the filiation of the Son of God; and therefore was no addition of an article, nor properly an explication, but a saying in more words what the apostles and the apostolical churches did mean in all the copies, and what was delivered before that convention at Nice. But there was ill use made of it; and wise men, if they had pleased, might easily have foreseen it. But whether it was so or no (for I can no otherwise affirm it than as I have said) yet to add any new thing to the creed, or to appoint a new creed, was at that time so strange a thing, so unknown to the church, that though what they did was done with pious intention, and great advantage in the article itself; yet it did not produce that effect which from such a concurrence of sentiments might have been expected. For first, even some of the fathers then present refused to subscribe the additions, some did it (as they said) against their will, some were afraid to use the word ὁμοούσιος, or 'consubstantial:' and most men were still so unsatisfied, that presently after council upon council was again called, at Sirmium, Ariminum, Seleucia, Sardis[u], to appease the new stirs rising upon the old account; and instead of making things quiet, they quenched the fire with oil: and the principal persons in the Nicene council changed their minds, and gave themselves over to the contrary temptation. Even Hosius[v] himself, who presided at Nice, and confirmed the former decrees at Sardis[u]; yet he left that faith, and by that desertion affrighted and shook the fabric of the christian church in the article added or explained at Nice. In the same sad condition[w] was Marcellus of Ancyra, a great friend of S. Athanasius, and an earnest

[t] Lib. i. contra Elipand. Tolet. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. viii. p. 347.]

[u] [See p. 360, note r, above.]

[v] Hosii plane miserabili casu catholicus orbis contremuit, concussæque sunt solidissimæ petræ.—Baron. A. C. ccclvii. n. 17, 18. [tom. iii. p. 704.]

[w] Vide epist. Marcellinorum ad episcopos in Dio-Cæsarea exulantes. [Epiphan. hær. lxxii. tom. i. p. 842.]

opposer of Arius; so were the two Photinus's, Eustathius, Elpidius, Heracides[x], Hygin, Sigerius[y], the president Cyriacus, and the emperor Constantine himself; who by banishing Athanasius into France, by becoming Arian and being baptized by an Arian bishop, 'secured the empire to his sons;' as themselves did say, as it is reported by Lucifer Calaritanus[z]; and that he was vehemently suspected by the catholics, is affirmed by Eusebius, Hierome, Ambrose, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Socrates. But Liberius bishop of Rome was more than suspected to have become an Arian, as Athanasius himself, S. Hierome, Damasus, and S. Hilary[a] report. So did pope Felix the second, and Leo his successor. It should seem by all this that the definitions of general councils were not accounted the last determination of truths, or rather that what propositions general councils say are true, are not therefore part of the body of faith, though they be true; or else that all these persons did go against an established rule of faith and conscience; which if they had done they might easily have been oppressed by their adversaries urging the plain authority of the council against them. But, "Neither am I to urge against thee the Nicene council, nor thou the council of Ariminum against me," was the saying of S. Austin[b]; even long after the council of Nice had by concession obtained more authority than it had at first. Now the reason of these things can be no other than this; not that the Nicene council was not the best that ever was since the day that a council was held at Jerusalem by all the apostles; but that the council's adding something to the creed of the church, which had been the *ἀνθεντία* of the christian faith for three hundred years together, was so strange a thing that they would not easily bear that yoke. And that this was the matter, appears by what the fathers of the church after the council did complain[c], "After the Nicene synod we write nothing but faiths," (viz., new creeds:) "while there is contention about words, while there is question about novelties, while there is complaint of ambiguities and of authors, while there is contention of parties and difficulty in consenting, and while one is become an anathema to another, scarce any man now is of Christ." And again[d], "We decree yearly and monthly faiths of God; we repent when we have decreed them; we defend them that repent, we anathematize them that are defended; we either condemn foreign things in our own, or condemn our own in foreign things; and biting one another we are devoured of one another." This was the product of leaving the simplicity and per-

[x] [leg. 'Heraclides.']

[y] [?]

[z] Pro S. Athanas., lib. i. apud Baron. A. C. cccxxxvi. n. 13. [tom. iii. p. 445.]

[a] Idem aiunt Martinus Polonus, Alphonsus de Castro, et Volaterranus.

[b] [vid p. 359, supra.]

[c] Dum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitatibus quæstio est, dum de ambiguis, . . dum de auctoribus querela est, dum de studiis certamen est, dum in consensu difficultas est, dum alter alteri anathema esse cœpit, prope jam nemo Christi est.—S. Hilar. [ad Constant., lib. ii. col. 1227.]

[d] [ibid., col. 1228.]

fection of the first rule; by which the church for so many ages of martyrdom was preserved and defended, and consummated their religious lives and their holy baptism of blood, and which they opposed as a sufficient shield against all heresies arising in the church.

And yet the Nicene fathers did add no new article[e], of new matter; but explicated the filiation of Jesus Christ, saying in what sense He was the Son of God; which was in proper speaking an interpretation of a word in the apostles' creed: and yet this occasioned such stirs, and gave so little satisfaction at first, and so great disturbances afterward, that S. Hilary[f] called them happy, who neither made, nor knew, nor received any other symbol besides that most simple creed used in all churches ever since the apostles' days.

However, it pleased the divine providence so to conduct the spirits of the catholic prelates, that by their wise and holy adhering to the creed as explicated at Nice they procured great authority to the Nicene faith, which was not only the truth, but a truth delivered and confirmed by the most famous and excellent prelates that ever the christian church could glory in since the death of the apostles. But yet that the inconvenience might be cut off which came in upon the occasion of the Nicene addition; (for it produced thirty explicative creeds more in a short time, as Marcus Ephesius openly affirmed in the council of Florence;) in the council of Ephesus[g], which was the third general, it was forbidden that ever there should be any addition to the Nicene faith; "that it should not be lawful from thence forward, for any one to produce, to write, or to compose any other faith" or creed "besides that which was defined by the holy fathers meeting at Nice in the Holy Spirit." Here the supreme power of the church, a general council, hath declared that it never should be lawful to add any thing to the former confession of faith explicated at Nice; and this canon was renewed in the next general council, that of Chalcedon[h], 'that the faith formerly determined should at no hand, in no manner be shaken or moved any more;' meaning, by addition or diminution.—There are some[i] so impertinently weak as to expound these canons to mean only 'the adding any thing contrary to the Nicene faith;' which is an answer against reason and experience; for first, it is not imaginable that any man, admitting the Nicene creed, can by an addition intend expressly to contradict it; and if he does not admit and believe it, he would lay that confession aside, and not meddle with it: but if he should design the inserting of a clause that should secretly undermine it; he must suppose all men that see it to be very fools, not to understand it, or infinitely careless of what they believe and profess: but if it should happen so, then this were a

[e] Quid unquam aliud ecclesia conciliorum decretis enisa est, nisi ut, quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur.—Vincent. Lirin. contr. hæres.. [cap. xxiii. p. 112.]

[f] Lib. de synodis, [col. 1187 B.]

[g] Concil. Ephes. [tom. i. col. 1525.]

[h] [tom. ii. col. 249.]

[i] The author of the Letter, [A. L.] p. 7.

very good reason of the prohibition of any thing whatsoever to be added, lest secretly and undiscernibly the first truth be confuted by the new article: and therefore it was a wise caution to forbid all additions, lest some may prove to be contrary. And then secondly, it is against the experience of things; for (1) first, the canon was made upon the occasion of a creed brought into the council by Charisius; but all creeds thereupon were rejected, and the Nicene adhered to, and commanded to be so for ever. For as Balsamon observes, there were three things done in this canon[k]; 1) There was an edict made in behalf of the things decreed at Ephesus. 2) In like manner the holy creed being made in the first synod, this creed was read aloud, and caution was given that no man should make any other creed, upon pain of deposition if he were an ecclesiastic, of excommunication if he were a laic. 3) The third thing he also thus expresses, "The same thing also is to be done to them who receive and teach the decrees of Nestorius." So that the creed that Charisius brought in was rejected because it was contrary to the Nicene faith; but all symbols were for ever after forbidden to be made, not only lest any thing contrary be admitted, but because they would admit of no other: and this very reason S. Athanasius[l] assigned why the fathers of the council of Sardis[m] denied the importunity of some who would have something added to the Nicene confession; they would not do it, lest the other should seem defective.—And (2) next to this, it was carefully observed by the following councils, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, and by itself in a great affair: for 1) though this council determined the blessed virgin Mary to be θεοτόκος, the 'mother of God,' against Nestorius; yet 2) the fathers would not put the article into the creed of the church, but esteemed it sufficient to determine the point, and condemn Nestorius: and 3) the Greek church hath ever since most religiously observed this Ephesine canon; and 4) upon this account have vehemently spoken against the Latins for adding a clause at Gentilly[n] in France. 5) S. Athanasius[o] speaking of the Nicene faith or creed, says, 'It is sufficient for the destruction of all impiety, and for the confirmation of all the holy faith in Christ:' and therefore there could be no necessity of adding any thing to so full, so perfect an instrument, and consequently no reasonable cause pretended why it should be attempted; especially since there had been so many, so intolerable inconveniencies already introduced by adding to the symbols their unnecessary expositions. 6) The purpose of the fathers is fully declared by the epistle of S. Cyril[p], in which he recites the decree of the council, and adds, as a full explication of the council's meaning, "We permit neither ourselves nor others to change one word or syllable of what is there." The case

[k] In can. vii.—Vide Balsam. in eund. [apud Bevereg. Synod., tom. i. p. 105.]
[l] Epist. ad Epict. [tom. i. p. 901 sqq.]
[m] [See p. 360, note r, above.]
[n] [See p. 420, note p, above.]
[o] Epist. ad Epict. [tom. i. p. 901.]
[p] Cyril. Alex. ad Johan. Antioch. sess. 5. [tom. v. part. 2. append., p. 108 C.]

is here, as it was in scripture, to which no addition is to be made, nothing to be diminished from it. But yet every doctor is permitted to expound, to enlarge the expressions, to deliver the sense, and to declare (as well as they can) the meaning of it. And much more might the doctors of the church do to the creed: to which although something was added at Nice and Constantinople, yet from thence forward they might in private or in public declare what they thought was the meaning, and what were the consequents, and what was virtually contained in the articles, but nothing of this by any authority whatsoever was to be put into the creed. For in articles of belief, simplicity is part of its excellency and sacredness; and those mysteriousnesses and life-giving articles which are fit to be put into creeds, are, as Philistion said of hellebore, medicinal when it is in great pieces, but dangerous or deadly when it is in powder. And I remember what a heathen[q] said of the emperor Constantius, who troubled himself too much in curiosities and nice arguings about things unintelligible and unnecessary, *Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confudit; in qua scrutanda perplexius quam in componenda gravius, excitavit dissidia, quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur*[r] *arbitrium*. Christian religion is absolute, and simple; and they that conduct it should compose all the parts of it with gravity, not perplex it with curious scrutinies; not draw away any word or article to the sense of his own interest. For if it once pass the bounds set by the first masters of the assemblies, and lose that simplicity with which it was invested, there is no term or limit which can be any more set down. *Exempla non consistunt, sed, quamvis in tenuem recepta tramitem, latissime evagandi sibi faciunt potestatem*[s]. The devesting[t] the church from the simplicity of her faith is like removing the ancient land-mark, you cannot tell by the mark what country you are in, whether in your own or in the enemies'. And in the world nothing is more unnecessary. For if that faith be sufficient, if in that faith the church went to heaven, if in that she preserved unity, and begat children to Christ, and nursed them up to be perfect men in Christ, and kept herself pure from heresy and unbroken by schism; whatsoever is added to it, is either contained in the article virtually, or it is not. If not, then it is no part of the faith, and by the laws of faith there is no obligation passed upon any man to believe it. But if it be, then he that believes the article does virtually believe all that is virtually contained in it: but no man is to be pressed with the consequents drawn from thence, unless the transcript be drawn by the same hand that wrote the original; for we are

[q] [Ammian. Marcellin., lib. xxi. ad fin.]

[r] ['verborum; ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos (quas appellant), dum ritum . . conantur,' &c. 'conatur' is Valesius' conjecture.—Cf. 'Lib. of Proph.' ii. 34.—See Gibbon's use of the passage, 'Decline and Fall,' ch. xxi.]

[s] [See vol. v. p. 405.]

[t] [sic edd.]

sure it came in the simplicity of it from an infallible spirit; but he that bids me believe his deductions under pain of damnation, bids me under pain of damnation believe that he is an unerring logician; for which because God hath given me no command, and himself can give me no security, if I can defend myself from that man's pride, God will defend me from damnation.

But let us see a little further with what constancy that and the following ages of the church did adhere to the apostles' creed, as the sufficient and perfect rule of faith. There was an imperial edict[u] of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, *Cunctos populos quos clementiæ nostræ regit imperium, in ea volumus religione versari quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat; quamque pontificem Damasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alexandriæ episcopum, virum apostolicæ sanctitatis: hoc est, ut, secundum apostolicam disciplinam evangelicamque doctrinam, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti unam deitatem sub pari majestate et sub pia Trinitate credamus. Hanc legem sequentes christianorum catholicorum nomen jubemus amplecti: reliquos vero dementes vesanosque judicantes, hæretici dogmatis infamiam sustinere; divina primum vindicta, post etiam motu animi nostri, quem ex cœlesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos.* Part of this being cited in the Dissuasive to prove that in the early ages of the church the christian faith was much more simple than it is now in the Roman church, and that upon easier terms men might then be catholic; it was replied by some[x] one of the opponents that 'by this law was not meant that all who believed the Trinity were catholics absolutely, but only as to those points:' and the reason given is this, 'because after this law, the Novatians, Donatists, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c., were proceeded against as heretics and schismatics, notwithstanding their belief of the Trinity and unity of the godhead.' But this thing was spoken without all care whether it were to the purpose or no. For when this law was made, that was the rule of catholicism (as appears by the words of the law); and if afterward it became altered, and the bishops became too opinionative, or thought themselves forced into further declarations; must therefore the precedent law be judged *ex post facto*, 'by what they did afterwards'? It might as well have been said, 'The church was never content with the apostles' creed, because afterwards the Lutherans and Calvinists and Zuinglians, &c., were proceeded against as heretics and schismatics, notwithstanding their belief of all that is in the apostles' creed.' *Ex post facto nunquam crescit præteriti æstimatio*, says the law[y]. But for the true understanding of this imperial law, we must know that the confession of the holy Trinity and Unity was not set down there as a single article, but as a summary of the apostles' creed, the three parts of which have for their

[u] [See p. 183, note g, above.]

[x] The Letter to a friend, [A. L.] p. 4.

[y] [See vol. ii. p. 381, note l.]

heads the three Persons of the holy and undivided Trinity. And this appears by the relation the law makes to the faith S. Peter taught the church of Rome; and to the creed of Damasus, which may be seen in S. Hierome, who rejects the creed of that worthy prelate, in the second tome of his works; in which the apostolical creed is explicated, that what relates to the Trinity and Unity spoken of in the imperial law, or rule of catholics and Christians, is set down in its full purpose and design. And this thing may better be understood by an instance in the catechism of the church of England; for when the catechumen hath at large recited the apostles' creed, he is taught to sum it up in this manner, "First I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me, and all the world: secondly in God the Son, who hath redeemed me, and all mankind: thirdly in God the Holy Ghost, who sanctifieth me, and all the elect people of God." This is the summary of the creed; and these things are not to be considered as articles distinct and complete, and integrating the christian faith, but as a breviary of that faith, to which in the same place it is made to relate; just as the imperial law does relate to the faith of S. Peter, and the creed of Damasus and Peter of Alexandria: concerning which he that says much says no more; and he that says little says no less; for the faith is the same, as I have already cited the words of S. Irenæus. Since then the emperors made the summary of the apostles' creed to be the rule of discerning catholics from heretics: it follows that the Roman 'church catholic,' signifies something else than it did in the primitive church. S. Ambrose[z] says, "Faith is conceived by the apostles' creed;" all faith lies in that, as the child in the mother's womb; and he compares it to a key, because "by it the darknesses of the devil are unlocked, that the light of Christ might come upon us; and the hidden sins of conscience are opened, that the manifest works of righteousness may shine. This key is to be shewn to our brethren, that by this, as scholars of S. Peter, they may shut the gates of hell, and open the doors of heaven." He also calls it[a], 'the seal of our heart, and the sacrament of our warfare.' S. Hierome[b] speaking of it, says, "The symbol of our faith and hope which was delivered by the apostles, is not written in paper and ink, but in the fleshy tables of our hearts: after the confession of the Trinity, and unity of the church, the whole" (or every) "sacrament of the christian religion is concluded with the resurrection of the flesh." Which words are intimated, and in part transcribed by Isidore of Sevil[c]. Ruffinus[d] says, "The apostles being to separate, and go to their several charges, appointed *normam futuræ prædicationis, regulam*

[z] [Pseud-Ambros., serm. xxxiii. tom. ii. append. col. 485.]

[a] [De virgin., lib. iii. cap. 4. tom. ii. col. 179.]

[b] Epist. ad Pammach. contra errores Johan. Hierosolymit. [tom. iv. part. 2. col. 323.]

[c] Orig., c. 9. [leg. lib. vi. c. 19.]

[d] Exposit. symbol., c. 2, 3, 6. [ad calc. opp. S. Cypriani, p. 17.]

dandam credentibus, unanimitatis et fidei suæ indicium, the rule of what they were to preach to all the world, the measure for believers, the index of faith and unity; not any speech, not so much as one, even of them that went before them in the faith, was admitted or heard by the church. By this creed the foldings of infidelity are loosed, by this the gate of life is set open, by this the glory of confession is shewn. It is short in words, but great in sacraments. It confirms all men with the perfection of believing, with the desire of confessing, with the confidence of the resurrection. Whatsoever was prefigured in the patriarchs, whatsoever is declared in the scriptures, whatsoever was foretold in the prophets, of God who was not begotten, of the Son of God who is the only begotten of God, or the Holy Spirit," &c., *totum hoc breviter, juxta oraculum propheticum, symbolum in se continet confitendum;* so S. Austin[e], who also calls it, 'The fulness of them that believe.' It is the rule of faith, the short, the certain rule, which the apostles comprehended in twelve sentences, that the believers might hold the catholic unity, and convince "the heretical pravity;" "the comprehension and perfection of our faith[f]." "The short and perfect confession of the catholic symbol is consigned with so many sentences of the twelve apostles, is so furnished with celestial ammunition, that all the opinions of heretics may be cut off with that sword alone," said pope Leo[g]. I could add many more testimonies declaring the simplicity of the christian faith, and the fulness and sufficiency of the apostolical creed; but I sum them up in the words of Rabanus Maurus[h], "In the apostles' creed there are but few words, but it contains all religion, (*omnia in eo continentur sacramenta,*) for they were summarily gathered together from the whole scriptures by the apostles, that because many believers cannot read, or if they can, yet by their secular affairs are hindered that they do not read the scriptures, retaining these in their hearts they may have enough of saving knowledge."

Now then since the whole catholic church of God in the primitive ages, having not only declared that all things necessary to salvation are sufficiently contained in the plain places of scripture; but that all which the apostles knew necessary, they gathered together in a symbol or form of confession, and esteemed the belief of this sufficient unto salvation; and that they required no more *in credendis,* as of necessity to eternal life, but the simple belief of these articles: these things ought to remain in their own form and order. For what is and what is not necessary, is either such by the nature of the articles themselves, or by the economy of God's commandment: and what God did command, and what necessary effect every article had, the apostles only

[e] Serm. cxxxi. de tempore, sive serm. vi. de exposit. symboli ad competentes. [al. serm. ccxlii. tom. v. append., col. 397.]

[f] Id. serm. clxxxi. de tempore. [al. de symbolo, tom. vi. append., col. 278.]

[g] Epist. 13. ad Pulcher. Augustam. [p. 109.]

[h] Lib. ii. de institut. clericorum, cap. 56. [tom. vi. p. 31.]

could tell, and others from them. They that pretend to a power of doing so as the apostles did, have shewn their want of skill; and by that, confess their want of power of doing that which to do is beyond their skill. For which sins are venial and which are mortal, all the doctors of the church of Rome cannot tell; and how then can they tell this of errors when they cannot tell it of actions? But if any man will search into the harder things, or any more secret sacrament of religion, by that means to raise up his mind to the contemplation of heavenly things and to a contempt of things below, he may do it if he please, so that he do not impose the belief of his own speculations upon others, or compel them to confess what they know not, and what they cannot find in scriptures, or did not receive from the apostles. We find by experience, that a long act of parliament, or an indenture and covenant that is of great length, ends none, but causes many contentions; and when many things are defined, and definitions spun out into declarations, men believe less, and know nothing more. And what is man, that he who knows so little of his own body, of the things done privately in his own house, of the nature of the meat he eats; nay, that knows so little of his own heart, and is so great a stranger to the secret courses of nature; I say, what is man, that in the things of God he should be ashamed to say, 'This is a secret; this God only knows; this He hath not revealed; this I admire, but I understand not[i]; I believe, but I understand it to be a mystery?' And cannot a man enjoy the gift which God gives, and do what He commands, but he must dispute the philosophy of the gift, or the metaphysics of a command? Cannot a man eat oysters, unless he wrangle about the number of the senses which that poor animal hath? and will not condited mushrooms be swallowed down, unless you first tell whether they differ specifically from a spunge? Is it not enough for me to believe the words of Christ[j], saying, 'This is My body?' and cannot I take it thankfully, and believe it heartily, and confess it joyfully, but I must pry into the secret, and examine it by the rules of Aristotle and Porphyry, and find out the nature and the undiscernible philosophy of the manner of its change, and torment my own brains, and distract my heart, and torment my brethren, and lose my charity, and hazard the loss of all the benefits intended to me by the holy body, because I break those few words into more questions than the holy bread is into particles to be eaten? Is it not enough that I believe that whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, in case we serve Him faithfully, but we must descend into hell, and enquire after the secrets of the dead, and dream of the circumstances of the state of separation, and damn our brethren if they will not allow us and themselves to be half damned in purgatory? Is it not enough that we are Christians, that is, that we put all our

[i] S. Athanas., ep. ad Serapion. [ep. i. tom. i. p. 666.]
[j] S. Basil. de Spir. S., c. 18. [tom. iii. p. 35.]

hope in God, who freely giveth us all things by His Son Jesus Christ; that we are redeemed by His death, that He rose again for our justification; that we are made members of His body in baptism, that He gives us of His spirit, that being dead to the lusts of this world we should live according to His doctrine and example; that is, that we do no evil, that we do what good we can; that we love God, and love our brother; that we suffer patiently, and do good things in expectation of better, even of a happy resurrection to eternal life, which He hath promised to us by His Son, and which we shall receive if we walk in the Spirit and live in the Spirit? What is wanting to him that does all this, but that he do so still? is not this faith unto righteousness, and the confession of this faith, unto salvation? We all believe we shall arise from our graves at the last day; one sort of Christians thinks with one sort of body, and another thinks with another; but these conjectures ought not to be accounted necessary; and we are not concerned to dispute which it is; for we shall never know by all our disputing; but we may lose the good of it, if we make it an argument of uncharitableness. But besides this,

Did not the apostles desire to know nothing but Christ Jesus, and Him crucified and risen again? and did not they preach this faith to all the world, and did they preach any other; but severely reprove all curious and subtle questions, and all pretences of science, or knowledge falsely so called, when men languished about questions and strife of words? Are we not taught by the apostles that we ought not to receive our weak brother unto doubtful disputations; and that the servant of God ought not to strive? Did not they say, that all that keep the foundation shall be saved, some with and some without loss? and that erring brethren are to be tolerated, and that if they be servants of God, and yet in a matter of doctrine or opinion "otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this also unto them?" And if these things be thus, why shall one christian church condemn another which is built upon the same foundation with herself? and how can it be imagined that the servants of God cannot be saved now as in the days of the apostles? are we wiser than they, are our doctors more learned or more faithful? is there another covenant made with the church since their days? or is God less merciful to us than He was to them? or hath He made the way to heaven narrower in the end of the world, than at the beginning of the christian church? do men live better lives now than at the first, so that a holy life is so enlarged that the foundation of faith laid at first is not broad enough to support the new buildings? We find it much otherwise. And men need not enlarge the articles and conditions of faith in these degenerate ages, wherein when Christ comes He shall hardly upon earth find any faith at all: and if there were need, yet no man is able to do it, because Christ only is our Lord and Master, and no man is master of our faith.

But to come closer to the thing. It is certain there is nothing simply necessary to salvation now that was not so always; and this must be confessed by all that admit of the so much commended rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, "That which was always and every where believed by all, that's the rule of faith:" and therefore there can be no new measure, no new article, no new determination, no declaration obliging us to believe any proposition that was not always believed. And therefore as "that which was first is true[k]," that which was at first, and nothing else, is necessary. Nay, suppose many truths to be found out by industry and by divine assistances, yet no more can be necessary, because nothing of this could ever be wanting to the church; therefore the new discovered truth cannot of itself be necessary. Neither can the discovery make it necessary to be believed, unless I find it to be discovered and revealed by Him whose very discovery, though accidental, yet can make it necessary; that is, unless I be convinced that God hath spoken it. Indeed, if that happen, there is no further enquiry; but because there are no new revelations since the apostles died, whatever comes in after them is only by man's ratiocination: and therefore can never go beyond a probability in itself, and never ought to pretend higher, lest God's incommunicable right be invaded, which is to be the Lord of human understandings.

The consequent of all this is, there can be nothing of necessity to be believed which the church of God, taught by the apostles, did not believe necessary.

§ 5. That the church of Rome pretends to a power of introducing into the confessions of the church new articles of faith, and endeavours to alter and suppress the old catholic doctrine.

Now then having established the christian rule and measure, I shall in the next place shew how the church of Rome hath usurped an empire over consciences, offering to enlarge the faith, to add new propositions to the belief of Christians; and imposes them under pain of damnation. And this I prove, 1) Because they pretend to a power to do it. 2) They have reason and necessity to do so in respect of their interest, and they actually do so both in faith and manners. 3) They use indirect and unworthy arts that they may do it without reproach and discovery. 4) Having done this, they by enlarging faith destroy charity.

First, they do it, and pretend to a power of doing it.

I. They pretend to a power to do it. The authorities which were brought in the first part of the Dissuasive[l] did sufficiently prove this; but because they were snarled at, I shall justify and enlarge them, and confirm their sense by others. First, the pope hath authority (as his doctors teach the world) to declare an article of faith, and this is as

[k] [Tertull. de præscr. hær., cap. xxi. p. 213. et advers. Prax., cap. ii. p. 501.]

[l] Chap. i. sect. 1. p. 10. edit. Dublin, 1664.

much as the apostles themselves could do; that is, as the apostles, by gathering the necessary articles of faith, made up a symbol of what things are necessary, and by their imposing this collection on all churches, their baptizing into that faith, their making it a rule of faith to all Christians, did declare not only the truth but the necessity of those articles to be learned and to be believed; so the pope also pretends he can declare. For declaring a thing to be 'true,' and declaring it to be 'an article of faith,' are things of vast difference. He that declares it only to be true, imposes no necessity of believing it; but if he can make it appear to be true, he to whom it so appears cannot but believe it. But if he declares it to be an article of faith, he says that God hath made it necessary to be known and to be believed; and if any hath power to declare this, to declare (I say) not as a doctor, but as an apostle, as Jesus Christ himself, he is master and lord of the conscience. Now that the pope pretends to this, we are fiercely taught by his doctors, and by his laws. Thus the gloss[m] upon the Extravagant *De verborum significatione, cap.* '*Cum inter.*' *verb.* '*Declaramus,*' says, 'He being prince of the church, and Christ's vicar, can in that capacity make a declaration upon an article of the catholic faith.' He can declare it *auctoritative,* not only as a doctor, but as a prince; by empire and command, as *princeps ecclesiæ.* The Sorbonne can declare as well as he upon the catholic faith, if it be only matter of skill and learning; but to declare so, as to bind every man to believe it; to declare so, as the article shall be a point of faith, when before this declaration it was not so, *quoad nos;* this is that which is pretended by[n] 'declaring.' And so this very gloss expounds it; adding to the former words, 'The pope can make an article of faith, if an article of faith be taken not properly but largely, that is, for a doctrine which now we must believe, whereas before such declaration we were not tied to it.' These are the words of the gloss. The sense of which is this; there are some articles of faith, which are such before the declaration of the church, and some which are by the church's declaration made so: some were declared by the scriptures, or by the apostles; and some by the councils, or popes of Rome: after which declaration they are both alike, equally necessary to be believed; and this is that which we charge upon them as a dangerous and intolerable point. For it says plainly that whereas Christ made some articles of faith, the pope can make others; for if they were not articles of faith before the declaration of the pope, then he makes them to be such; and that is truly (according to their own words) *facere articulum fidei,* this is 'making an article of faith.' Neither will it suffice to say that this proposition, so declared, was before such a declaration really and indeed an article of faith in itself, but not in respect of us: for this is all one in several words.

[m] Gloss. ibid., [col. 136.]

[n] ['be' A.]

For an article of faith is a relative term; it is a proposition which we are commanded to believe and to confess: and to say, this is an article of faith, and yet that no man is bound to believe it, is a contradiction. Now then let it be considered: no man is bound to believe any article till it be declared, as no man is bound to obey a law till it be promulgated; faith comes by hearing; till there be hearing, there can be no faith, and therefore no article of faith. The truth is eternal, but faith is but temporary, and depends upon the declaration. Now then, suppose any article: I demand, did Christ and His apostles declare it to the church? If not, how does the pope know it, who pretends to no new revelations? If the apostles did not declare it, how were they faithful in the house of God? and how did S. Paul[o] say truly, "I have not failed or ceased ἀναγγεῖλαι to declare," to annunciate "to you all the whole counsel of God?" But if they did say true, and were faithful, and did declare it all; then was it an article of faith before the pope's declaration; and then it was a sin of ignorance not to believe it, and of malice, or pusillanimity not to confess it, and a worse sin to have contradicted it. And who can suppose that the apostolical churches and their descendants should be ignorant in any thing that was then a matter of faith? If it was not then, it cannot now be declared that it was so then; for to declare a thing properly, is to publish what it was before; if it was then, there needs no declaration of it now, unless by declaring we mean preaching it, and then every parish priest is bound to do it, and can do it as well as the pope. If therefore they mean more, as it is certain they do, then 'declaring' an article of faith is but the civiller word for 'making' it. Christ's preaching, and the apostles imposing it, made it an article of faith, in itself and to us; other declaration excepting only teaching, preaching, expounding and exhorting, we know none, and we need none; for they only could do it, and it is certain they did it fully.

But I need not argue and take pains to prove that by declaring they mean more than mere preaching; themselves own the utmost intention of the charge. The pope can *statuere articulos fidei;* that's more than 'declare' merely; it must be to appoint, to decree, to determine that such a thing is of necessity to be believed unto salvation; and because Luther said the pope could not do this, he was condemned by a bull of pope Leo[p]. But we may yet further know the meaning of this; for their doctors are plain in affirming that 'the pope is the foundation, rule, and principle of faith.' So Turrecremata[q], "For to him it belongs to be the measure and rule and science of things that are to be believed, and of all things which are necessary to the direction of the faithful unto life eternal." And again[r], "It is easy

[o] [Acts xx. 27.]

[p] Art. 27. Certum est in manu ecclesiæ aut papæ prorsus non esse statuere articulos fidei, &c. [Inter opp. Lutheri, tom. i. fol. 178 a.]

[q] Turrecrem. [Summ. de eccles.] lib. ii. cap. 107. [fol. 248 a.—4to. Ven. 1561.]

[r] Idem, ibid.

to understand that it belongs to the authority of the pope of Rome, as to the general and principal master and doctor of the whole world, to determine those things which are of faith; and by consequence to publish a symbol of faith: to interpret the senses of holy scriptures: to approve and reprove the sayings of every doctor belonging to faith." Hence comes it to pass that "the doctors say that the apostolical see is called the mistress and mother of faith." And what can this mean but to do that which the apostles could not do, that is, to 'be lords over the faith' of christendom. For to declare only an article of faith, is not all they challenge; they can do more: as he is pope, he can not only declare an article of faith, but introduce a new one[s]. And this is that which I suppose Augustinus Triumphus[t] to mean, when he says, *Symbolum novum condere ad papam solum spectat:* and if that be not plain enough, he adds[u], "As he can make a new creed or symbol of faith, so he can multiply new articles one upon another." For the conclusion of this particular, I shall give a very considerable instance[x], which relies not upon the credit and testimony of their doctors, but is matter of fact, and notorious to all the world. For it will be to no purpose for them to deny it, and say that the pope can only declare an article, but not make a new one. For it is plain that they so declare an old one that they bring a new one in; they pretend the old creed to be with child of a cushion, and they introduce a supposititious child of their own. The instance I mean, is, that article of the apostles' creed, "I believe the holy catholic church:" the question is made, what is meant by it? They that have a mind to it, understand it easily enough; it was a declaration of the coming of the Messias into the world; the great proof that Jesus of Nazareth was the Shiloh, or He that was to come. For whereas the Jews were the inclosure and peculiar people of God, at the coming of the Messias it should be so no more; but the gentiles being called, and the sound of the gospel going into all the world, it was no more the church of the Jews, but *ecclesia totius mundi*, 'the church of the universe,' the universal or catholic church; of Jews and gentiles, of all people, and all languages. Now this great and glorious mystery we confess in this article; that is, we confess that God hath given to His Son 'the heathen for an inheritance, and the utmost parts of the world for a possession;' that "God is no respecter of persons[y], but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him." This is the plain sense of the article, and renders the article also highly considerable, and represents it as fundamental; and it is agreeable with the very economy of the gospel; and determines one of the greatest questions that ever were in the world, the dispute between the Jews

[s] Extravag. 'De verb. signifi.' cap. 'Quia quorundam,' gloss. [col. 152.]

[t] [De potest. eccles.] qu. lix. art. 1. [p. 308.]

[u] Art. 2. [p. 309.]

[x] Vide Salmeron, prolog. in comment. in epist. ad Roman. part. 3. [disp. i. tom. xiii.] p. 176. sect. 'Tertio dicitur.'

[y] [Acts x. 34.]

and gentiles; and is not only easy and intelligible, but greatly for edification.

Now then let us see how the church of Rome, by her head and members, expound or declare this article, 'I believe the holy catholic church,' so it is in the apostles' creed; 'I believe one holy catholic and apostolic church,' so the Nicene creed. Here is no difference, and no commentary; but the same thing with the addition of one word to the same sense, only it includes also the first founders of this catholic church; as if it had been said, I believe that the church of Christ is disseminated over the world, and not limited to the Jewish pale; and that this church was founded by the apostles upon the rock Christ Jesus. But the church of Rome hath handled this article after another manner; she hath explained it so clearly that no wise man can believe it; she hath declared the article so as to make it a new one, and made an addition to it that destroys the principal: *Sanctam catholicam et apostolicam Romanam ecclesiam, omnium ecclesiarum matrem et magistram agnosco,* 'I acknowledge the holy catholic and apostolic Roman church, the mother and mistress of all churches;' and at the end of this declaration of the creed, it is added as at the end of the Athanasian, 'This is the true catholic faith, without which no man can be saved:' and this is the creed of pope Pius the fourth, enjoined to be sworn by all ecclesiastics, secular or religious. Now let it be considered whether this declaration be not a new article, and not only so, but a destruction to the old. 1) The apostolical creed professes to believe the catholic or universal church; the pope limits it, and calls it the catholic Roman church; that by 'all' he means 'some,' and the 'universal' means but 'particular.' But besides this, 2) It is certain this must be a piece of a new creed, since it is plain the apostles did no more intend the Roman church should be comprehended under the catholic church, than as every other church which was then, or should be after. And why Roman should be put in, and not the Ephesine, the Cæsarean, or the Hierosolymitan, it is not to be imagined. 3) This must needs be a new article, because the full sense and mystery of the old article was perfect and complete before the Roman church was in being; 'I believe the holy catholic church,' was an article of faith before there was any Roman church at all. 4) The interposing 'the Roman' into the creed, as equal and of the extent with 'the catholic,' is not only a false but a malicious addition. For they having perpetually in their mouths that 'out of the catholic church there is no salvation;' and now, against the truth, simplicity, interest and design of the apostolical creed, having made the 'Roman' and 'catholic' to be all one: they have also established this doctrine as a virtual part of the creed, that out of the communion of the church of Rome there is no salvation to be hoped for; and so by this means damn all the Christians of the world who are not of their communion; and that is the far biggest part of the catholic church. 5) How intolerable a thing it is to put the

word 'Roman' to expound 'catholic' in the creed, when it is confessed among themselves[y] that it is not of faith 'that the apostolic church cannot be separated from the Roman,' and Bellarmine[z] proves this; because there is neither scripture nor tradition that affirms it: and then if ever they be separated, and the apostolic be removed to Constantinople, then the creed must be changed again, and it must run thus, 'I believe the holy catholic and apostolic Constantinopolitan church.' 6) There is in this declaration of the apostolical creed a manifest untruth decreed, enjoined, professed and commanded to be sworn to, and that is, that 'the Roman church is the mother of all churches:' when it is confessed that S. Peter sate bishop at Antioch seven years before his pretended coming to Rome: and that Jerusalem is the mother of all churches; for, 'the law went forth out of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem[a]:' and therefore the ecumenical council of Constantinople in the consecration of S. Cyril, said[b], "We shew unto you Cyril the bishop of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all other churches." The like is said of the church of Cæsarea (with an exception only of Jerusalem), *Quæ prope mater omnium ecclesiarum et fuit ab initio et nunc quoque est et nominatur; quam christiana respublica, velut centrum suum circulus, undique observat.* How this saying of S. Gregory the divine can consist with the new Roman creed, I leave it to the Roman doctors to consider. In the mean time it is impossible that it should be true that the Roman church is the mother of all churches, not only because it is not imaginable she could beget her own grandmother, but for another pretty reason which Bellarmine[c] hath invented, "Though the ancients every where call the Roman church the mother of all churches, and that all bishops had their consecration and dignity from her; yet this seems not to be true but in that sense, because Peter was bishop of Rome; he ordained all the apostles and all other bishops, by himself or by others: otherwise since all the apostles constituted very many bishops in divers places, if the apostles were not made bishops by Peter, certainly the greatest part of bishops will not deduce their original from Peter." This is Bellarmine's argument, by which he hath perfectly overthrown that clause of Pius quartus his creed, that 'the Roman church is the mother of all churches.' He confesses she is not, unless S. Peter did consecrate all the apostles; he might have added, no, nor then neither, unless Peter had made the apostles to be bishops, after himself was bishop of Rome; for what is that to the Roman church, if he did this before he was the Roman bishop? But then that Peter made all the apostles bishops is so

[y] Driedo de dogmat. eccl., lib. iv. c. 3. part. 3. [fol. 234.]

[z] Lib. iv. de pontif. Rom., c. 4. sect. 'At secundum.' [tom. i. col. 971.]

[a] [See Mic. iv. 2.]

[b] Apud Baron., A.D. 382. n. 15. [tom. iv. p. 461.]—Vide etiam S. Basil., tom. ii. ep. 30. [ed. Front. Ducæo,] et Greg. Theol. [Greg. Naz. ep. xli. tom. ii. p. 36 A.]

[c] Lib. i. de Rom. pontif., c. 23. sect. 'Secunda ratio.' [col. 692.]

ridiculous a dream, that in the world nothing is more unwarrantable. For besides that S. Paul was consecrated by none but Christ himself, it is certain that he ordained Timothy and Titus, and that the succession in those churches ran from the same original in the same line; and there is no record in scripture that ever S. Peter ordained any; not any one of the apostles who received their authority from Christ and the Holy Spirit, in the same times altogether: which thing is also affirmed by Azorius[d], and Suarez[e], who also quotes for it the authority of S. Austin[f], and the gloss. So that from first to last it appears that the Roman church is not the mother church, and yet every priest is sworn to live and die in the belief of it that she is. However, it is plain that this *assumentum* and shred of the Roman creed is such a declaration of the old article of believing the catholic church, that it is not only a direct new article of faith but destroys the old.

By thus handling the creed of the catholic church we shall best understand what they mean when they affirm that the pope can interpret scripture *auctoritative,* and 'he can make scripture.' *Ad quem pertinet sacram scripturam auctoritative interpretari, ejus enim est interpretari cujus est condere,* 'he that can make scripture can make new articles of faith surely.' Much to the same purpose are the words of pope Innocent the fourth[g], 'He can not only interpret the gospel, but add to it.' Indeed if he have power to expound it *auctoritative,* that is as good as making it; for by that means he can add to it, or take from the sense of it. But that the pope can do this, that is, can interpret the scriptures *auctoritative, sententialiter, obligatorie,* so as it is not lawful to hold the contrary, is affirmed by Augustinus Triumphus[h], Turrecremata[i], and Hervey[j]. And cardinal Hosius[k] goes beyond this, saying that 'although the words of the scripture be not open, yet being uttered in the sense of the church, they are the express words of God; but uttered in any other sense, are not the express word of God, but rather of the devil.' To these I only add what we are taught by another cardinal[l]; who persuading the Bohemians to accept the sacrament of the Lord's supper in one kind, tells them; and it is that I said before; 'If the church,' viz., of Rome (for that is with them the catholic church) or if the pope, that is, the virtual church, 'do expound any evangelical sense contrary to what the current sense and practice of the catholic primitive church did; not that, but this present interpretation must be taken

[d] Instit. moral., part. ii. lib. iv. c. 11. sect. 'Altera opinio.' [col. 445.]

[e] De tripl. virt. theolog., disp. x. sect. 1. n. 5 et 7. [col. 387.]

[f] Quæst. Vet. et N. Test., q. xcvii. [tom. iii. append. col. 89.]

[g] Innocent. iv. in cap. 'Super eo.' De bigamis. [fol. 49 a.—fol. Ven. 1578.]

[h] [De potest. eccles.] qu. lxvii. art. 2. [p. 353. fol. Rom. 1582.]

[i] [Summ. de eccles.] lib. ii. cap. 107. [fol. 248 sq.—4to. Ven. 1561.]

[j] De potestate papæ.

[k] De expresso Dei verbo, [tom. i. p. 623.] et in epilogo, [p. 643.]

[l] Card. Cusan., epist. ii. ad Bohemos, de usu communionis, p. 833. [fol. Basil. 1565.]

for the way of salvation.' For 'God changes His judgment as the church does[m].' So that it is no wonder that the pope can make new articles, or new scriptures, or new gospel; it seems the church of Rome can make contrary gospel: that if in the primitive church to receive in both kinds was *via salutis*, because it was understood then to be a precept evangelical; afterwards the way of salvation shall be changed, and the precept evangelical must be understood, 'to take it in one kind.' But this is denied by Balduinus[n], who, to the question whether can the pope find out new articles of faith, says, "I answer, yes; but not contrary." It seems the doctors differ upon that point: but that which the cardinal of Cusa, the legate of pope Nicholas the fifth, taught the Bohemians, was, how they should answer their objection: for they said, 'if Christ commanded one thing, and the council, or the pope, or the prelates commanded contrary, they would not obey the church but Christ;' but how greatly they were mistaken, the cardinal legate[o] told them, *Possibile non est scripturam quamcunque, sive ipsa præceptum sive consilium contineat, in eos qui apud ecclesiam existunt plus auctoritatis ligandi habere aut solvendi fideles quam ipsa ecclesia voluerit, aut verbo aut opere expresserit*: and in the third epistle[p] he tells them, "The authority of the church is to be preferred before the scriptures[q]." The same also is taught by Elysius Neapolitanus[r].

It matters not what the primitive church did, no nor much what the apostolical did; "For the apostles indeed wrote some certain things, not that they should rule our faith and our religion, but that they should be under it[s]," that is, they submit the scriptures to the faith, nay even to the practice of the church. For "the pope can change the gospel," said Henry[t], the master of the Roman palace, 'and, according to place and time, give it another sense:' insomuch that 'if any man should not believe Christ to be the true God and man, if the pope thought so too, he should not be damned,' said the cardinal of S. Angelo; and Silvester Prierias[u] expressly affirmed that the authority of the church of Rome, and the pope's, is greater than the authority of the scriptures. These things being so notorious, I wonder with what confidence Bellarmine can say that the catholics, meaning his own parties, 'do not subject the scripture, but prefer it before councils, and that there is no controversy in this,' when the contrary is so plain in the pre-alleged testimonies: but because his conscience checked him in the particular, he thinks to escape with a distinction, "If the catholics sometimes say that the scriptures

[m] Epist. iii. [p. 838.]

[n] In 1 Decret. de summa Trinitate et fide cathol., n. 44. xv. dist. 'Canones.'

[o] Epist. ii. ad Bohemos, p. 834. [ed. ut supra.]

[p] [p. 841.]

[q] ['scriptoribus.']

[r] In Piorum clypeo, qu. xxix. artic. 5. [fol. 195.—4to. Ven. 1563.]

[s] Pighius, hierarch., lib. i. c. 2. [p. 16.]

[t] Ad legatos Bohemicos sub Felice papa, A.D. 1447.—Vide Polan. in Dan. xi. p. 371. [4to. Bas. 1599.]

[u] Sylvest. Prierias cont. Lutherum, conclu. lvi. [Inter opp. Lutheri, tom. i. fol. 21 b.]

depend upon the church or a council, they do not understand it in respect of authority, or in themselves, but by explication, and in relation to us[x]." Which is too crude an affirmative to be believed; for besides that Pighius in his epistle to Paul the third before his books of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy affirms that the whole authority of the scripture depends upon the church, and the testimonies above cited do in terms confute this saying of his; the distinction itself helps not all[y]: for if the scriptures have *quoad nos* no authority but what the pope or the church is pleased to give them, then they have in themselves none at all. For "the scriptures were written for our learning;" not to instruct the angels, but to conserve the truths of God for the use of the church; and they have no other use or design. And if a man shall say the scriptures have in themselves great authority, he must mean that in themselves they are highly credible *quoad nos*, that is, that we are bound to believe them for their own truth and excellency: and if a man shall say they have no authority *quoad nos* but what the church gives them; he says they are not credible in themselves, and *in se* have no authority; so that this distinction is a metaphysical nothing, and is brought only to amuse men that have not leisure to consider: and he that says one, says the other, or as bad, under a thin and transparent cover. The church gives testimony external to the scripture, but the internal authority is inherent and derives only from God. But let the witness of the church be of as perfect force as can be desired, I meddle not with it here; but that which I charge on the Roman doctors is that they give to their church a power of introducing and imposing new articles of belief, and pretending that they have power so to do, and their definitions are of authority equal (if not superior) to the scriptures. And this I have now proved by many testimonies: to all which I add that of the canon law[z] itself; in which Gratian most falsely alleges pretended words of S. Austin (which Bellarmine[a] calls a being deceived by a false copy) and among the canonical scriptures reckons the decretal epistles of the popes; *inter quas sane illæ sunt quas apostolica sedes habere et ab ea alii meruerunt accipere epistolas.* Now who can tell of any copy of S. Austin, or heard of any, in which these words were seen? Certainly no man alive; but if Gratian was deceived, the deceivers were among themselves; and yet they loved the deception, or else they might have expunged those words when Gregory the thirteenth appointed a committee of learned men to purge that βόρβορος· but it yet remains; and if they do not pass for S. Austin's words, yet they are good law at Rome. And heretics indeed talk otherwise, said Eckius[b]; *Objiciunt hæretici,*

[x] Bellarm. de concil. auctor., lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 'Diximus.' [tom. ii. col. 108.]

[y] [See note to p. 309 above.]

[z] Dist. xix. can. 'In canonicis.' [col. 89.]

[a] De concil. auctorit., lib. ii. cap. 12. sect. 'Respondeo ad Gratianum.' [col. 111.]

[b] Loc. com., tit. i. de ecclesia et ejus auctorit. [p. 16.—8vo. Col. Agr. 1600.]

Major est auctoritas scripturæ quam ecclesiæ; but he hath confuted them with an excellent argument: "The church using blood and strangled, hath by authority changed a thing defined by the scripture; behold" (says he) "the power of the church over scripture!" I love not to rake[c] in such polluted channels; he that is pleased with it may find enough to entertain his wonder and his indignation, if he please to read Capistrano[d], Cupers[e], Andradius[f], Antonius[g], Pighius[h], Sylvester Prierias[i], Johannes Maria Verratus[k], Coster[l], Zabarel[m], and Bellarmine[n] himself, who yet with some more modesty of expression affirms the same thing in substance, which according as it hath been, is, and is still likely to be made use of, is enough to undo the church, "The word of the pope, teaching out of his chair, is *non omnino*, not altogether (or not at all) the word of man, that is a word liable to error, but in some sort the word of God," &c. Agreeable to which is that which the lawyers say, that the canon law is the divine law; so said Hostiensis[o]. I hope I shall not be esteemed to slander her, when these writers think they so much honour the church of Rome in these sayings. In pursuance of this power and authority pope Pius the fourth made a new creed, and putting his power into act, did multiply new articles, one upon another. And in the council of Trent, amongst many other new and fine doctrines, this was one, that "it is heresy to say that matrimonial causes do not pertain to ecclesiastical judges:" and yet we in England owe this privilege to the favour and bounty of the king, and so did the ancient churches to the kindness and religion of the emperor; and if it were so or not so, it is but matter of discipline, and cannot by a simple denial of it become an heresy. So that what I have alleged is not the opinion of some private doctors, but the public practice of the Roman church[p], *Commissum ei (papæ) munus non modo articulos indeterminatos determinandi, sed etiam fidei symbolum condendi: atque hoc ipsum orthodoxos omnes omnium sæculorum agnovisse, et palam confessos esse:* it was said to Paulus quintus in an address to him. And how good a catholic Baronius[q] was in this par-

[c] ['take,' A.]

[d] [De papæ et concil. sive eccles. auctorit.] fol. 126 a, b. et p. 104 b. et 133 b. [4to. Ven. 1580.]

[e] [Comment. ad cap. 'Oportebat.' dist. lxxix.] p. 42. n. 15. p. 11. n. 18. et p. 124. n. 9. [4to. Ven. 1588.]

[f] [Jacobus Payva Andradius] defens. Trid., lib. i. et lib. ii. [passim.] et explic. orthod., lib. ii. [passim.]

[g] [al. Antoninus, archiep. Florent., Summ. theol.] pag. 3. lib. xxii. [leg. part. iii. tit. xxii.] cap. 3. sect. 3.

[h] De fide et justif. [controv. ii. in comit. Ratispon. fol. s. p. Colon. 1545.] et hierarch. eccles., lib. i. cap. 2. [p. 13 sqq. fol. Col. Agr. 1572.] et in præfatione ad Paulum tertium, [ibid.]

Contr. Luther. concl. lvi. [Inter opp. Lutheri, tom. i. fol. 21 b.]

[k] Disp. contr. Luther. viii. de eccl. concl. 1. [fol. 158 b.—8vo. Ven. 1544.]

[l] Enchirid., cap. i. [p. 43 sqq.—8vo. Lugd. 1604.]

[m] In iii. lib. decretal. de convers. conjug. cap. 'Ex publico.' n. 16. [fol. 190 b. —fol. Ven. 1602.]

[n] De verb. Dei, lib. iii. cap. 10. sect. 'Decimum quintum.' [tom. i. col. 198.]

[o] Super. ii. decret. de jurejur. c. 'Nimis,' n. 1. [fol. 136 b.—fol. Ven. 1581.]

[p] Lib. Benedicti de Benedict.—Bononiæ excusus, A.D. 1600.

[q] An. Dom. cccIxxiii. n. 21. [tom. iv, p. 306.]

ticular, we may guess by what himself says concerning the business of the Apollinarists, in which the pope did and undid, *ut plane appareat*, says Baronius, *ex arbitrio pependisse Romani pontificis, fidei decreta sancire, et sancita mutare.*

Secondly, it agrees with their interest so to do.

II. That which I am next to represent is that the church of Rome hath reason and necessity to pretend to this power of making new articles; for they having in the body of their articles, and in the public doctrines allowed by them, and in the profession and practices of their church, so many new things, which at least seem contrary to scripture, or are not at all in scripture, and such for which it is impossible to shew any apostolical or primitive tradition, do easily and openly betray their own weakness and necessity in this affair. My first instance is of their known arts of abusing the people by pretended apparitions, and false miracles, for the establishing of strange opinions. *Non obscurum est quot opiniones invectæ sunt in orbem per homines, ad suum quæstum callidos, confictorum miraculorum præsidio*, said Erasmus. These doctrines must needs be things that come over the walls, and in at the windows; they come not the right way. For besides that, as S. Chrysostom[r] says, "It was at first profitable that miracles should be done, and now it is profitable that they be not done:" for then our faith was finished by miracles, but now by the divine scriptures; miracles are like watering of plants, to be done when they are newly set and before they have taken root. Hence the apostle saith, "Tongues are for a sign to them that believe not, and not for them that believe." So S. Gregory[s], "Our ancestors followed after signs, by which it came to pass that they should not be necessary to their posterity;" and[t] "he that yet looks for miracles that he may believe, is himself a miracle." Nay, to pretend miracles now-a-days is the worst sign in the world. And here S. Austin[u] in great zeal gives warning of such things as these. "Let not a man say, this is true, because Donatus, Pontius, or another, hath done wonderful things; or because men praying at the memories of martyrs are heard; or because such or such things there happen, or because that brother of ours or that sister of ours waking saw such a vision, or sleeping dreamt such a dream: let those fictions of lying men, or wonders of deceitful spirits, be removed. For either those things which are spoken are not true, or if any miracles of heretics be done, we ought to take heed the more: because when our Lord said some deceivers should arise, which should do signs, and deceive if it were possible the very elect; He, commending this saying, vehemently added, Behold, I have told you of it before." The same is also taught by the

[r] In 1 Cor. ii. [hom. vi. tom. x. p. 45 E.] Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τότε χρησίμως ἐγίνετο, καὶ νῦν χρησίμως οὐ γίνεται.

[s] Homil. xxix. in evangel. [tom. i. col. 1571.]—S. Aug. de vera relig., cap. xxv. [tom. i. col. 763.]

[t] Id. de civit. Dei, lib. xxii. [cap. 8. tom. vii. col. 663 A.]

[u] August. tract. xiii. in evang. Johan. [tom. iii. part. ii. col. 398.]

author of the imperfect work on S. Matthew imputed to S. Chrysostom[x], who calls the power of working miracles (after the first vocation of the gospel) *seductionis adjutoria*, 'the helps of seduction;' as at first they were used by Christ, and Christ's servants, as instruments of vocation; and affirms, these helps of deceit were to be delivered to the devil. It was the same in the gospel as it was in the law of Moses, after God had by signs and wonders in the hand of Moses fixed and established His law, which only was to be their rule; and caution was given Deut. i. 13, that against that rule no man should be believed, though he wrought miracles. Upon which words Theodoret[y] says, "We are instructed that we must not mind signs, when he that works them teaches any thing contrary to piety." And therefore these things can be to no purpose unless it be to deceive; except this only, that where miracles are pretended, there is a warning also given that there is danger of deception, and there is the seat of antichrist, who is foretold 'should come in all signs and lying wonders.' *Generatio nequam signum quærit*, said Christ[z]. But it is remarkable by the doctrines for which in the church of Rome miracles are pretended, that they are a cover fitted for their dish; new miracles to destroy the old truths, and to introduce new opinions. For to prove any article of our creed, or the necessity of a divine commandment, or the divinity of the eternal Son of God, there is now no need of miracles, and for this way of proving these and such articles as these, they trouble not themselves; but for Transubstantiation, adoration of the consecrated bread and wine, for purgatory, invocation, and worship of saints, of their relics, of the cross, monastical vows, fraternities of friars and monks, the pope's supremacy, and double monarchy in the church of Rome, they never give over to make and boast prodigious miracles. But with what success, we may learn from some of the more sober and wise amongst them. *In sacramento apparet caro, interdum humana procuratione, interdum operatione diabolica*, said Alexander of Ales[a]: this indeed was an old trick, and S. Irenæus[b] reports that it was done by Marcus, that great heresiarch, that by his prayer he caused the eucharistical wine to appear as if it were turned into blood; and Biel[c] affirms that "miracles are done to men who run to images, sometimes by operation of devils, to deceive those inordinate worshippers; God permitting it, and their infidelity exacting it." And when in the question of the immaculate conception there are miracles produced on both sides (as the learned bishop of the Canaries[d] tells us) it must needs be that on one side the devil was the architect, if not on both. And

[x] Homil. xlix. [tom. vi. append., p. 208.]

[y] Quæst. in Deut. [qu. xii. tom. i. p. 271.]

[z] Luc. xi. 29.—Vide Stellam, ibid. [tom. ii. p. 103.—fol. Lugd. 1592.]

[a] In quartum sent. qu. 53.

[b] Iren., lib. i. c. 9. [al. 13. p. 62.]

[c] In canon. missæ, lect. xlix. [fol. 115 a.]

[d] Melchior Canus, loc. commun., lib. xi. cap. 6. [p. 537.]

such stories are so frequently related by the Romish legends, by S. Gregory bishop of Rome, by Beda, by Vincentius Belvacensis[e], Antoninus, by the *Speculum exemplorum*, and are accounted religious stories, and are so publicly preached and told by the friars in their sermons, and so believed by the people and the common sort of Roman catholics, and indifferently amongst many of the better sort, that their minds are greatly possessed with such a superstitious credulity, and are fed with such hypochondriacal and fond opinions, that it is observable how they by those usages are become fond newsmongers, and reporters of every ridiculous story. *Hi pie nonnihil admentientes, supponunt reliquias, fabricant miracula, confinguntque quæ exempla vocant, vel plausibiles vel terribiles fabulas;* so Cornelius Agrippa[f] complains of the writers of such ridiculous stories in that church; that, as one of their own writers said, they equal if not exceed Amadis and Clarianus. Who please to see more of this, may be satisfied with reading Canus in the chapter above quoted: or if he please he may observe it in Bellarmine himself; who out of those very legends and stories which are disallowed by Canus, and out of divers others, as Garetius, Tilmanus, Bredenbachius, Thomas of Walden, and I know not who besides, recount seven miracles to prove the proper natural presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; amongst which it is not the least which he tells of the fellow's beast, who left his barley at the command of S. Anthony of Padua[g], and went to worship the sacrament. Such things as these it is no wonder that they are either acted or believed in the church of Rome, since so many popes and priests are magicians, and since that villain of a man pope Hildebrand (as cardinal Benno[h] relates in his life) could by shaking of his sleeve make sparks of fire fly from it. I end this, and make no other use of it than what is made by Aventinus[i], saying, that this pope under show of religion is said to have laid the foundation of the empire of antichrist. *Multi falsi prophetæ nebulas offundunt; fabulis, miraculis (exempla vocant) a veritate Christi plebem avertunt: falsi tum prophetæ, falsi apostoli, falsi sacerdotes emersere, qui simulata religione populum deceperunt, magna signa atque prodigia ediderunt, et in templo Dei sedere atque extolli super id quod colitur cœperunt; dumque suam potentiam dominationemque stabilire conantur, charitatem et simplicitatem christianam extinxerunt.* And they continue to do so to this day, where they have any hopes to prevail without discovery. Secondly, themselves acknowledge that "there are many things of which was no enquiry in the primitive church, which yet

[e] [Al. 'Belluacensis,' 'Bellovacensis.']

[f] De vanit. scient., cap. 97. [p. 285. 8vo. Lugd. 1518.]

[g] Bellarm., lib. iii. de euchar., c. 8. [tom. iii. col. 703.]

[h] [Apud Goldast. apol. pro Henr. iv. 4to. Hanov. 1611. lib. ii. p. 12.]

[i] [Annal. Boior.] lib. v. [cap. 13. § 12. p. 581. cap. 17. § 5. p. 565.] et lib. vii. [cap. 5. § 23. p. 651.]

upon doubts arising are now become perspicuous by the diligence of after times;" it is the acknowledgment of the cardinal of Rochester. And Bellarmine[k] helps to make this good with a considerable instance, *Cum scriberentur scripturæ nondum cœperat usus vovendi sanctis;* and cardinal Perron[l] adds, *Et quant aux autheurs plus proches du siecle apostolique, encore qu'il ne s'y trouve pas des vestiges de ceste coustume,* &c.; 'neither in the age of the apostles, that is, when the scriptures were written, nor in the age next to it, are there any footsteps of vowing to saints; for then the custom was not begun.' The pope's infallibility goes amongst very many for a catholic doctrine; in Spain and Italy, in Austria and Poland it is so, and every where else where the Jesuits prevail: but when Bellarmine[m] had affirmed that Nilus, Gerson, Almain, Alphonsus a Castro, and pope Adrian the sixth had taught that the pope might be a heretic if he defines without a general council, and in his censure of them affirmed that this opinion is not *proprie hæretica,* he plainly, by certain and immediate consequence, confesses that for fourteen or fifteen hundred years the judgment of the pope was not esteemed infallible. Now if this be true, it is impossible that it can ever be determined as a catholic truth, for there is no catholic tradition for it. There was not for many ages; and therefore either there is no tradition in the present church for it, or if there be it is contrary to the old tradition; and therefore either the tradition of the present church is no rule, or if it be it is a very new one, and several ages are bound to believe contradictory propositions. That the pope is above a council is held by some Roman catholics, and it is held so by all the popes, and hath without scruple been determined in the chair, and contended for earnestly, for about two hundred years past; and yet all the world knows it was not so of old. For we know when the question began, even in the time of the first council of Pisa, a little before the council of Constance; and now, that the pope is above the council, is *sententia fere communis,* nay, it is, *fere de fide,* saith Bellarmine[n]. Which expression of his shews plainly that articles of faith grow in the womb of the Roman church as an embryo, to be perfected when the pope shall see his time. Nay, if the pope's definition *in cathedra* be infallible, or if it can be known where the pope does define *in cathedra,* this proposition, that the pope is above a council, is more than *fere de fide:* for that 'The council is superior' is an heretical opinion, and the favourers of it heretics, Pius quartus affirmed in his complaint against Lansac the French ambassador[o] in the council of Trent[p], and he threatened to

[k] Lib. iii. De cultu sanctorum, c. 9. sect. 'Præterea.' [tom. ii. col. 1090.]

[l] Contre le roy de La grande Bretagne, [lib. v. cap. 19. p. 1009.]

[m] Lib. iv. De pontifice Romano, cap. 2. sect. 'Secunda opinio.' et sect. 'Ex his quatuor.' [tom. i. coll. 961, 2.]

[n] Lib. ii. de concil. auctor., c. 14. sect. 'Ultima sententia,' et cap. 17. sect. 'Tertia propositio.' [tom. ii. coll. 115, 20.]

[o] A.D. 1562.

[p] [Thuan., lib. xxxii. cap. 1.]

persecute and chastise them. And the like is to be said concerning that fine new article of faith made by pope Paul the fourth of which I have spoken in the first section, that a pope cannot be bound, much less can he bind himself, viz., by any oath; for that was the subject matter of the discourse. The number of the seven sacraments is now an article of the Roman faith, taught in their catechisms, determined in their councils, preached in their pulpits, disputed for against their adversaries; and yet the council of Florence was the first council, and Peter Lombard was the first man, we find ever to have precisely fixed upon that number, as Bellarmine[q] and Valentia[r] sufficiently acknowledge, even when they would fain deny it. Here I might instance in the seal of confession, which as they have at Rome passed it under a sacramental lock and key, and founded upon a divine law (for so they pretend) is one of the new articles of faith, which wholly depends upon the authority of the church of Rome; who for the sake of this and many other articles is compelled to challenge a strange power even of making and imposing new creeds, or of quitting her new articles. But the whole order of sections in this chapter will be one continued argument of this particular.

§ 6. They use indirect ways to bring their new articles into credit; e. g. the device of 'Indices expurgatorii.'

III. THEY use indirect and unworthy arts that they may do it without reproach and discovery; and for this I instance in the whole affair and annexes of their expurgatory indices. Concerning which, three things are said in the First Part of this Dissuasive; first, that the king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge all catholic authors, but with a clause of secrecy; secondly, that they purged the *indices* of the fathers' works; thirdly, that they did also purge the works of the fathers themselves. The first and the last are denied by them that wrote against the Dissuasive. The second they confess, and endeavour to justify. But how well, will appear when I have first made good the first and the last.

The king of Spain gave a commission to the inquisitors to purge catholic authors.

1. That the king of Spain gave a clancular commission to the inquisitors, can be denied by no man but by him that hath ignorance for his excuse; and then also the ignorance ought rather to be modestly confessed, than a fault charged upon him who knowing it did affirm it[s]. But the commission is printed both in Dutch

[q] Lib. ii. De effect. sacr., c. 25. sect. 'Secunda probatio.' [tom. iii. col. 238.]

[r] In Thom., tom. iv. disp. 3. q. 6. punct. 2. sect. 'Tertio objiciunt,' &c. [col. 541 E.]

[s] E. W., page 17. 'He is false and faulty through this whole section; faulty in telling us of a clancular commission given by the king of Spain to the inquisitors, &c., without directing us to either book or index where to find it.' This commission is in Junius his edition of the 'Indices expurgatorii;' and of this book the author of 'A letter to a friend' id make use, as appears in his sixth age under n. 16.

and Latin, together with the expurgatory *indices* of Belgium and Madrid, at Henovia or Henault by Guilielmus Antonius, 1611; in which the king affirms that he caused the Belgic index to be printed by his own chief printer, at his own charge, *Non quidem evulgandum distrahendumque, sed distribuendum solis cognitoribus, &c.* And a little after, giving faculty to the prelates to choose one or more assistants, he adds, *Iique ipsi privatim nullisque consciis apud se indicem expurgatorium habebunt, quem eundem neque aliis communicabunt, neque ejus exemplum ulli dabunt, &c.* This then is soon at an end.

They did purge the writings of the fathers.

2. But Junius that published the *indices* seems to say that they did not purge the works of the fathers. To this the answer that Junius himself makes is sufficient; for he instances in their purgation of Bertram, who yet was elder than Haymo, Theophylact, Œcumenius, and almost two hundred years before S. Bernard; and yet they openly professed to use him as they please: and when Bertram had said *visibiliter*, they commanded he should be read *invisibiliter:* which is a pretty little change, and very meet to Bertram's sense surely. But Bellarmine[t] is also in this particular a witness beyond exception; for when he had recited an objection out of S. Chrysostom, proving that in the times of heresy there is no way of finding truth but by the scripture; having nothing else to answer, he says, the book was either written or interpolated by an Arian, *et propterea totus hic locus, tanquam ab Arianis insertus, e quibusdam codicibus nuper emendatis sublatus est.* But the thing is plain also in the *indices* themselves; for in the Spanish index by the command of Gaspar Quiroga, archbishop of Toledo, and in that also of Sandoval, the purge hath passed upon the *Bibliotheca sanctorum patrum* collected by Binius; where not only the gloss upon S. Gregory of Neocæsarea, but the works of S. Anthony the abbot, S. Melito, Mark the hermit, Dorotheus, and divers others are purged[u]; and that the reader may be satisfied in the manner and design of the proceeding, the doctrines or sayings to be blotted out are these: 'We have learned to worship and venerate that nature only that is uncreated:' *dele 'solummodo,'* said the good fathers of the purges. 'Prudence, and life, and piety, make the priest.' 'A wicked mind cannot be justified.' 'He that keeps not the commandments does not believe rightly.' 'Only the holy Trinity is properly incorporeal.' 'A spiritual prayer helps not an unclean mind.' These are all doctrines very dangerous and heretical, and therefore though the fathers teach them, yet *deleantur;* let them pass through the fire, and leave their dross behind them. But I desire the reader to observe that when in the Sandoval edition of the index an order was taken for the purging the *Bibliotheca pa-*

[t] Lib. iv. De verbo Dei, cap. 11. sext. 'Sexto profert.' [tom. i. col. 248.]
[u] Page 282. edit. Hanov. 1611.

trum in the edition of it at Cologne, the Sandoval canon was not observed, and the reason given for it was this, "Lest the heretics may have occasion given them to insult;" which they could not do unless they had taken their adversaries in their tampering. But they are gone yet one step further in this particular: for in the latter editions of the *Bibliotheca*[x], they do not add the title of *sanctorum* to them, but *patrum* only, and *ecclesiasticorum scriptorum;* according to the order of the Sandoval Expurgatory Index printed at Madrid, MDCXII., and of the Quirogian Index, printed there MDLXXXIII. So that as they are forced secretly to imply that they are not so right for their catholic cause as they would have them, so they are resolved whatsoever is not so shall not pass with them for 'holy.' And in this diminution and dishonour of the memory of these ancient fathers, S. Clement of Alexandria his good name hath suffered shipwreck; for *in Clemente*[y] *Alexandrino, in duplici titulo operis, dele titulum Divi;* for now it happens in some measure to them that have in honour the memory of such men that seemed to speak any thing against the errors of the Roman church, as it did to Arulenus Rusticus praising of Pætus Thrasea, and to Herennius Senecio commending Helvidius Priscus, *capitale fuit,* said Tacitus[z]; and this is notorious in their tables, their new-fashioned diptychs; where men of honourable name and great worth are called *damnati auctores,* and their very name commanded to be put out, and some *periphrasis* set down for them.—But secondly, that I may give one pregnant instance of their purging the fathers, I desire him that is curious and would be satisfied in this thing, to see the edition of S. Austin, at Venice; and in the inscription of his works he shall find this confession, *In quo, præter locorum multorum restitutionem secundum collationem veterum exemplarium, curavimus removeri illa omnia quæ fidelium mentes hæretica pravitate possent inficere, aut a catholica orthodoxa fide deviare.* And in the Quirogian Index[a], which hath these words, *Sunt autem fere omnia quæ offendunt in prologis et marginalibus annotationibus,* we may easily see that not the prologues and annotations alone are guilty, but even S. Austin's text. But beyond conjecture, the thing is in itself evident. But the father's words are expunged in one place, and consequently condemned in every place; which is that I intended in the citation of those words by Junius, and which were also set down in the First Part of this Dissuasive. But both the text and index of S. Cyril of Alexandria[b], these words are, and yet commanded to be blotted[c], *Habitat Jesus per fidem in cordibus nostris.* Which very words are not in S. Cyril only, but in S. Paul[d] too; and by S. Cyril quoted with a *sicut scriptum est.* And again[e],

[x] Edit. Paris. 1610.
[y] Index expurg. Sandov., p. 83.
[z] [Agric., cap. 2.]
[a] [p. 48.]
[b] In Esai., lib. i. [leg. iv.] c. 51. in fin. [tom. ii. p. 723.]
[c] [Index Quirog., p. 352.]
[d] [Ephes. iii. 17.]
[e] Index Quirog., p. 74. [al. 351.]

Deleantur ex textu illa verba, Fidei autem gratiam cum his qui valde inquinati sunt, tum etiam paulum morbo affectis, satis ad emendationem valituram esse fidem facit, dicens. Fides sola justificat, are commanded to be blotted[f], and yet they are both in the index and the text of S. Hierome[g]. So the gloss of Epiphanius[h] of *creaturam non adorare* is commanded to be blotted out; when the words of Epiphanius' text are, *Sancta Dei ecclesia creaturam non adorat,* and it is so in other places; of which the *indices* themselves are the best testimony. And that no man may question whether they purged the fathers, yea or no, Sixtus Senensis[i] said it to Pius quintus, *Deinde expurgari et emaculari curasti omnia catholicorum scriptorum, ac præcipue veterum patrum scripta;* 'especially the writings of the ancient fathers' were purged. Now true it is that in the following words he pretends a reason why he did so, and tells what things were purged, "even those things which were infected and poisoned by the heretics of our age." These last words, and this reason, was not cited in the first part, when the former words were made use of; and therefore an outcry[k] was raised by them that wrote against it, as if they had been concealed by fraudulent design. To which I answer, that I was not willing to interrupt the order of my discourse with quoting words which are neither true nor pertinent. For they have in them no truth, and no good meaning. They are *protestatio contra factum,* as being set there to persuade the world that none of the fathers or modern catholics were purged unless the Lutherans had corrupted them; when all the world knows they have purged the writings of the catholics old and new, fathers and moderns, which themselves had printed, and formerly allowed; but now being wiser, and finding them to give too much evidence against them, they have altered them. I could instance in many; but I shall not need, since enough may be seen in doctor James his table of books, which were first set forth and approved, and afterwards censured by themselves. I shall trouble my reader but with one instance; that one is, the work of Ferus upon S. John's first epistle, which was printed at Antwerp MDLVI., with the privilege given by king Philip to Martinus Nutius, with this elogy. *Nam suæ majestati patuit librum esse omnino utilem, et nihil continere quod pias aures merito offendere possit.* The same book was printed at Paris, MDLV., by De Marnet, and MDLVI., by Audoën Petit, or Parvus; at Lyons, MDLIX., by Jacobus de Mellis; and the same year at Lovain, by Servatius Sessenus, and at Mentz, where he was preacher, by Francis Behem; and after all this, it was printed at Paris, MDLXIII., by Gabriel Buon, and at Antwerp, MDLXV., by the heirs of Nutius. Now all these editions were made by the papists, and allowed of; and no

[f] [p. 427.]

[g] [Pseudo-Hieron.] in epist. ad Rom., c. 10. [tom. v. col. 957.]

[h] Hæres. lxix. [Ind. Quirog., p. 360.]

[i] [vid. p. 186, not. p, supra.]

[k] E. W., p. 12; and the author of 'A Letter,' p. 7.

protestant, no heretic of that age (that I may use the words of Senensis) had corrupted them; neither is it pretended that they did: and yet this book was purged at Rome, MDLXXVII., and altered, added, and detracted in one hundred and ninety-four places. Of the nature and consequence of which alterations, I give this one instance: in the second chapter, where Ferus in the old edition of Mentz, Lovain, Antwerp, &c., had these words, *Scriptura sacra data est nobis ceu certa quædam regula christianæ doctrinæ;* but in the Roman edition, MDLXXVII., the words are changed thus; *Sacra scriptura et traditio nobis data sunt ceu certa quædam regula christianæ doctrinæ.* By which instance it plainly appears that the inquisitors general, and the pope, purge others than what the heretics have corrupted, and that these words of Sixtus Senensis are but a false cover to a foul dish, when they could no longer hide it. Nay, even the rules given by the pope himself, Clement the eighth[l], give order for prohibiting the books of the catholics before they be purged, *si nonnulla contineant quæ sine delectu ab omnibus legi non expedit:* and in the preface to the Sandoval index, it is said, *Obiter autem in quorundam orthodoxorum libris nonnulli lapsus aut quædam obscurius dicta deprehensa, quibus expurgatio, explicatio, aut cautio prudenter adhibita, ne minus cautos lectores contingat impingere;* which is a plain indication that the church of Rome proceeds in her purging of books upon other accounts than removing the corruptions lately introduced by the Lutherans or Calvinists. And all this and much more being evident and notorious, there was reason then to think, as I do still, that those words were of no use to be added, unless to give occasion of impertinent wrangling; but that there could be no other design in it, is manifest by what I have now said.—But thirdly, the expurgatory indices had the less need to do much of this, since their work was done to their hands; for the fathers' works had passed through fire ordeal many times before. I instanced in the edition of S. Ambrose by Ludovicus Saurius, wherein many lines were cancellated, and the edition spoiled; and this was done by the authority of two Franciscans, *Qui pro auctoritate has omnes paginas dispunxerunt ut vides, et illas substitui in locum priorum curaverunt, præter omnem librorum nostrorum fidem,* said Saurius[m]. Against this it is said[n] that it is a slander, because the *Index expurgatorius* was not appointed till the end of the council of Trent, which was *An. Dom.* MDLXIII., and therefore could not put a force upon Saurius, who corrected this book, and assisted at the edition of it MDLIX. To which I answer, 1) that it was not said that the *Index expurgatorius* put a force upon Saurius, but only a force was put upon him; and that it was so by two Franciscans, Junius, who tells the story, does affirm. 2) For ought appears to the contrary, nay, most probable it was so, that this force

[l] Reg. 6. [p. 13.—4to. Hanov. 1611.] Belgic. [p. 10.]
[m] Junius in præfat. ad ind. expurg. [n] By the author of the 'Letter' and E.W.

was put upon him by the authority of the *Expurgatorius index;* for though the council of Trent appointed one a little before its ending, which was in MDLXIII.; yet there was an index made before that, by pope Paul the fourth, who died four years before the end of the council; and this he "made by the counsel of all the inquisitors, and of many famous men, who sent him advice from all parts, and he made a most complete catalogue, to which nothing can be added, except some book come forth within two years[o]," said friar Augustin Selvago, archbishop of Genoa. So that here was authority enough, and there wanted no zeal, and here is matter of fact complained of by the parties suffering.—Fourthly, it would indeed have been matter of great scandal and reproach to have openly handled all the fathers indifferently, as they used the moderns; and though (as I have proved) this did not wholly restrain them, yet it abated much of their willingness; but there was less need of it, because they had very well purged them before; by cancellating the lines, by parting the pages, by corrupting their writings, by putting glosses in the margent, and afterwards putting these glosses into the text. *Quod lector ineptiens annotarat in margine sui codicis, scribæ retulerunt in contextum,* said Erasmus in his preface to the works of S. Austin[p], to the archbishop of Toledo; and the same also is observed by the Paris overseers of the press, in their preface to their edition of S. Austin's works at Paris, MDLXXI., by Martin and Nivellius. And this thing was notorious in a considerable instance, in S. Cyprian[q] *De unitate ecclesiæ;* where after the words of Christ spoken to S. Peter, and recorded by S. Matthew, there had been a marginal note, *Hic Petro primatus datur;* which words they have brought into the Roman and Antwerp editions; but they have both left out *Hic,* and the Roman, instead of it, hath put *Et.* And whereas in the old editions of Cyprian, even the Roman itself, these words were, "He who withstandeth and resisteth the church, doth he trust himself to be in the church?" some body hath made bold to put the words thus in the text of the edition of Antwerp, "He who forsaketh Peter's chair, on which the church is founded, doth he trust himself to be in the church?" But in how many places that excellent book of S. Cyprian's is interlined and spoiled by the new correctors, is evident to him that shall compare the Roman edition with the elder copies, and them with the later edition of Antwerp; and Pamelius[r] himself concerning some words saith, *Atque adeo non sumus veriti in textum inserere.* I could bring in many considerable instances, though it be more than probable that of forty falsities in the abusing the fathers' writings by Roman hands, there was not perhaps above one or two discoveries; yet this and many other concurrences might make it less needful to pass their

[o] Concil. Trident. in prima sessione sub Pio quarto. [sess. xvii. tom. x. col. 115.]

[p] [tom. i. p. 9.—fol. Basil. 1529.]

[q] Vide Pamelii annot. in librum. [p. 154.—fol. Col. Agr. 1617.]

[r] Ibid.

sponges upon the fathers. But when the whole charge of printing of books at Rome lies on the apostolical see, as Manutius[s] tells us, it is likely enough that all shall be taken care of so as shall serve their purposes. And so the printer[t] tells us, viz., that "such care was taken to have them so corrected, that there should be no spot which might infect the minds of the simple with the shew or likeness of false doctrine." And now by this we may very well perceive how the force was put upon Saurius in the purging S. Ambrose, even by the inquisitors, and that by the authority and care of the pope; and therefore though the works of most of the greater fathers were not put into the expurgatory *indices*, yet they were otherwise purged, that is, most shamefully corrupted, torn and maimed, and the lesser fathers passed under the file in the expurgatory *indices* themselves.

That they purged the indices is confessed and justified.

3. But then that they purged the *indices* of the fathers' works is so notorious, that it is confessed[u], and endeavoured to be justified. But when we come to consider that many times the very words of the fathers which are put into the index are commanded to be expunged, it at once shews that fain they would and yet durst not expunge the words out of the books, since they would be discovered by their adversaries, and they would suffer reproach without doing any good to themselves. Now whereas it is said that "therefore the words of the fathers are blotted out of the *indices*, because they are set down without antecedents and consequents, and prepare the reader to an ill sense[x]," this might be possible, but we see it otherwise in the instances themselves, which oftentimes are so plain, that no context, no circumstances, can alter the proposition: which is most of all notorious in the *deleatur's* of the *indices* of the bible set forth by Robert Stephen. *Credens Christo non morietur in æternum*, this is to be blotted out; and yet Christ himself said it, "Every one that lives and believes in Me, shall never die[y]." *Justus coram Deo nemo*, is to be blotted out of Robert Stephen's index; and yet David[z] prayed, "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord, for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified." Now what antecedent, or what context, or what circumstances can alter the sense of these places? which being the same in the text and the index, shews the good will of the inquisitors; and that like king Edward the sixth his tutor, they corrected the prince upon his page's back; and they have given sufficient warning of the danger of those words wherever they find them in the fathers, since they have so openly rebuked them in the *indices*. And therefore I made no distinction of places, but

[s] Epist., lib. ix. ad Jacobum Gorseium, [ep. 15. p. 414.—8vo. Ven. 1590.]

[t] In præf. ad Pium quartum in librum cardinalis Poli de concilio. [4to. Rom. 1562.]

[u] The author of 'A letter to a friend,' p. 7. E. W., p. 20.

[x] E. W., p. 19.

[y] [John xi. 26.]

[z] [Psal. cxlii. 2; alias cxliii.]

reckoned those words censured in the expurgatory tables as the fathers' words censured or expunged; and in this I followed the style of their own books, for in the Belgic index[a] the style is thus, *In Hieronymi operibus expungenda quæ sequuntur,* and yet they are the *Scholia, Indices,* and sense of the fathers set down, and printed in the same volume all together[b]; and having the same fate, and all upon the same account, I had reason to charge it as I did.

And how far the evil of this did proceed, may easily be conjectured by what was done by the Inquisition in the year MDLIX., in which there was a catalogue of sixty-two printers, and all the books which any of them printed, of what author or what language soever, prohibited; and all books which were printed by printers that had printed any books of heretics; insomuch that not only books of a hundred, two hundred, three hundred years ago, and approbation, were prohibited, but there scarce remained a book to be read.

But by this means they impose upon men's faith and consciences; suffering them to allow of nothing in any man, no not in the fathers, but what themselves mark out for them; not measuring their own doctrines by the ancients, but reckoning their sayings to be or not to be catholic, according as they agree to their present opinions: which is infinitely against the candour, ingenuity, and confidence of truth, which needs none of these arts. And besides all this how shall it be possible to find out tradition by succession, when they so interrupt and break the intermedial lines? And this is (beyond all the foregoing instances) very remarkable in their purging of histories. In Munster's Cosmography there was a long story of Ludovicus the emperor of the house of Bavaria, that made very much against the see of Rome; it is commanded to be left out, and *in illius loco inseratur, si placet, sequens historia*[c]; and then there is made a formal story not consonant to the mind of the historian. And the same Lewis of Bavaria[d] published a smart answer to the bull of P. John the twenty-second, an information of the nullity of the pope's proceedings against him; but the records and monuments of these things they tear out by their expurgatory tables, lest we of latter ages should understand how the popes of Rome invaded the rights of princes, and by new doctrines and occasions changed the face, the body, the innocence and the soul of christian religion. The whole apology of the emperor Henry the fourth, and the epistles of prince Frederic the second, they pull out of the fifth tome of the writers of the German affairs. *Neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum sævitum* (that I may use the words of Tacitus[e] complaining), *delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur: scilicet illo igne vocem populi Rom. et*

[a] [Quirog.] p. 70. edit. 1611.

[b] ['altogether,' A.]

[c] Index Belg. [Quirog.] p. 161. Impress. A.D. 1611, Hanoviæ.

[d] Cancellarius Bavariæ egregie vindicavit principis sui memoriam a Bzovianis imposturis.

[e] In vita Julii Agric. [cap. 2.]

libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiæ professoribus, atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. For thus they not only destroy the liberty of the church, and the names of the honourable, and the sentences of the wise; but even hope to prevail upon the consciences of all mankind, and the history of the world, that nothing may be remembered by which themselves may be reproved. But this is not agreeable to the simplicity and ingenuity of the christian religion.

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Christus eget [e].

But what Arnobius[f] said to the heathen, in their violent and crafty arts to suppress the growth of christianity, may be a good admonition to these artists of the Inquisition, *Intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum*[g] *defendere, sed veritatis testificationem timere.*

One thing more I am to add here, that they are so infinitely insecure in their errors, and so unsatisfied with the learning of the world, and they find it so impossible to resist the frequent and public testimonies of truth; or indeed rather they so grow in error, and so often change their propositions; that they neither agree at one time, nor does one time agree with another, in their purgations; that a saint to-day may be a common person to-morrow, and that which is an allowed doctrine now, next year may be heretical, or temerarious, or dangerous. The *Speculum oculare* of Johannes Capnio was approved by pope Leo the tenth; it was afterwards rejected by pope Paul the fourth; and him the council of Trent following, and rejecting the sentence of pope Leo, did also condemn it; and the inquisitors, to whom the making of the index was committed by Paul the fourth, caused it to be burnt: but afterwards the censors of Douay permit the book, and so it is good again. What uncertainty can be greater to consciences than what the ignorance or faction of these men cause? Here is pope against pope, a council against the pope; and the monks inquisitors of Douay against both pope and council; and what can be the end of these things? When the Quirogian index came forth, a man would think there had been an end of so much as was there purged: and certain it is they were cautious enough, and they purged all they thought deserved it[h]: but yet when they of Salamanca published the bible of Robert Stephens, and strictly had observed the rules of cardinal Quiroga, *Ita ut in contextu pauca, in annotationibus plurima omiserint;* yet other inquisitors, being wiser by a new light, did so blot and raze, and scratch out many things more, that the

[e] [vid. Virg. Æn. ii. 521.]

[f] Lib. iii. adv. gentes. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. iii. p. 173.]

[g] [leg. 'deos.']

[h] Vide præfationem ad lectorem in Ind. Sandov. [Matrit. 1614.]

bible, which was a very fair one in A.D. MDLXXXIV., came forth exceedingly defaced and spoiled in the year MDLXXXVI.

I need not observe that in all the expurgatory *indices* you shall not find Gasper Schioppius or the Jesuits censured; nor Baronius, although he declared the kingdom of Sicily to belong to the pope and not to the king of Spain; but if any thing escape which lessens the pope's omnipotence (it is their own word) then it is sure to fall under the sponges and the razor: so that this mystery of iniquity is too evident to be covered by the most plausible pretences of any interested advocate. But if this be the way, to stop all mouths but those that speak the same thing, it is no wonder if they boast of unity: they might very well do so, but that the providence of God, which overrules all events, hath by His almighty power divided them, in despite of all their cunning arts to seem to be sons of one mother: only it will be now a much more hard province to tell when their errors first began, since they have taken order to cut out the tongues of them that tell us. And this they have done to their own canon law itself, and to the old glosses, in which there were remaining some footsteps of the ancient and apostolical doctrine; upon which the craft of the enemy of mankind, and the arts of interested persons, had not quite prevailed: as is largely to be seen in the very censures themselves upon the glosses, published by the command of pope Pius quintus, MDLXXX.[1]

§ 7. The uncharitableness of the church of Rome in her judging of others.

IV. THE next thing I charge upon them is, that having done these things to propagate their new doctrines, and to suppress those which are more ancient and catholic; they are so implacably angry at all that dissent from them, that they not only kill them where they have power, but damn them all as far as their sentence can prevail. If you be a Roman catholic, let your life be what it will, their sacrament of penance is πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετικὸν, it 'takes away all their sins' in a quarter of an hour: but if you differ from them even in the least point they have declared, you are not to be endured in this world nor in the world to come. Indeed this is one of the inseparable characters of an heretic, he sets his whole communion and all his charity upon his article; for to be zealous in the schism, that is the characteristic of a good man, that's his note of christianity: in all the rest he excuses you or tolerates you, provided you be a true believer; then you are one of the faithful, a good man and a precious, you are of the congregation of the saints, and one of the godly. All Solifidians do thus; and all that do thus are Solifidians, the church of Rome herself not excepted; for though in words she proclaims the possibility of keeping all the commandments; yet she dispenses easier with him that breaks them all, than

[1] Imprimebantur etiam Hanoviæ, procurantibus Junio et Pappo, 1611.

with him that speaks one word against any of her articles, though but the least; even the eating of fish, and forbidding flesh, in Lent. So that it is faith they regard more than charity, a right belief more than a holy life; and for this you shall be with them upon terms easy enough, provided you go not a hair's breadth from any thing of her belief: for if you do, they have provided for you two deaths and two fires, both inevitable and one eternal. And this certainly is one of the greatest evils of which the church of Rome is guilty; for this in itself is the greatest and unworthiest uncharitableness. But the procedure is of great use to their ends. For the greatest part of Christians are those that cannot consider things leisurely and wisely, searching their bottoms, and discovering the causes, or foreseeing events which are to come after; but are carried away by fear and hope, by affection and prepossession: and therefore the Roman doctors are careful to govern them as they will be governed. If you dispute, you gain it may be one, and lose five; but if ye threaten them with damnation, you keep them in fetters; for they that are 'in fear of death,' are 'all their life time in bondage,' saith the apostle[j]; and there is in the world nothing so potent as fear of the two deaths, which are the two arms and grapples of iron by which the church of Rome takes and keeps her timorous, or conscientious, proselytes. The easy protestant calls upon you from scripture to do your duty, to build a holy life upon a holy faith, the faith of the apostles and first disciples of our Lord; he tells you if you err, and teaches you the truth; and if ye will obey, it is well; if not, he tells you of your sin, and that all sin deserves the wrath of God, but judges no man's person, much less any states of men. He knows that God's judgments are righteous and true; but he knows also that His mercy absolves many persons who in His just judgment were condemned: and if he had a warrant from God to say that he should destroy all the papists, as Jonas had concerning the Ninevites; yet he remembers that every repentance, if it be sincere, will do more, and prevail greater, and last longer, than God's anger will. Besides these things, there is a strange spring and secret principle in every man's understanding, that it is oftentimes turned about by such impulses of which no man can give an account. But we all remember a most wonderful instance of it, in the disputation[k] between the two Reynolds's, John and William; the former of which, being a papist, and the later a protestant, met and disputed with a purpose to confute and to convert each other; and so they did: for those arguments which were used prevailed fully against their adversary, and yet did not prevail with themselves. The papist turned protestant, and the protestant became a papist, and so remained to their dying day. Of which some ingenious person gave a most handsome

j [Heb. ii. 15.]

k [Wood, hist. et antiq. univ. Oxon., lib. ii. (in Nov. coll. scriptoribus) p. 139.—fol. Oxon. 1674.]

account in an excellent epigram[1], which for the verification of the story I have set down in the margent. But further yet, he considers the natural and regular infirmities of mankind; and God considers them much more; he knows that in man there is nothing admirable but his ignorance, and weakness; his prejudice, and the infallible certainty of being deceived in many things: he sees that wicked men oftentimes know much more than many very good men; and that the understanding is not of itself considerable in morality, and effects nothing in rewards and punishments: it is the will only that rules man, and can obey God. He sees and deplores it, that many men study hard, and understand little; that they dispute earnestly, and understand not one another at all; that affections creep so certainly, and mingle with their arguing, that the argument is lost, and nothing remains but the conflict of two adversaries' affections; that a man is so willing, so easy, so ready to believe what makes for his opinion, so hard to understand an argument against himself, that it is plain it is the principle within, not the argument without, that determines him. He observes also that all the world (a few individuals excepted) are unalterably determined to the religion of their country, of their family, of their society; that there is never any considerable change made, but what is made by war and empire, by fear and hope. He remembers that it is a rare thing to see a Jesuit of the dominican opinion, or a Dominican (until of late) of the jesuit; but every order gives laws to the understanding of their novices, and they never change. He considers there is such ambiguity in words, by which all lawgivers express their meaning; that there is such abstruseness in mysteries of religion, that some things are so much too high for us that we cannot understand them rightly; and yet they are so sacred and concerning, that men will think they are bound to look into them as far as they can; that it is no wonder if they quickly go too far, where no understanding, if it were fitted for it, could go far enough: but in these things it will be hard not to be deceived, since our words cannot rightly express those things; that there is such variety of human understandings, that men's faces differ not so much as their souls; and that if there were not so much difficulty in things, yet they could not but be variously apprehended by several men; and then considering that in twenty opinions it

[1] Bella inter geminos plusquam civilia fratres
Traxerat ambiguus religionis apex;
Ille reformatæ fidei pro partibus instat,
Iste reformandam denegat esse fidem.
Propositis causæ rationibus, alter utrinque
Concurrere pares, et cecidere pares.
Quod fuit in votis, fratrem capit alter uterque:
Quòd fuit in fatis, perdit uterque fidem.
Captivi gemini sine captivante fuerunt,
Et victor victi transfuga castra petit.
Quod genus hoc pugnæ est, ubi victus gaudet uterque,
Et tamen alteruter se superasse dolet?—[Wood, ut supra.]

may be not one of them is true; nay, whereas Varro reckoned that among the old philosophers there were eight hundred opinions concerning the *summum bonum*, and yet not one of them hit the right: they see also that in all religions, in all societies, in all families, and in all things, opinions differ; and since opinions are too often begot by passion, by passions and violences they are kept; and every man is too apt to overvalue his own opinion; and out of a desire that every man should conform his judgment to his that teaches, men are apt to be earnest in their persuasion, and overact the proposition; and from being true, as he supposes, he will think it profitable; and if you warm him either with confidence, or opposition, he quickly tells you it is necessary; and as he loves those that think as he does, so he is ready to hate them that do not; and then secretly from wishing evil to him, he is apt to believe evil will come to him, and that it is just it should: and by this time the opinion is troublesome, and puts other men upon their guard against it; and then while passion reigns, and reason is modest and patient, and talks not loud like a storm, victory is more regarded than truth, and men call God into the party, and His judgments are used for arguments, and the threatenings of the scripture are snatched up in haste, and men throw "arrows, fire-brands, and death[m]," and by this time all the world is in an uproar. All this and a thousand things more the English protestants considering, deny not their communion to any Christian who desires it, and believes the apostles' creed, and is of the religion of the four first general councils[n]; they hope well of all that live well; they receive into their bosom all true believers of what church soever; and for them that err, they instruct them, and then leave them to their liberty, to stand or fall before their own Master.

It was a famous saying of Stephen, the great king of Poland, that God had reserved to Himself three things, first to make something out of nothing; secondly, to know future things, and all that shall be hereafter; thirdly, to have the rule over consciences: it is this last we say the church of Rome does arrogate and invade;—

1. By imposing articles as necessary to salvation, which God never made so. Where hath God said that it is necessary to salvation that every human creature should be subject to the Roman bishop? But the church of Rome says it[o], and by that at one blow cuts off from heaven all the other churches of the world, Greek, Armenian, Ethiopian, Russian, protestants: which is an act so contrary to charity, to the hope and piety of Christians, so dishonourable to the kingdom of Christ, so disparaging to the justice, to the wisdom and the goodness of God, as any thing which can be said. Where hath it been said that it shall be a part of christian faith to believe that, though the

[m] [Prov. xxvi. 18.]

[n] [See vol. v. p. 197, note i.]

[o] Extrav. de major. et obed.—Dicimus, definimus, pronunciamus absolute necessarium ad salutem omni humanæ creaturæ subesse Romano pontifici. [col. 192.]

fathers of the church did communicate infants, yet they did it without any opinion of necessity? And yet the church of Rome[p] hath determined it in one of her general councils, as a thing *sine controversia credendum*, 'to be believed without doubt or dispute.' It was indeed the first time that this was made a part of the christian religion; but then let all wise men take heed how they ask the church of Rome where was this part of her religion before the council of Trent? for that's a secret, and that this is a part of their religion I suppose will not be denied, when a general council hath determined it to be a truth without controversy, and to be held accordingly. Where hath God said that those churches that differ from the Roman church in some propositions cannot confer true orders, nor appoint ministers of the gospel of Christ? and yet, *super totam materiam*, the church of Rome is so implacably angry and imperious with the churches of the protestants, that if any English priest turn to them, they re-ordain him; which yet themselves call sacrilegious, in case his former ordination was valid; as it is impossible to prove it was not, there being neither in scripture nor catholic tradition any laws, order, or rule, touching our case in this particular. Where hath God said that penance is a sacrament, or that without confession to a priest no man can be saved? If Christ did not institute it, how can it be necessary? and if He did institute it, yet the church of Rome ought not to say it is therefore necessary; for with them an institution is not a command, though Christ be the institutor; and if institution be equal to a commandment, how then comes the sacrament not to be administered in both kinds, when it is confessed that in both kinds it was instituted?

2. The church of Rome does so multiply articles that few of the laity know the half of them, and yet imposes them all under the same necessity; and if in any one of them a man make a doubt, he hath lost all faith, and had as good be an infidel. For the church's authority being the formal object of faith, that is the only reason why any article is to be believed; the reason is the same in all things else: and therefore you may no more deny any thing she says, than all she says; and an infidel is as sure of heaven, as any Christian is that calls in question any of the innumerable propositions which with her are esteemed *de fide*. Now if it be considered that some of the Roman doctrines are a state of temptation to all the reason of mankind, as the doctrine of Transubstantiation; that some are at least of a suspicious improbity, as worship of images, and of the consecrated elements, and many others; some are of a nice and curious nature, as the doctrine of merit, of condignity and congruity; some are perfectly of human inventions, without ground of scripture or tradition, as the forms of ordination, absolution, &c. When men see that some things can never be believed heartily, and many not understood fully, and more not remembered or considered perfectly, and yet all imposed upon the same necessity; and as good believe nothing, as

[p] Sess. i. [leg. xxi.] cap. 4. [tom. x. col. 120.]

not every thing; this way is apt to make men despise all religion, or despair of their own salvation. The church of Rome hath a remedy for this; and by a distinction undertakes to save you harmless: you are not tied to believe all with an explicit faith; it suffices that your faith be implicit, or involved in the faith of the church; that is, if you believe that she says true in all things, you need enquire no further. So that by this means the authority of their church is made authentic, for that is the first and last of the design; and you are taught to be saved by the faith of others, and a faith is preached that you have no need ever to look after it; a faith of which you know nothing, but it matters not as long as others do: but then it is also a faith which can never be the foundation of a good life; for upon ignorance nothing that is good can be built; no not so much as a blind obedience; for even blindly to obey, is built upon something that you are bidden explicitly to believe, viz., the infallibility or the authority of the church: but upon an implicit faith you can no more establish a building, than you can number that which is not. Besides this, an implicit faith in the articles of the church of Rome is not sense; it is not faith at all that is not explicit; "Faith comes by hearing," and not 'by not hearing:' and the people of the Roman church believe one proposition explicitly, that is, 'that their church cannot err;' and then indeed they are ready to believe any thing they tell them; but as yet they believe nothing but the infallibility of their guides: and to call that faith which is but a readiness or disposition to have it, is like filling a man's belly with the meat he shall eat to-morrow night: an act of understanding antedated. But when it is considered in its own intrinsic nature and meaning, it effects this proposition, that 'these things are indeed no objects of that faith by which we are to be saved' (for it is strange that men having the use of reason should hope to be saved by the merit of a faith that believes nothing, that knows nothing, that understands nothing) 'but that our faith is completed in the essential notices of the evangelical covenant, in the propositions which every christian man and woman is bound to know;' and that the other propositions are but arts of empire, and devices of government, or the scholastic confidence of opinions; something to amuse consciences, and such by which the mystic persons may become more knowing and revered than their poor parishioners.

3. The church of Rome determines trifles and inconsiderable propositions, and adopts them into the family of faith. Of this nature are many things which the popes determine in their chairs, and send them into the world as oracles. What a dangerous thing would it be esteemed to any Roman catholic if he should dare to question whether the consecration of the bread and wine be to be done by the prayer of the priest, or by the mystic words of *Hoc est corpus meum* said over the elements; for that by the force of those words, said with right intention, the bread is transubstantiated and made the

body of Christ, *ecclesia catholica magno consensu docet*, said Bellarmine[p]; so it is also in the council of Florence, in the instruction of the Armenians; so it is taught in the catechism of the council of Trent; so it is agreed by the Master of the Sentences[q] and his scholars; by Gratian, and the lawyers; and so it is determined in the law itself, *cap. 'Cum Marthæ,' extr.*[r] *De celebratione missarum.* And yet this is no certain thing, and not so agreeable to the spirituality of the gospel, to suppose such a change made by the saying so many words. And therefore although the church does well in using all the words of institution at the consecration; for so they are carefully recited in the liturgies of S. James, S. Clement, S. Basil, S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, the *Anaphora* of the Syrians, in the universal canon of the Ethiopians, only they do not do this so carefully in the Roman missal, but leave out words very considerable, words which S. Luke and S. Paul recite[s], viz., "which is broken for you;" or, "which is given for you;" and to the words of consecration of the chalice they add words which Christ did not speak in the institution and benediction: yet besides this generally the Greek fathers, and divers of the Latin, do expressly teach that the consecration of the elements is made by the prayers of the church recited by the bishop or priest. For the scripture tells us that Christ took the bread, He blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to them, saying, Take, eat. It is to be supposed that Christ consecrated it before He gave it to them; and yet if He did, all the consecration was effected by His benediction of it. And if (as the Romanists contend) Christ gave the sacrament of the eucharist to the two disciples at Emmaus, it is certain there is no record of any other consecration but by Christ's blessing or praying over the elements. It is indeed possible that something more might be done than was set down, but nothing less; and therefore this consecration was not done without the benediction; and therefore *Hoc est corpus meum* alone cannot do it; at least there is no warrant for it in Christ's example. And when S. Peter in his ministry did found and establish churches, *Orationum ordinem quibus oblata Deo sacrificia consecrantur a S. Petro primo fuisse institutum*, said Isidore, Remigius, Hugo de S. Victore, and Alphonsus a Castro; 'S. Peter first instituted the order of prayers by which the sacrifices offered to God were consecrated.' And in the liturgy of S. James, after the words of institution are recited over the elements, there is a prayer of consecration, "O Lord, make this bread to be the body of Thy Christ," &c. Which words although Bellarmine troubles himself to answer, as cardinal Bessarion did before him; yet we shall find his answers

[p] Lib. iv. de sacr. euchar., cap. 12. sect. 'Est igitur.' [tom. iii. col. 822.]

[q] Lib. iv. sent. dist. 8. [c. 2. fol. 164 C.]

[r] [Sic in marg. Innocent. myster. miss. lib. iv. cap. 5; sed habetur Decretal. Greg. ix. lib. iii. tit. 41. cap. 6. col. 1263.]

[s] Inter evangelistas quæ omittuntur ab uno supplentur ab alio.—Innocentius de offic. Missæ, lib. iii. c. 17. [vid. ut in not. præced., et p. 575 infra.]

to no purpose; expounding the prayer to be only a confirmation, or an 'Amen' to what was done before; for if that consecration was made before that prayer, how comes S. James to call it bread after consecration? And as weak are his other answers, saying, the prayer means that God would make it so to us, not in itself: which although S. James hath nothing to warrant that exposition; yet it is true upon another account, that is, because the bread becomes Christ's body only to us, to them who communicate worthily, but never to the wicked; and it is not Christ's body but in the using it, and that worthily too. And therefore his third answer (which he uses first) is certainly the best; and that is the answer which Bessarion makes, that for ought they know the order of the words is changed, and that the prayer should be set before, not after the words of consecration. Against which although it is sufficient to oppose that for ought they or we know the order is not changed; for to this day and always (so far as any record remains) the Greeks kept the same order of the words, and the Greek fathers had their sentiment and doctrine agreeable to it; and as in S. James his liturgy, so in the missal said to be of S. Clement, the same order is observed, and after the words of the institution or declaration, God is invocated to send His holy spirit to make the oblation to become the body and blood of Christ; and in pursuance of this Justin Martyr[s] calls it, Τὴν δι' εὐχῆς εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, and Origen[t], ἀρτοὺς συναγομένους[u] διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν. *Ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur*, said S. Hierome[v]; and S. Austin[x] calls the sacrament, *Prece mystica consecratum;* but of this thing I have given an account in other places[y]. —The use I make of it now is this; that the church of Rome is not only forward to decree things uncertain, or to take them for granted, which they can never prove; but when she is by chance, or interest, or mistake, fallen upon a proposition, she will not endure any one to oppose it; and indeed if she did suffer a change in this particular, not only a great part of their thomistical theology would be found out to be sandy and inconsistent; but the whole doctrine of transubstantiation would have no foundation. True it is, this is a new doctrine in the church of Rome; for Amularius affirms that the apostles did consecrate only by benediction; and pope Innocent the third, and pope Innocent the fourth, taught that Christ did not consecrate by the words of *Hoc est corpus meum:* so that the doctrine is new; and yet I make no question, he that shall now say so shall not be accounted a catholic.

But the instances are many of this nature, not necessary to be enumerated, because they are notorious; and when the *Quæstiones disputatæ*, as S. Thomas Aquinas calls a volume of his Disputations,

[s] Apol. ii. [al. i. § 66. p. 83 B.]

[t] Lib. viii. cont. Celsum. [§ 33. tom. i. p. 766.]

[u] [leg. σῶμα γενομένους.] [vid. p. 44, supra.]

[x] Lib. iii. de Trinit., c. 4. [tom. viii. col. 798 B.]

[y] Vide Divine instit. of the office ministerial, sect. 7.—Of the real and spir. presence, sect. 4.

are (at least many of them) passed into catholic propositions, and become the general doctrine of their church; they do not so much insist upon the nature of the propositions, as the securing of that authority by which they are taught. If any man dissent in the doctrine of purgatory, or concomitancy, and the half communion, then presently *Hannibal ad portas;* they first kill him, and then damn him (as far as they can.) But in the great questions of predetermination, in which man's duty, and the force of laws, and the powers of choice, and the attributes of God are deeply concerned, they differ infinitely, and yet they endure the difference, and keep the communion. But if the heats and interests that are amongst them had happened to be employed in this instance; they would have made a dissent in these questions as damnable as any other. But the events of salvation and damnation (blessed be God) do not depend upon the votes and sentences of men, but upon the price which God sets upon the propositions; and it would be considered that there are some propositions in which men are confident and err securely, which yet have greater influence upon the honour of God or His dishonour, or upon good or bad life respectively, than many others in which the φιλοπρωτεύοντες make more noise, and have less consideration. For these things they teach 'not as the scribes, but as having authority;' not as doctors but as lawgivers; which because Christ only is, the apostles by the assistance of an infallible spirit did publish His sanctions; but gave no laws of faith, but declared what Christ had made so; and S. Paul was careful to leave a note of difference, with a *Hoc dico ego, non Dominus:* it follows that the church of Rome does *dominari fidei et conscientiis,* 'make herself mistress of faith and consciences:' which being the prerogative of God, it is part of His glory that He will not impart unto another. But this evil hath proceeded unto extremity, and armies have been raised to prove their propositions; and vast numbers of innocent persons have been put to the sword, and burnt in the fire, and exposed to horrible torments, for denying any of their articles; and their saints have been their ensign bearers, particularly S. Dominic; and an office of torment and inquisition is erected in their most zealous countries. *Nempe hoc est esse christianum,* this is the Roman manner of being christian: and whom they can and whom they cannot kill, they excommunicate, and curse, and say they are damned. This is so contrary to the communion of saints, and so expressly against the rule of the apostle commanding us to 'receive them that are weak in faith, but not to receive them unto doubtful disputations;' and so ruinous to the grace of charity, which hopes and speaks the best, and not absolutely the worst thing in the world; and so directly opposed to Christ's precept, which commands us 'not to judge, that we be not judged;' and is an enemy to public peace, which is easily broken with them whom they think to be damned wretches; and is so forgetful of human infirmity; and but

little considers, that in so innumerable a company of old and new propositions, it is great odds but themselves are or may be deceived; and lastly, it is so much against the very law of nature, which ever permits the understanding free, though neither tongue nor hand; and leaves all that to the divine judgment, which ought neither to be invaded nor antedated; that this evil doctrine and practice is not more easily reproved than it is pernicious and intolerable, and of all things in the world the most unlike the spirit of a christian. I know that against this they have no answer to oppose, but to recriminate; and say that we in the church of England do so, and hang their priests, and punish by fines and imprisonment their lay proselytes. To which the answer need not be long, or to trouble the order of the discourse. For 1) we put none of their laity to death for their opinion; which shews that it is not the religion is persecuted, but some other evil appendix. 2) We do not put any of their priests to death who is not a native of the kingdoms; but those subjects who pass over hence, and receive orders abroad, and return with evil errands. 3) Neither were these so treated, until by the pope our princes were excommunicated, and the subjects absolved from their duty to them, and encouraged to take up arms against them; and that the English priests returned with traitorous designs, and that many conspiracies were discovered. 4) And lastly, when much of the evil and just causes of fear did cease, the severity of procedure is taken off, and they have more liberty than hitherto they have deserved. Now if any of these things can be said by the church of Rome in her defence, I am content she shall enjoy the benefit of her justification. For her rage extends to all, laity as well as clergy, foreign clergy as well as domestic, their own people and strangers, the open dissentients and the secretly suspected; those that are delated and those whom they can enquire of; and own that, which we disavow; and which if we did do, we should be reproved by our own sentences and public profession to the contrary.

But now after all this, if it shall appear that the danger is on the part of the Roman church, and safety on our side, and yet that we in our censure of their doctrines are not so fierce, and in our fears of their final condition not so decretory and rash; then this doctrine of theirs against us is both the more uncharitable, and the more unreasonable.

First, that the church of Rome is infinitely confident they are in the right, I easily believe, because they say they are, and they have causes but too many to create or to occasion that confidence in them: for they never will consider concerning any of their articles; their unlearned men not at all, their learned men only to confirm their own, and to confute their adversaries; whose arguments though never so convincing they are bound to look upon as temptations, and to use them accordingly; which thing (in case they can be in an error) may prove so like the sin against the Holy Ghost, as milk is to milk;

if at least all conviction of error and demonstrations of truth be the effect and grace of the Spirit of God: which ought very warily to be considered.

But this confidence is no argument of truth: for they telling their people that they are bound to believe all that they teach with an assent, not equal to their proof of it, but much greater, even the greatest that can be; they tie them to believe it without reason or proof: for to believe more strongly than the argument infers, is to believe something without the argument; or at least to have some portions of faith, which relies upon no argument; which if it be not effected by a supreme and more infallible principle, can never be reasonable: but this they supply with telling them that they cannot err; and this very proposition itself needing another supply (for why shall they believe this more than any thing else, with an assent greater than can be effected by their argument?) they supply this also with affrighting homilies and noises of damnation. So that it is no wonder that the Roman people are so confident; since it is not upon the strength of their argument or cause (for they are taught to be confident beyond that) but it is upon the strength of passion, credulity, interest and fear, education, and pretended authority: all which as we hope God will consider in passing His unerring sentence upon the poor misled people of the Roman communion; so we also, considering their infirmity and our own, dare not enter into the secret of God's judgment concerning all or any of their persons; but pray for them, and offer to instruct them; we reprove their false doctrines, and use means to recal them from darkness, into some more light than there they see; but we pass no further; and we hope that this charity and modesty will not (we are sure it ought not) be turned to our reproach, for this is the ἀνοχὴ καὶ μακροθυμία, that 'toleration of our erring brethren, and long sufferance[z],' which we have learned from God, and it ought to procure repentance in them; and yet if it does not, we do but our duty, always remembering the words of the great apostle which he spake to the church of Rome[a], "Thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest another; for in what thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself;" and we fear, and every man is bound to do so too, lest the same measure of judgment we make to the errors of our brother, be heaped up against our own, in case we fall into any. And the church of Rome should do well to consider this; for she is not the less likely to err, but much more, for thinking she cannot err, her very thinking and saying this thing being her most capital error, as I shall afterwards endeavour to make apparent. I remember that Paganinus Gaudentius, a Roman gentleman, tells that Theodore Beza, being old, and coming into the camp of Henry the fourth of France, was asked by some whether he were sure that he followed the true religion. He modestly answered

[z] [Rom. ii. 4.] [a] [Rom. ii. 1.]

that he did daily pray to God to direct him with His holy spirit, and to give him a light from heaven to guide him. Upon which answer because they expounded it to be in Beza uncertainty and irresolution, he says that many who heard him took that hint and became Roman catholics. It is strange it should be so, that one man's modesty should make another man bold, and that the looking upon a sound eye should make another sore: but so it is, that in the church of Rome very ill use is made of our charity and modesty. However, I shall give a true account of the whole affair as it stands, and then leave it to be considered.

§ 8. The insecurity of the Roman religion.

1. As to the security which is pretended in the church of Rome; it is 'confidence' rather than 'safety,' as I have already said; but if we look upon the propositions themselves, we find that there is more danger in them than we wish there were. I have already in the preface to the First Part instanced in some particulars in which the church of Rome hath suffered infirmity and fallen into error, and the errors are such which the fathers of the church (for we meddle not with any such judgment) call damnable. As for example[b], 'to add any thing to scriptures, or to introduce into the faith any thing that is not written;' or 'to call any thing divine that is not in the authority of the holy scriptures;' which Tertullian says whosoever does may 'fear the woe pronounced in scripture against adders and detracters;' and S. Basil says 'is a manifest note of infidelity, and a most certain sign of pride;' and others[c] add, it is 'an evil heart of immodesty, and most vehemently forbidden by the apostles.' Against the testimonies then brought some little cavils were made, and many evil words of railing published, which I have not only washed off in the second section of this Second Part, but have, to my thinking, clearly proved them guilty of doing ill in this question, and receding from the rule of the primitive church; and have added many other testimonies concerning the main enquiry, to which the weak answers offered can no way be applied, and to which the more learned answers of Bellarmine and Perron are found insufficient; as it there is made to appear. So that I know nothing remains to them to be considered but whether or no the primitive and holy fathers were too zealous in condemning this doctrine and practice of the Roman church too severely? We are sure the thing which the fathers so condemn is done without warrant, and contrary to all authentic precedents of the purest and holiest ages of the church, and greatly derogatory to the dignity and fulness of scripture; and infinitely dangerous to the church for the intromitting the doctrines of men into the canon of faith, and a great diminution to the reputation of that providence by

[b] [See p. 173 above.]
[c] [S. Athanas.—vid. p. 174, note i, supra.]

which it is certain the church was to be secured in the records of salvation; which could not be done by any thing so well as by writing what was to be kept inviolate; especially in the propositions of faith, relying oftentimes upon a word, and a phrase, and a manner of expression, which in the infinite variety of reporters might too easily suffer change. Thus far we can safely argue concerning the error of the church of Rome; and to this not we, but the fathers, add a severe censure. And when some of these censures were set down by way of caution and warning, not of judgment and final sentence, it seems a wonder to me how these gentlemen of the Roman communion that wrote[d] against the book, should recite all these terrible sayings out of the fathers against their superaddition of articles to the faith contained in scriptures, and be so little concerned as to read them with a purpose only to find fault with the quotations, and never be smitten with a terror of the judgment which the fathers pronounce against them that do so. Just as if a man being ready to perish in a storm, should look up and down the ship to see if the little paintings were exact; or as if a man in a terrible clap of thunder should consider whether he ever heard so unmusical a sound, and never regard his own danger.

2. The same is the case in their ἀρτολάτρεια, worshipping of consecrated bread: in which if they be not deceived, all the reason and all the senses of all the men in the world are deceived; and if they be deceived, then it is certain they give divine worship to what they naturally eat and drink; and how great a provocation of God that is, they cannot but know by the whole analogy of the Old and New testament, and even by natural reason itself, and all the dictates of religion which God hath written in our hearts. On the other side, if we consider that if the divine worship they intend to Christ were passed immediately to Him sitting in heaven, and not through that blessed thing upon the altar, but directly and primarily to Him whose passion there is represented, and the benefits of whose death are there offered and exhibited; there could be no diminution of any right due to Christ. Nay, to them who consider that in the first institution and tradition of it to the apostles Christ's body was still whole and unbroken, and separate from the bread, and could not then be transubstantiate and pass from itself into what it was not before, and yet remain still itself what it was before; and that neither Christ did command the apostles to worship, neither did they worship any thing but God the Father, at that time; it must needs seem to be a prodigious venture of their souls to change that action into a needless and ungrounded superstition: especially since after Christ's ascension His body is not only in heaven, 'which must contain it until His coming to judgment;' but is so changed, so immaterial, or spiritual, that it is not capable of being broken by hands or teeth,

[d] Letter, and 'Truth will out,' &c.

In not adoring that which we see to be bread, we can be as safe as the apostles were, who (that we find) did not worship it; but in giving divine honours to it we can be no more safe (in case their proposition be amiss) than he that worships the sun because he verily believes he is the God of heaven. A good meaning in this case will not justify his action; not only because he hath enough to instruct him better and to bring him to better understanding, but especially because he may mean as well, if he worships Christ in heaven,

Ad sua templa oculis, animo ad sua numina spectans;

yea, and better, when he does actually worship Christ at that time, directing the worship to Him in heaven, and would terminate his worship on the host, if he were sure it were Christ, or were commanded so to do. Add to this that to worship Christ is an affirmative precept, and, so it be done in wisdom and holiness and love, in all just ways of address to Him, in praying to Him, reciting His prayers, giving Him thanks, trusting in Him, hoping in Him, and loving Him with the best love of obedience: not to bow the knee, *hic et nunc*, when we fear to displease Him by so doing, cannot be a sin, because for that, *hic et nunc*, there is no commandment at all. And after all; if we will suppose that the doctrine of transubstantiation were true, yet because the priest that consecrates may indeed secretly have received invalid orders, or have evil intention, or there may be some undiscernible nullity in the whole economy and ministration; so that no man of the Roman communion can say that by divine faith he believes that this host is at this time transubstantiated, but only hath conjectures and ordinary suppositions that it is so, and that he does not certainly know the contrary: he that certainly gives divine honour to that which is not certain to be the body of Christ, runs into a danger too great to promise to himself he shall be safe. Some there are who go further yet, and consider that the church of Rome say only that the bread is changed into the body of Christ, but not into His soul; for then the same bread would be at the same time both material and immaterial; and that if it were, that to give honours absolutely divine to the humanity of Christ, abstracted from consideration of His divinity, into which certainly the bread is not transubstantiated, is too near the doctrine of the Socinians, who suppose the humanity to be absolutely deified, and divine honours to be due to Christ as a man whom God hath exalted above every name. But if they say that they worship the body in concretion with the divinity, it is certain that may be done at all times by looking up to heaven in all our religious addresses: and therefore that is the safe way, and that's the way of the church of England. The other way, viz., of the church of Rome, at the best is full of dangers, and *Qui amat periculum peribit in illo*[e], was the wise man's caution.

[e] [Ecclus. iii. 27, ed. vulg.]

3. The like to this is the practice of the church of Rome in worshipping angels; which as it is no where commanded in the New testament, so it is expressly forbidden by an angel himself twice, to S. John[f], adding an unalterable reason, "for I am thy fellow-servant, worship God;" or as some ancient copies read it, "worship Jesus: meaning that although in the Old testament the patriarchs and prophets did bow before the angels that appeared to them as God's embassadors, and in the person of God; and to which they were greatly inclined, because their law was given by angels: yet when God had exalted the Son of man to be 'the Lord of men and angels,' we are all fellow-servants; and they are not to receive religious worship as before, nor we to pay it them. And by this we understand the reproof which S. Paul[g] makes of the Gnostics, of whose practice he forewarns the Christians that they suffer not themselves to be deceived by the "worshipping of angels." Now by these authorities it is plain that it can at least be no duty to worship angels, and therefore they that do it not cannot be blamed; but if these words mean here as they do in all other places, there is at least great danger to do it.

4. And of the like danger is invocation of saints: which if it be no more than a mere desire to them to pray for us, why is it expressed in their public offices in words that differ not from our prayers to God? If it be more, it creates in us, or is apt to create in us, confidence in the creatures; it relies upon that which S. Paul used as an argument against worship of angels, and that is, "intruding into those things we understand not;" for it pretends to know their present state, which is hid from our eyes; and it proceeds upon the very reason upon which the Gnostics and the Valentinians went; that is, that it is fit to have mediators between God and us: that we may present our prayers to them, and they to God. To which add, that the church of Rome presenting candles and other donaries to the virgin Mary as to the queen of heaven, do that which the Collyridians[h] did; the gift is only differing, as candle and cake, gold and garments, this vow or that vow. All which being put together makes a dangerous liturgy; not like to the worship and devotion used in the primitive church, but so like to what is forbidden in scripture, that it is much the worse. The advantage got by these things cannot countervail the evil of the suspicion, and the wit of them that do so cannot by a secure answer escape the force of a prohibition; and therefore it were infinitely more safe to let it alone, and to invocate and adore Him only who is πατὴρ τῶν αἰώνων, 'the Father of the Æones,' the 'Father of men and angels,' and God, 'through Jesus Christ;' and that answers all objections.

5. What good does the worship of images do to the souls of

[f] Revel. [xix. 10.] xxii. [9.]
[g] Col. ii. [18.]
[h] [Epiphan. hær. lxxix. vol. i. p. 1057.]

Christians? what glory is done to God by being represented in little shapes, and human or fantastic figures? what scripture did ever command it? what prophet did not reprove it? is it not in all appearance, and grammatical and proper understanding of words, forbidden by an express commandment of God? is there any duty incumbent on us to do it? Certainly all the arts of witty men of the Roman side, are little enough, and much too little, to prove that it is lawful to make and worship them; and the distinctions and elusions, the tricks and artifices, are so many, that it is a great piece of impertinent learning to remember them, and no small trouble to understand them; and they that most need the distinctions (that is, the common people) cannot use them; and at the best it is very hard to think it lawful, but very easy to understand that it is forbidden; and most easy to be assured it is very innocent to let it alone. "Where an image is, there is no religion," said Lactantius[i]; and "we ought rather to die than to pollute our faith with such impieties," said Origen[i]. Now let us suppose that these fathers speak against the heathen superstition of worshipping the images of their gods[k]; certainly if it was a fault in them, it is worse in Christians, who have received so many commands to the contrary, and who are tied 'to worship the Father in spirit and in truth,' and were never permitted to worship Him by an image. And true it is that images are more fit for false gods than for the true God, the 'Father of spirits;' the superstition of images is more proportioned to the idolatry of false gods, than to true religion and the worship of Him 'whom eye hath not seen,' and cannot see, nor heart can comprehend. And it is a vain elusion to say that these fathers did not severely censure the use of images among Christians; for all that time among the Christians there was no use of images at all in religion, and for the very reasons by which they condemned the heathen superstition of image worship, for the same reasons they would never endure it at all amongst Christians. But then if this be so highly criminal (as these ancient fathers say) I desire it may be considered for what pretended reasons the church of Rome should not only permit, but allow, and decree, and urge the use of images in their religious adorations? If it be only for instruction of the laity, that might be better supplied by catechizings and frequent homilies; and if instruction be intended, then the single statues are less useful; but histories and hieroglyphics are to be painted upon tables; and in them I suppose there would be less temptation of doing abomination. But when the images simple or mixed are painted or carved, the people must be told what their meaning is; and then they will not need such books, who may with less danger learn their lesson by

[i] [See p. 174 above.]

[k] Against these quotations used in the preface of the first part, the author of the 'Letter to a friend,' p. 3, and the author of 'Truth will out,' p. 6, object that these fathers speak against the worshipping of the images of heathen gods, not of the use of images amongst Christians; which cavil the reader may see largely refuted in the sect. 'Of images.'

heart: and besides this, they are told strange stories of the saints whose images they see, and of the images themselves that represent the saints; and then it may be these laymen's books may teach them things that they must unlearn again. But yet if they be useful for instruction, what benefit is done to our spirits by giving them adoration? That God will accept it as an honour done to Himself, He hath no where told us; and He seems often to have told us the contrary; and if it be possible by man's wit to acquit this practice from being (what the prophets so highly reprove) 'spiritual whoredom,' in giving God's due to an image; yet it can never be proved to be a part of that 'worshipping of God in spirit and in truth' which He requires. And though it would never have been believed in Origen's, Tertullian's, or Lactantius's days, that ever there would arise a sort of Christians that should contend earnestly for the worshipping images, or that ever the heathen way of worship, viz., of what they called God, by an image, should become a great part of christianity, or that a council of bishops should decree the worship of images as an article of faith, or that they should think men should be damned for denying worship to images; yet after all this, when it is considered that the worshipping of images by Christians is so great a scandal to the Indians, that they think themselves justified in their religion by this; and so great a scandal to Jews and Turks, that they hate christianity itself for that very reason; it is a strange pertinacy in the church of Rome to retain this practice for so little pretensions of good, and with so evident a mischief. To which if this be added, that many of the ruder people do downright worship the image without a distinction, or scruple, or difference; and that for ought we know many souls perish by such practices, which might be secured by the taking away the images and forbidding the superstition: I for my part cannot imagine how the guides of souls can answer it to God or satisfy their consciences in their so vilely and cheaply regarding souls, and permitting them to live in danger, and die in sin, for no spiritual good which can accrue to the church which can countervail the danger, much less the loss of one soul. However, it will be very hard from any principle of christian religion to prove it is a damnable sin not to worship images; but every man that can read hath very much to say that to worship them is a provocation of God to anger and to jealousy.

6. Thus also it must needs be confessed that it is more safe for the church of God to give the holy communion in both kinds than but in one; and Bellarmine's foolish reason, of the wine sticking to laymen's beards, is as ridiculous as the doctrine itself is unreasonable; and if they would shave laymen's beards as they do the clergy, it would be less inconvenience than what they now feel; and if there be no help for it, they had better lose their beards, than lose their share of the blood of Christ. And what need is there to dispute such uncertain and unreasonable propositions as that Christ's blood

is with the body by way of concomitancy, as if the sacrament were not of Christ's body broken and the blood poured out; and as if, in case it be so, Christ did not know or not consider it, but for all that instituted the supper in both kinds. And what more is gotten by the host alone than by that and the chalice too? and what can be answered to the pious desires of so many nations to have the chalice restored, when they ask for nothing but their part of the legacy which Christ left them in His testament, and the church of Rome, which takes upon her to be sole executrix or at least overseer of it, tells them that the legacy will do them no good, and keeps it from them by telling them it is not necessary. Nay, it is worse than so; for when in the time of the council of Trent[1] instance was made that leave might be given to such as desire it, the oracle was uttered by the cardinal of Alexandria, but was given after the old manner, so that no man was the better. For no man was capable of receiving the favour but he that professed he did not believe it necessary, and then there could be no great reason to desire it; he that thought he needed it could not receive it, and he that found no want of it, in all reason would not be importunate for it, and then he should be sure not to have it: so that in effect there were two sorts of persons denied it, those that required it, and those that did not require it; and to what christian grace to refer the wisdom and piety of this answer, I cannot yet learn. Neither can I yet imagine why the cardinal S. Angelo[m] should call giving the cup to the laity 'a giving them a cup of deadly poison;' since certain it is that the blood of Christ is 'a savour of life,' and not of death; and as the French embassador replied, "The apostles who did give it, were not impoisoners; and the many ages of the primitive church did receive it with very great emolument and spiritual comfort." To this I know it will be said by some, who cannot much defend their church in the thing itself, that it is no great matter, and if all things else were accorded, this might be dispensed withal; and the pope could give leave to the respective churches to have according as it might be expedient and fit for edification. But this will not serve the turn: for first, the thing itself is no small matter, but of greatest concernment. It is the sacramental blood of Christ. The holy bread cannot be the sacrament of the blood; and if Christ did not esteem it as necessary to leave a sacrament of His blood as of His body, He would not have done it; and if He did think it as necessary, certainly it was so. But secondly, suppose the matter be small; why then shall a schism be made by him that would be thought the great father of Christians, and all christendom almost displeased and offended, rather than he will comply with their desires of having nothing but what Christ left them? If the thing be but little, why do they take a course

[1] [Sarpi, hist.] concil. Trident., lib. v. A.D. 1561, sub Pio quarto. [p. 445.]
[m] Ibid.

to make it (as they suppose) damnation to desire it? And if it be said, 'Because it is heresy to think the church hath erred all this while in denying it;' to this the answer will be easy, that themselves who did deny it have given the occasion, and not they who do desire it. Neither have all the christian churches denied it; for I think none but the Roman church does; and if the Roman church by granting it now to her own children will be supposed to have erred in denying it; to continue this denial will not cure that inconvenience, for that which at first was but an error will now become heresy, if they be pertinacious in the refusal. But if it were not for political and human considerations and secular interests, there will be little question but that it will be safer, and more agreeable to Christ's institution, and the apostolical doctrine, and the primitive practice, to grant it lovingly, than to detain it sacrilegiously. For at least the detention will look like sacrilege, and the granting it cannot but be a fatherly and pious ministration: especially since when it is granted all parties are pleased, and no man's authority, real or pretended, is questioned. But whatever become of this consideration, which is nothing but a charitable desire and way of peace with our adversaries, and a desire to win them by our not intermeddling with their unalterable and pertinacious interest; yet as to the thing itself it is certain that to communicate in both kinds is justifiable by the institution of Christ, and the perpetual practice of the church for many ages; which thing certainly is, or ought to be, the greatest rule for the church's imitation. And if the church of Rome had this advantage against us in any article, as I hope there would not be found so much pertinacy amongst us as to resist the power of such an argument; so it is certain there would not be amongst them so much modesty as to abstain from the most absolute triumph and the fiercest declamations: in the mean time our safety in this article also is visible and notorious. Against the saying of S. Ambrose, which in the preface to the First Part[n] I brought to reprove this practice, those who thought themselves obliged to object, will find the quotation justified in the section of the half-communion; to which I refer the reader.

7. What a strange uncharitableness is it to believe and teach that poor babes, descending from christian parents, if they die unbaptized, shall never see the face of God, and that 'of such is not the kingdom of heaven?' The church of England enjoins the parents to bring them, and her priests to baptize them, and punishes the neglect where it is criminal, and yet teaches no such fierce and uncharitable proposition, which can serve no end but what may with less damage and affrightment be very well secured: and to distrust God's goodness to the poor infants, whose fault it could not be that they were not baptized; and to amerce their no fault with so great a fine, even the loss of all the good which they could receive from Him that

[n] [p. 175 above.]

created them, and loves them, is such a playing with heads, and a regardless treatment of souls, that for charity[o] sake, and common humanity, we dare not mingle in their counsels. But if we err, it is on the safer side; it is on the one side of mercy and charity.

These seven particulars are not trifling considerations; but as they have great influence into the event of souls, so they are great parts of the Roman religion, as they have pleased to order religion at this day. I might instance in many more, if I thought it necessary, or did not fear they would think me inquisitive for objections: therefore I shall add no more; only I profess myself to wonder at the obstinacy of the Roman prelates, that will not consent that the liturgy of their church should be understood by the people. They have some pretence of politic reason why they forbid the translation of the scriptures; though all wise men know they have other reasons than what they pretend, yet this also would be considered; that if the people did read the scriptures, and would use that liberty well, they might receive infinite benefit by them; and that if they did abuse that liberty, it were the people's fault and not the rulers'; but that they are forbidden, that is the rulers' fault, and not the people's: but for prohibiting the understanding of their public and sometimes of many of their private devotions, there can be no plausible pretence, no excuse of policy, no end of piety; and if the church of England be not in this also of the surer side, then we know nothing, but all the reason of all mankind is fallen asleep.

Well, however these things have at least very much probability in them, yet for professing these things according to the scriptures and catholic tradition and right reason (as will be further demonstrated in the following paragraphs) they call us heretics, and sentence us with damnation; with damnation, I say; for not worshipping of images; for not calling the sacramental bread our God and Saviour[p]; for not 'teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;' for not equalling the sayings of men to the sayings of God; for not worshipping angels, for not putting trust in saints and speaking to dead persons who are not present; and for offering to desire to receive the communion, as Christ gave it to His disciples, and they to all to whom they preached. If these be causes of damnation, what shall become of them that do worship images, and that do take away half of the sacrament from the people to whom Christ left it; and keep knowledge from them, and will not suffer the most of them to pray with the understanding; and worship angels, and make dead men their guardians, and erect altars, and make vows, and give consumptive offerings to saints, real or imaginary? now truly we know not what shall become of them; but we pray for them as men not without hope: only as long as we can, we repeat the words of our blessed

[o] [sic ed.]

[p] Suarezius and Bellarmine confess that to believe transubstantiation, is not absolutely necessary to salvation.

Saviour, "He that breaks one of the least commandments, and teaches men so, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven[q]."

§ 9. That the church of Rome does teach for doctrines the commandments of men.

THE former charge hath occasioned this, which is but an instance of their adding to the christian faith new articles upon their own authority. And here, first, I shall represent what is intended in the reproof which our blessed Saviour made of the pharisees, saying, they 'taught for doctrines the commandments of men;' and secondly, I shall prove that the church of Rome is guilty of it, and the church of England is not.

I. The words of our blessed Saviour[r] are to be understood συνθετικῶς or 'conjunctively;' that is, "In vain do ye worship Me, teaching doctrines and commandments of men," that is, things which men only have delivered; and if these once be esteemed to be a worshipping of God, it is ματαῖον σέβασμα, 'a vain worship.' Now this expressed itself in two degrees.

The FIRST was in over-valuing human ordinances; that is, equaling them to divine commandments; exacting them by the same measures by which they require obedience to God's laws, and this with a pretended zeal for God's honour and service. Thus the pharisees were noted and reproved by our blessed Saviour.

1. The things of decency, or indifferent practices, were counselled by their forefathers; in process of time they became approved by use and custom; and then their doctors denied their communion to them that omitted them, found out new reasons for them, were severe in their censures concerning the causes of their omission, would approve none, no not the cases and exceptions of charity or piety. And this is instanced in their washings of cups and platters and the outside of dishes; which either was at first instituted for cleanliness and decency, or else as being symbolical to the purifications in the law: but they changed the scene, enjoined it as necessity, were scandalized at them that used it not; practised it with a frequency passing into an intolerable burden, insomuch that at the marriage of Cana in Galilee there were 'six water-pots set after the manner of the purification of the Jews,' because they washed often in the time of their meals; and then they put new reasons, and did it for other causes than were in the first institution. And although these washings might have been used without violation of any commandment of God, yet even by this tradition they made God's commandment void, by making this necessary, and imposing these useless and unnecessary burdens on their brethren, by making snares for consciences, and making religion and the service of God to consist in things indifferent. So they made void God's commandment by turning religion into superstition.

[q] [Matt. v. 19.]

[r] [Matt. xv. 9.]

2. Whereas human laws, customs and traditions may oblige in public, and for order sake and decency, and for reputation and avoiding scandal, and to give testimony of obedience; and are not violated if they be omitted without scandal and contempt, and injury, with a probable reason: yet to think they oblige beyond what man can see, or judge, or punish, or feel, is to give to human laws the estimate which is due to divine laws. So did the pharisees, *Quicquid sapientes vetant palam fieri, id etiam in penetralibus vetitum est,* said Rabbi Bachai. But this is the prerogative of divine laws, which oblige as much in private as in public, because God equally sees in the closet and in the temple. Men cannot do this, and therefore cannot make laws to bind where they can have no cognizance and no concern.

3. Human authority is to command according to its own rate, that is, at the rate of human understanding, where the obedience may be possibly deficient because the understanding is fallible. But the divine authority is infallible, and absolute, and supreme; and therefore our obedience to it must be as absolute, perpetual, and indeficient. But the pharisees had a saying, and their practice was accordingly, *Si dixerint scribæ dextram esse sinistram, et sinistram esse dextram, audi eos,* said the forenamed Rabbi.

The SECOND degree in which this expressed itself among the pharisees, was that they did not only equal but preferred the commandments of men before the commands of God. *Plus est in verbis scribarum quam in verbis legis*[s], and of this the instance that our blessed Saviour gives, is in the case of the *Corban,* and not relieving their parents. *Sacrum erit quicquid paravero in futurum ad os patris*[t]; if they said it was dedicated, their father's hungry belly might not be relieved by it. And this our blessed Saviour calls, as being the highest degree of this superstition, 'a making the commandment of God of no effect by their tradition;' this does it directly, as the other did it by necessary and unavoidable consequence.

II. Now that the church of Rome is greatly guilty of this criminal way of teaching and misleading the consciences of her disciples, will appear in these (amongst many other) instances.

§ 10. e. g. 1. the seal of confession.

I FIRST instance in their 'Seal of confession;' and the question is not whether a priest is to take care of his penitent's fame, or whether he be not in all prudent and pious ways to be careful lest he make that intercourse odious; for certainly he is: but whether the seal of confession be so sacred and impregnable that it is not to be opened in the imminent danger of a king or kingdom; or for the doing the greatest good,

[s] In titulis Thalmudicis, Baba Metzias, Berechoth, &c.

[t] Rabbi Nissim. [See Claud. Salmas. de fœnore trapez., p. 225. But he translates לְפִי אָבִיו, more correctly, 'respectu patris.']

or avoiding the greatest evil in the world: that's now the question, and such a broad seal as this is no part of the christian religion, was never spoken of by the prophets or apostles in the Old or the New testament, never was so much as mentioned in the books of the ancient fathers and doctors, not so much as named in the ancient councils of the church; and was not heard of until after the time of pope Gregory the seventh. Now how this is determined and practised in the church of Rome we may quickly see. The first direct rule in the western church we find in this affair, is the canon of the Lateran council, *cap.* '*Omnis utriusque*[u],' in which to confess at Easter was made an ecclesiastical law; and as an appendix to it, this caution, *Caveat autem omnino, ne verbo aut signo aut alio quovis modo aliquatenus prodat peccatorem: sed si prudentiore consilio indiguerit, illud absque ulla expressione personæ caute requirat.* This law concerning them that do confess their secret sins to a priest in order to counsel, comfort, and pardon from God by his ministry, is very prudent and pious; and it relates only to the person, not to the crimes; these may upon the account of any doubt, or the advantage of better counsel and instruction, be revealed; the person upon such accounts may not, *Nisi veritas aut obedientia aliud exigat,* as S. Bonaventure[x] said well, 'unless truth or obedience require the contrary:' for indeed the person is not often so material as to the enquiry of future counsel or present judgment, as the greatness and other circumstances of the sin. But this was an ancient ecclesiastical rule, as we find it related by Sozomen[y], *Presbyterum aliquem vitæ integritate quam maxime spectabilem, secretorum etiam tenacem, ac sapientem, huic officio præfecerunt;* a penitentiary priest was appointed for the penitents, a man that was of good life, wise, and secret.' So far was well, and agreeable to common prudence, and natural reason, and the words of Solomon[z], *Qui ambulat fraudulenter revelat arcanum, qui autem fidelis est celat amici commissum.* There is in this case some more reason than in ordinary secrets, but still the obligation is the same, and to be governed by prudence, and is subject to contradiction by greater causes. The same also is the law in the Greek church, mentioned by S. Basil[a], "Our fathers permitted not that women that had committed adultery, and were penitent, should be delated in public." This is the whole ground and foundation on which the seal of confession does or can rely, save only that in several churches there were several laws in after ages to the same purpose, and particularly in the eleventh canon of the church of England; adding also the penalty of irregularity to every priest that shall re-

[u] [Greg. ix.] Decretal. de pœnitentiis et remissionibus, [lib. v. tit. 38. cap. 12. col. 1713.]

[x] In 3. [leg. 4.] dist. xxi. [art. 2. quæst. 3. tom. v. p. 331.]

[y] Lib. vii. [cap. 16.] hist. eccles.

[z] [Prov. xi. 13.]

[a] Epist. ad Amphilochium, [ep. cxcix. tom. iii. p. 295.] Τὰς μοιχευθείσας γυναῖκας καὶ ἐξαγορευούσας δι' εὐλάβειαν δημοσιεύειν οὐκ ἐκέλευσαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, A.D. 1603.

veal any thing committed to him in private confession, but with this proviso, that it be not binding in such cases where the concealment is made capital by the laws of the kingdom: which because it is very strict and yet very prudent, I shall make it appear that the church of England walks wisely in it, and according to the precedents of the ancient catholic church, in commanding the seal to be broken up in some cases; and yet she hath restrained it more than formerly was observed in the churches of God.

Burchard[c] expressly affirms that before the Nicene council the penitentiary priest might publish what he heard in confessions, if it were for the good of the penitent, or, for the greatness of the crime, it seemed fit to the confessor.

And that he says true, we have sufficient testimony from Origen[d]. *Tantummodo circumspice diligentius cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum; . . . Si intellexerit et præviderit talem esse languorem tuum qui in conventu totius ecclesiæ exponi debeat et curari, ex quo fortassis et cæteri ædificari poterunt et tu ipse facile sanari, multa hoc deliberatione et satis perito medici illius consilio procurandum est.* By which words he affirms, 1) that it was in the power of the confessor to command the publication of certain crimes; 2) that though it was not lightly to be done, yet upon great reason it might; 3) that the spiritual good of the penitent, and the edification of others, were causes sufficient for the publication; 4) that of these the confessor was judge; 5) that this was no otherwise done by the consent of the party, but because he was bound to consent when the confessor enjoined it. And the matter is evident in the case of the incestuous Corinthian; who either was restored without private confession; or, if he was not, S. Paul caused it to be published in the church, and submitted the man to the severest discipline and yet public, that was then or since in the world. The like to this we find in a decretal epistle of pope Leo[e]; for when some confessors, exceeding the ancient ecclesiastical rule, were not so prudent and deliberate in conducting their penitents as formerly they were, but commanded that all their whole confessions should be written down and publicly read; he says, 'Though the plenitude of faith might be laudable, that is not afraid to blush in public, yet the confession is sufficient if it be made in secret first to God and then to the priest:' and adds, *Non omnium hujusmodi sunt peccata ut ea quæ pœnitentiam poscunt non timeant publicare,* 'all sins are not of that nature that are fit to be published:' and therefore *removeatur tam improbabilis consuetudo,* 'let such a reprovable custom be taken away.' In which words of S. Leo, we find 1) that the seal of confession (as at this day it is understood at Rome) was no such

[c] Lib. xix. Decreti sui, c. 37. [scil. è] concil. Mogunt., cap. 10. et 21. [Burch., fol. 287 b.]

[d] Homil. ii. in psal. xxxvii. [tom. ii. p. 688.]

[e] Epist. lxxx. ad episc. Campaniæ, [p. 149.]

inviolable and religious secret, for by a contrary custom it was too much broken; 2) that he blames not the publication of some sins, but that they indiscriminately did publish all; 3) that the nature of some sins did not permit it, for (as he adds afterwards) men by this means were betrayed to the malice of their enemies, who would bring them before tribunals in some cases; 4) that this was not spoken in case of public crimes, delated, and brought into public notice, but such as were spoken in private confession. And here I cannot but desire there had been some more ingenuity in Bellarmine[f], who relating to this epistle of S. Leo, affirms that S. Leo says 'it is against the apostolical rule to reveal secret sins declared in confession;' when it is plain that S. Leo only blames the custom of revealing all; saying that 'all sins are not of that nature as to be fit to be revealed.' And by these precedent authorities we shall the easier understand that famous fact of Nectarius[g], who abolished the custom of having sins published in the church, and therefore took away the penitentiary priest, whose office was (as I proved out of Origen, Sozomen, and Burchard) to enjoin the publication of some sins, according to his discretion. It happened in Constantinople that a foul fact was committed, and it was published in the ears of the people, and a tumult was raised about it; and the remedy was that Nectarius took away the office and the custom together: *Consulentibus quibusdam ut unicuique liberum permitteret, prout sibi ipse conscius esset et confideret, ad mysteriorum communionem accedere, pœnitentiarium illum presbyterum exauctoravit;* 'every man was thenceforth left to his liberty, according to the dictate and confidence of his own conscience, to come to the communion.' And this afterwards passed into a rite: for the manners of men growing degenerate, and worse sins being now confessed than (as he supposes) formerly they had been; the judges having been more severe and the people more modest, it was fit enough that this custom, upon the occasion of such a scandal and so much mischief like to follow it, should be laid aside wholly; and so it was. Here is a plain story, truly told by Sozomen, and the matter is easy to be understood. But Bellarmine, seeing the practice and doctrine of the church of Rome pinched by it, makes a distinction (derived from the present custom of his church) of public confession and private, saying that 'Nectarius took away the public and not the private.' This I shall have occasion to discuss in the next section: I am now only to speak concerning the seal of confession; which from this authority is apparent was not such a sacred thing, but that it was made wholly to minister to the public and private edification of the penitent, and the whole church.

Thus this affair stood in the primitive church. In descending

[f] De pœnitentia, lib. iii. cap. 14. sect. 'Denique cum secreta.' [tom. iii. col. 1399.]

[g] [Sozom., lib. vii. cap. 16. p. 300.]

ages, when private confessions grew frequent, and were converted into a sacrament, the seal also was made more tenacious; and yet by the discipline of the church there were divers cases in which the seal might be broken up. 1) There is a famous gloss *in cap. 'Tua nos.' lib. iv. Decretal. tit. i. De sponsalibus et matrimonio* [h]; where the pope answering to a question concerning a pretended contract of marriage, says that the marriage is good unless the enquiring bishop of Brescia could have assured him that the man did never consent or intend the marriage, *quod qualiter tibi constiterit, non videmus:* the gloss upon these words says, *Imo bene potuit constare, quia vir ille hoc ei confitebatur,* 'the bishop might well know it, because the man had confessed it to him, or because he had revealed it to him in penitential confession: for though in judicial confession before a tribunal no man is to be believed to the prejudice of a third person, yet in penitential confession he is to be believed, because it is not to be supposed that he then is unmindful of his salvation.' Where the gloss observing that he did or might have received it in confession, and yet make use of it in consultation with his superiors, and upon that answer was to pronounce it to be or not to be a marriage, and to treat the persons accordingly; it follows that the thing itself might be revealed for the good of the penitent's soul. And this was done by the cardinal of S. Laurence in the case of a woman introducing a supposititious child to the inheritance of her husband; and this revelation of the confession produced a decretal epistle from the pope[i] in that particular case; and of this the doctors give this reason; because a thing so odious, and that would bring so certain ruin to souls, might not be permitted, with so great scandal, and so great mischief [k]. 2) And that confession may be revealed for the regulating a doubtful case of marriage, is the opinion of many great canonists. 3) That it may be revealed in the case of heresy confessed, I think there was no doubt of it at any time. 4) And that every confessor may reveal the confession by the penitent's leave, is taught by Durandus, Almain, Medina, and Navar, and generally by all the ancient scholars of S. Thomas. Now if a law be made that in certain cases the confessor shall publish the confession, then every man's consent is involved in it, as his private right is in the public interest, of which it is a part, and to which it is subordinate and must yield. But who pleases to see how this affair once did stand in the church of Rome, and more especially in the catholic church, if he be not yet, may be satisfied by the proofs which Altisiodorensis gives of the lawfulness of publishing confessions in certain cases. 5) Lastly, if a sinful intention of committing a grievous crime be revealed in confession, and the person confessing cannot desist from or will not alter

[h] [Decretal. Greg. ix., col. 1326 sq.]

[i] Lib. v. decret. tit. 38. cap. 'Officii.' de pœnit. et remiss. [col. 1711.]

[k] Vide Suarez de Paz. [lege Ignatium Lopez de Salzedo] in practica criminal. eccles., cap. cix. [p. 338. fol. Complut. 1594.]

his purpose; then that the seal of confession may be broken open, is affirmed by Alexander of Ales[l], by the Summa Angelica[m], which also reckons five cases more in which it is lawful to reveal confessions. The same also is taught by Panormitan[n], Hostiensis[o], the Summa Sylvestrina[p], and by pope Innocent[q] himself.

But now if we consider how it is in the church of Rome at this day, and hath been this last age for the most part; we shall find that this human constitution, relying upon prudent and pious considerations, is urged as a sacramental obligation, and a great part of the religion; and is not accounted obliging only for the reasons of its first sanction, nor as an act of obedience to the positive law, but as a natural, essential, divine and unalterable obligation. And from thence these doctrines are derived. 1) That what a priest knows in confession, he knows it not as a man, but as God; which proposition (as it is foolish, and too near to blasphemy, and may as well infer that the priest may be then adored by the penitent, with the distinction, viz., not as man, but as God; so) is expressly confuted by the gloss above cited, and by Scotus[r]; but taught by the modern casuists, and is the ground of a strange practice. For 2) as a consequent of the former, it is taught in the church of Rome by their greatest guides, that if a priest having heard a thing only in confession[s], if being asked, and sworn, he shall say he never heard that thing, he neither lies nor forswears. So Emanuel Sa[t] teaches; and adds, that in the same manner the penitent may also swear that he said nothing, or no such thing, in confession. But how this should be excused, or whether they think the penitent to have spoken to none but God, I am not yet satisfied. 3) It is not lawful to reveal any thing that is told only in confession, though it be to avoid the greatest evil that can happen, so said Bellarmine[u]; to save a whole commonwealth from damage temporal or spiritual, so Suarez[x]; to save the lives of all the kings in christendom, so Binet[y] told Isaac Casaubon in the king's library at Paris. The same is openly avowed by Eudæmon Johannes[z], that 'there is no evil so great, for the avoiding of which it can be lawful to reveal confession;' and that this may appear to

[l] Part. 4. q. 28. [leg. xix.] memb. 2. art. 2. in respons. [p. 600.]

[m] [Angel. de Clavasio.] sub voce 'Confessio ult.' num. vii. [fol. 47 a.—fol. Argent. 1513.]

[n] Cap. 'Omnis.' de pœnit. et remiss. num. 24. [Decret., lib. v. fol. 256 b.]

[o] Super v. [decretal.] cap. 'Omnis.' [num. 26. fol. 102 b.]

[p] [Sylvestr. Prier.] In confess. iii. num. 2. [p. 183.—4to. Lugd. 1594.]

[q] [Innocent. iv. in decret., lib. v.] In cap. 'Omnis.' verb. 'prodit.' [num. 6. fol. 225 a.—fol. Ven. 1578.]

[r] In quartum librum sent. dist. xxi. [qu. i. tom. ix. p. 431.]

[s] Vide Richard. [de Media-Villa.] in lib. iv. sent. dist. ead. art. 4. qu. 1. [tom. iv. p. 340.—fol. Brix. 1591.]

[t] Aphor. v. 'Confessor.' n. xxiii. [p. 60.]

[u] Apolog. adv. reg. M. Brit. [cap. xiii. tom. vii. col. 804.]

[x] Dist. xxxiii. in 3 part. D. Thom. sect. i. n. 2. [tom. iv. p. 484.]

[y] Præstaret reges omnes perire quam si vel semel confessionis sigillum violaretur.—[Casaubon.] epist. ad Frontonem Ducæum, p. 140. [4to. Lond. 1611.]

[z] Apolog. pro Garnetto, c. 13. [p. 345. 8vo. Col. Agr. 1610.]

be a catholic doctrine, the same author reckons up so many moderns teaching the same, that the very names of the authors and books fills up several pages: and that it is the catholic doctrine, is expressly taught by the author[a] of the famous apology made for the Jesuits, after the horrid parricide of Henry the fourth of France. They add, even beyond this, all the curiosity of the very circumstances of silence; that this silence does not only oblige in the case of perfect confession, but, if it be begun, not only in case of confession clear and express, but if it be so much as in relation to confession: not only the confessor, but the messenger, the interpreter, the counsellor, he that hears it by chance, or by stealth: and he that was told of it by him that should but did not conceal it; the seal is to be kept by all means, directly and indirectly, by words and signs, judicially and extrajudicially, unless the penitent give leave: but that leave is to be express, and is not to be asked but in the case of a compelling necessity; neither can the confessor impose a public penance upon him who hath confessed privately. Which things, especially the last, are most diametrically opposed to the doctrine and discipline of the primitive church, as I have already proved; but these things are expressly taught as the doctrine of the most famous casuists of the church of Rome, by Escobar[b], who comparing his book in method to the seven seals of the Revelations[c] which the four living creatures read; Suarez the ox, Molina the man, Vasquez the eagle, and Valentia the lion; and twenty-four elders, that is, twenty-four Jesuits, also read these seven seals; though when they come to be reckoned, they prove twenty-five: so fatal is that antichristian[d] number to the church of Rome, that it occurs in every accident: but his meaning is, that the doctrines he teaches are the doctrines of all those twenty-five famous leading men, *penes quos imperium literarum et conscientiarum.* If now it be not the catholic doctrine, then is it heretical? and then why is it not disowned? why are not they that say so, censured? why is not the doctrine condemned? why is it publicly maintained and allowed by authority? why is it pleaded in bar against execution of justice in the case of treason; as it was by F. Garnet himself, and all his apologists? But if this be the catholic doctrine, then let it be considered how cheap are the lives of kings in their eyes, who consult more with the safety of a villain whom they dare not absolve[e], than of a king, who is worthy ten thousands of his people: and let it be also considered, that by using all the ways in the world to make confession easy to traitors and homicides, they make it odious to kings and princes, and to all that love the safety

[a] [See authorities in Sermon on Fifth of November.]

[b] Moral. theol. tract. 7. examen 4. de pœnit. sect. 6. n. 63—65, &c. [p. 776. 8vo. Lugd. 1659.]

[c] [In 'Operis idea,' libro præfixa.]

[d] [See Potter's 'Interpretation of the number 666.'—4to. Oxon. 1642.]

[e] Script. Garnetti apud Is. Casauboni epist. ad Front. Ducæum, p. 137. [4to. Lond. 1611.]

of their sovereigns and of the public. We find that the laws of God yield to charity and necessity; and Christ followed the act of David, who 'when he was hungry, ate the shewbread, which was unlawful to be eaten but by the priest alone:' and He that commanded us to 'go and learn what that means, I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' intended not that the seal of confession should upon pretence of religion be used to the most uncharitable ends in the world; no, though it had been made sacred by a divine commandment; which it is not, but is wholly introduced by custom and canons ecclesiastical. And when we see that things dedicated to God, and made sacred by religion, and the laws of God confirming such religion, can be aliened and made common in cases of extreme necessity, or great charity; it is a strange superstition that shall hold that fast with teeth and nails, and never let it go, no not to save a soul, not to preserve the life of kings, not to prevent the greatest mischief in the world; this is certainly a making the commandments of men greater and more sacred than the commandments of God, and a passing them into a doctrine, great, necessary and unalterable, as a fundamental article.

§ 11. 2. The imposing auricular confession upon consciences, as a commandment of God.

THAT confession to a priest is a doctrine taught as necessary in the church of Rome, is without all question; and yet that it is but the commandment of men, I shall (I hope) clearly enough evince; and if I do, I suppose the charge laid against the church of Rome, which is the same Christ laid against the pharisees, will be fully made good as to this instance. For this is one of the sorts of that crime, to say, *Dixit Dominus, Dominus autem non dixit;* to pretend a rite to be of divine institution when it is not so, but *humanum inventum,* 'a device of man's brain:' the other,—which is, still supposing an institution to be human and positive, yet to urge it with the same severe religion as they do a divine commandment,—I shall consider in other instances. For the present the enquiry is concerning Auricular Confession, and its pretended necessity. The first decree concerning it was in the Lateran council[f]; in which 'every person of years of discretion is commanded to confess all his sins to his own priest, at least once in the year, or to another priest with the leave of his own; otherwise while he is living he must be driven from entrance into the church, and when he is dead he must have no christian burial.' This is very severe; but yet here is no damnation to them that neglect it; and the duty is not pretended to be by divine commandment: and therefore lest that severity might seem too much to be laid upon human law, they made it up in the new forge at Trent[g]; and there it was decreed that "to confess all and every mortal sin which after diligent enquiry we remember, and

f [Concil. Lat. iv.] can. 21. [tom. vii. col. 35.]

g Sess. xiv. capp. 6, 7. [tom. x. col. 98.]

every evil thought or desire, and the circumstances that change the nature of the sin, is necessary for the remission of sins, and of divine institution; and he that denies this is to be anathema."

Whether to confess to a priest be an advisable discipline, and a good instance, instrument, and ministry of repentance, and may serve many good ends in the church, and to the souls of needing persons, it is no part of the question. We find that in the Acts of the apostles divers converted persons "came" to S. Paul, either publicly, or privately, "and confessed their deeds[h];" and burnt their books of exorcism, that is, did what became severe and hearty penitents, who needed counsel and comfort, and that their repentance should be conducted by wise guides. And when S. James exhorts all Christians to 'confess their sins to one another,' certainly it is more agreeable to all spiritual ends that this be done rather to the curates of souls than to the ordinary brethren. The church of England is no way engaged against it, but advises it, and practises it. The Calvinist churches do not practise it much, because they know not well how to devest[i] it from its evil appendages which are put to it by the customs of the world, and to which it is too much exposed by the interests, weaknesses, and partialities of men. But they commending it, shew they would use it willingly, if they could order it unto edification. *Interim quin sistant se pastori oves, quoties sacram cœnam participare volunt, adeo non reclamo, ut maxime velim hoc ubique observari*[k]. And for the Lutheran churches, that it is their practice we may see it in Chemnitius[l], who was one of greatest fame amongst them; and he is noted to this purpose by Bellarmine[m], only they all consent that it is not necessary nor of divine institution; and being but of man's invention, it ought not to pass into a doctrine; and, as the apostles said in the matter of circumcision, 'a burden ought not to be put upon the necks of the disciples,' and that *in lege gratiæ, (longe difficillimum* too, as Maior[n] observes truly, 'by far greater than any burden,') in the law of grace, the time of the gospel. Let it be commanded to all to whom it is needful, or profitable; but let it be free, as to the conscience precisely, and bound but by the cords of a man, and as other ecclesiastical laws are, which are capable of exceptions, restrictions, cautions, dispensations, rescindings, and abolitions, by the same authority, or upon greater reasons.

The question then is, whether to confess all our greater sins to a priest, all that upon strict enquiry we can remember, be necessary to salvation? This the church of Rome now affirms; and this the church of England, and all protestant churches, deny; and complain sadly

[h] Πράξεις, i. e. magicas incantationes; simile illud ibidem, ἱκανοὶ τῶν τὰ περίεργα πραξάντων· πράξεις nimirum τῶν περιέργων.

[i] [sic ed.]

[k] Calvin. instit., lib. iii. cap. 4. sect. 12, 13. [p. 165.]

[l] Part. ii. exam. concil. Trid., cap. 5. de pœnit. [p. 386.]

[m] Lib. iii. de pœnit. cap. 1. sect. 'Martinus Kemnitius,' [tom. iii. col. 1341.]

[n] In iv. dist. 17. q. 1. ex Scoto, [fol. 172 a.]

that the commandments of men are changed into the doctrines of God, by a pharisaical empire and superstition. Here then we join issue.

And in the first place I shall represent that the doctrine of the necessity of confession to a priest is a new doctrine, even in the church of Rome, and was not esteemed any part of the catholic religion before the council of Trent. For first, the gloss *De pœnit. dist.* 5. *c.* '*In pœnitentia*[o],' enquiring where or when oral confession was instituted, says, 'Some say it was instituted in paradise; others say it was instituted when Joshua called upon Achan to confess his sin, others say it was instituted in the New testament by S. James: it is better said, that it was instituted by a certain universal tradition of the church, and the tradition of the church is obligatory as a precept. Therefore confession of deadly sins is necessary with us (viz. Latins) but not with the Greeks; because no such tradition hath come to them.' This is the full state of this affair, in the age when Semeca, who was the glossator, lived; and it is briefly this; 1) there was no resolution or agreement whence it came; 2) the glossator's opinion was, it came from the universal tradition of the church; 3) it was but a kind of universal tradition; not absolute, clear, and certain; 4) it was only a tradition in the Latin church; 5) the Greeks had no such tradition; 6) the Greeks were not obliged to it; it was not necessary to them. Concerning the Greek church, I shall afterwards consider it in a more opportune place; here only I consider it as it was in the Latin church: and of this I suppose there needs no better record than the canon law itself, and the authentic glosses upon it; which glosses, although they be not law but as far as they please, yet they are perfect testimony as to matter of fact, and what the opinions of the doctors were at that time. And therefore to the former I add this; that in *cap.* '*Convertimini*,' Gratian[p] hath these words, *Unde datur intelligi quod etiam ore tacente veniam consequi possumus*, 'without confession of the mouth we may obtain pardon of our sins;' and this point he pursues in all that long chapter; and in the chapter '*Resuscitatus*[q],' out of S. Austin's doctrine; and in the chapter '*Qui natus*[r],' out of the doctrine of S. John's epistle; the conclusion of which chapter is, *Cum ergo ante confessionem (ut probatum est) sumus resuscitati per gratiam et filii lucis facti, evidentissime apparet quod sola cordis contritione sine confessione oris peccatum remittitur:* and in the chapter '*Omnis qui non diligit*[s],' he expressly concludes out of S. John's words, *Non ergo in confessione peccatum remittitur, quod jam remissum esse probatur; fit itaque confessio ad ostensionem pœnitentiæ, non ad impetrationem veniæ.* And at the end of this chapter, according to

[o] [Decret. part. 2. caus. xxxiii. quæst. 3. dist. 5. col. 1958.]
[p] [ibid., dist. i. cap. 34. col. 1827.]
[q] [ibid., cap. 35.]
[r] [cap. 36. col. 1829.]
[s] [cap. 37.]

his custom in such disputable things, when he says, *Alii e contrario testantur,* 'others witness to the contrary, that without confession oral, and works of satisfaction, no man is cleansed from his sin,' the gloss upon the place says thus; *Ab hoc loco usque ad §. 'his auctoritatibus.' Pro alia parte allegat, quod scil. adulto peccatum non dimittitur sine oris confessione, quod tamen falsum est;* only he says that 'confession doth cleanse, and satisfaction doth cleanse; so that though by contrition of the heart the sin is pardoned, yet these still cleanse more and more as a man is more innovated' or amended. 'But these authorities brought in[t]' (viz., that sin is not pardoned without confession) 'if they be diligently expounded, prove but little.' But friar Maurique, who by Pius quintus[u] made and published a censure upon the glosses, appointed these words, '*quod tamen falsum est,*' to be left out; but the Roman correctors under Gregory the thirteenth let them alone, but put in the margent a mark of contradiction upon it; saying, *Imo verissimum est.* But that was new doctrine, and although Semeca the author of the gloss affirmed it expressly to be false, yet Gratian himself was more reserved; but yet not of the new opinion, but left the matter indifferent: for after he had alleged scripture, and authorities of fathers, on one side, and authority of fathers on the other; he concludes[x], *Quibus auctoritatibus vel quibus rationum firmamentis utraque sententia satisfactionis et confessionis innitatur, in medium breviter exposuimus: cui autem harum potius adhærendum sit, lectoris judicio reservatur; utraque enim fautores habet sapientes et religiosos viros.* Now how well this agrees with the determination of the council of Trent, every man by comparing can easily judge; only it is certain this doctrine cannot pretend to be derived by tradition from the apostles. Of the same opinion was the abbot of Panormo[y]; saying, "That opinion" (viz., of the gloss) "does much please me, because there is no manifest authority that does intimate that either God or Christ instituted confession to be made to a priest." But it were endless to name the sentences of the canonists in this question; once for all, the testimony of Maldonat[z] may secure us, *Juris pontificii periti, secuti suum primum interpretem, omnes dicunt confessionem tantum esse introductam jure ecclesiastico.*

But to clear the whole question, I shall first prove that the necessity of confessing our sins to a priest is not found in scripture, but very much to disprove it; secondly, that there is no reason enforcing this necessity, but very much against it; thirdly, that there is no ecclesiastical tradition of any such necessity, but apparently the contrary; and the consequent of these things will be that the church of

[t] ['auctoritates hic inductæ.']

[u] [sic ed.—See note to p. 309 above.]

[x] De pœnit. d. i. cap. 'Quamvis plenitudo.' [cap. 89. col. 1869.]

[y] Lib. de 5. decret. de pœnit. et rem. in cap. 'Omnis utriusque sexus.' [§ 18. fol. 256 a.]

[z] Disp. de sacr., tom. ii. de confess. orig., c. 2. [p. 35. 4to. Lugd. 1614.]

Rome hath introduced a new doctrine, false and burdensome, dangerous and superstitious.

for which there is no ground in holy scripture.

I. If we consider now this article is managed in scripture, we shall find that our blessed Saviour said nothing at all concerning it. The council of Trent indeed makes their new doctrine to rely upon the words of Christ recited by S. John[a], "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted," &c. But see with what success; for first, besides that all the canonists allow not that confession was instituted by Christ; Aquinas, Scotus, Gabriel, Clavasinus the author of the Summa Angelica, Hugo de S. Victore, Bonaventure, Alensis, Tho. Waldensis, Ferus, Cajetan, Erasmus, B. Rhenanus, and Jansenius, though differing much in the particulars of this question, yet all consent that precisely from the words of Christ no necessity of confession to a priest can be concluded. Secondly, amongst those of the Roman church who did endeavour to found the necessity of confession upon those words, none do agree about the way of drawing their argument; as may be seen in Scotus[b], Aureolus, Johannes Maior, Thomas de Argentina, Richardus, Durandus, Almain, Dominicus à Soto, Alphonsus à Castro, Adrianus, Petrus de Aquila, and others, before the council of Trent. Thirdly, though these men go several ways (which shews, as Scotus expresses it, *hoc verbum non est præcisum*) yet they all agree well enough in this, that they are all equally out of the story, and none of them well performs what he undertakes; it is not mine alone, but the judgment which Vasquez[c] makes of them, who confuted many of them by arguments of his own, and by the arguments which they use one against another, and gives this censure of them, *Inter eos qui plane fatentur ex illis verbis Joh. xx. necessitatem confessionis (supple, elici) vix invenias qui efficaciter deducat.* And therefore this place of S. John is but an infirm foundation to build so great a structure on it as the whole economy of their sacrament of penance, and the necessity of confession upon it; since so many learned and acute men, master builders, believe nothing at all of it; and others that do, agree not well in the framing of the structure upon it, but make a Babel of it, and at last their attempts prove vain and useless, by the testimony of their fellow labourers.

There are some other places of scripture which are pretended for the necessity of confession, but they need no particular scrutiny; not only because they are rejected by their own parties as insufficient[d],

[a] [John xx. 23.]

[b] In lib. iv. sent. dist. 17. [tom. ix. p. 299 sq.]

[c] Qu. xc. in 3. Thom. [art. 1.] dub. 2. [p. 164.]

[d] Primum istorum esset magis conveniens tenendum, si posset evidenter haberi istud præceptum ex evangelio. Nec oportet ad hoc adducere illud Matthæi xvi. 'Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum,' quia non est nisi promissio de datione futura. Sed si aliquid in evangelio valet ad hoc, videtur illud Joh. xx. 'Accipite Spir.' 'Quorum remiseritis,' &c.

Dicitur quod sic de illo verbo Jacobi quinto, 'Confitemini alterutrum peccata,'

but because all are principally devolved upon the twentieth of S. John, and the council of Trent itself wholly relies upon it. This therefore being the foundation, if it fails them as to their pretensions, their building must needs be ruinous. But I shall consider it a little.

When Christ said to His apostles, "Whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted to them; and whose sins ye retain, they shall be retained;" He made (says Bellarmine, and generally the latter school of Roman doctors) the apostles, and all priests, judges upon earth; that without their sentence no man that hath sinned after baptism can be reconciled: but the priests who are judges can give no right or unerring sentence unless they hear all the particulars they are to judge: therefore by Christ's law they are tied to tell in confession all their particular sins to a priest. This is the sum of all that is said in this affair; other light skirmishes there are, but the main battle is here.

Now all the parts of this great argument must be considered; and

1. I deny the argument; and supposing both the premises true, that Christ had made them judges, and that without particular cognizance they could not give judgment according to Christ's intention; yet it follows not that therefore it is necessary that the penitent shall confess all his sins to the priest. For who shall compel the penitent to appear in judgment? where are they obliged to come and accuse themselves before the judges? Indeed if they were before them, we will suppose the priests to have power to judge them; but how can it be hence deduced that the penitents are bound to come to this judicatory, and not to stand alone to the divine tribunal. A physician may have power to cure diseases, yet the patients are not bound to come to him; neither it may be will they, if they can be cured by other means. And if a king sends a judge with competent authority to judge all the questions in a province, he can judge them that come, but he cannot compel them to come; and they may make an end of their quarrels among themselves, or by arbitration of neighbours; and if they have offended the king, they may address themselves to his clemency, and sue for pardon. And since it is certain by their own confession, that a penitent cannot by the force of these words of Christ be compelled to confess his venial sins, how does it appear that he is tied to confess his mortal sins? For if a man be tied to repent of all his sins, then repentance may be performed without the ministry of the priest, or else he must repent before the priest for all his sins. But if he may repent of his venial sins, and yet not go to the priest; then to go to the priest is not an essential part of the repentance: and if it be thus in the case of venial sins, let them

&c. Sed nec per hoc videtur mihi quod Jacobus præceptum hoc dedit, nec præceptum a Christo promulgavit.—Scotus in lib. iv. dist. xvii. sect. 'De secundo.' [leg. 'Si omnino.' (scil. sect. præced.)—tom. ix. pp. 299, 304.]

shew from the words of Christ any difference in the case between the one and the other. Especially if we consider, that though it may be convenient to go to the priest to be taught and guided, yet the necessity of going to him is, to be absolved by his ministry: but that of this there was no necessity believed in the primitive church, appears in this; because they did not expect pardon from the bishop or priest in the greatest crimes, but were referred wholly to God for the pardon of them: *Non sine spe tamen remissionis, quam ab eo plane sperare debebit qui ejus largitatem solus obtinet; et tam dives misericordiæ est ut nemo desperet;* so said the bishops of France in their synod held about the time of pope Zephyrinus. To the same purpose are the words of Tertullian, *Salva illa pœnitentiæ specie post fidem, quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab episcopo consequi poterit, aut majoribus et irremissibilibus a Deo solo.* The like also is in the thirty-first epistle[e] of S. Cyprian. Now first, it is easy to observe how vast the difference is between the old catholic church and the present Roman; these say that 'venial' sins are not of necessity to be confessed to the priest or bishop, and that without their ministry they can be pardoned; but they of old said that the smaller sins were to be submitted to the bishop's ministry. On the other side the Roman doctors say it is absolutely necessary to bring our 'mortal' sins and confess them, in order to be absolved by the priest; but the old catholics said that the greatest sins are wholly to be confessed and submitted to God, who may pardon them if He please, and will if He be rightly sought to; but to the church they need not be confessed, because these were only and immediately fit for the divine cognizance. What is now-a-days a reserved case to the pope, was anciently a case reserved to God; and what was only submitted formerly to the bishop, is now not worth much taking notice of by any one. But now put these together: by the Roman doctrine you are not by the duty of repentance tied to confess your venial sins; and by the primitive, it is to no purpose to bring the greatest crimes to ecclesiastical repentance, but by their immediate address to God they had hopes of pardon. From hence it follows that there is no necessity of doing one or other, that is, there is no commandment of God for it; nor yet any necessity in the nature of the thing requiring it.

Venerable Bede[f] had an opinion that those sins only which are like to leprosy ought to be submitted to the judgment of the church, *Cætera vero vitia tanquam valetudinis, et quasi membrorum animæ atque sensuum, per seipsum interius in conscientia et intellectu Dominus sanat.* And Goffridus Vindocinensis[g] tells of one William, a learned man, whose doctrine it was that there were but four sorts of sins which needed confession, the error of gentilism, schism,

e [al. xxx. p. 56 sqq.]

f In Lucæ evang., cap. 69. tom. v. [col. 385.] Colon. Agripp. 1612.

g Lib. v. ep. 16. [Magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. xii. part. 1. p. 263.]

heretical pravity, and judaical perfidiousness, *cætera autem peccata a Domino sine confessione sanari*[h]. But besides this I demand, whether or no hath the priest a power to remit venial sins, and that this power (in the words of S. John, chap. xx.) was given to him by Christ? If Christ did in these words give him power to remit venial sins, and yet the penitent is not bound to recount them in particular, or at all to submit them to his judicatory; it will follow undeniably that the giving power of remission of sins to the priest does not infer a necessity in the penitent to come to confess them. And these things I suppose Vasquez understood well enough when he affirms expressly that it may well stand with the ordinary power of a judge, that his power be such as that it be free for the subjects to submit to it, or to end their controversies another way. And that it was so in this case is the doctrine of Scotus[i] above cited, and many others. Add to this the argument of Scotus[k],—The priest retains no sins but such which some way or other are declared to him to have no true signs of repentance; and yet those which are no way manifested to the priest, God retains unto the vengeance of hell; therefore neither is that word, 'Whose sins ye remit,' precise; that is, if God retains some which the priest does not retain, then also He does remit some which the priest does not remit; and therefore there is no negative affixed to the affirmative, which shews that the remission or retention does not necessarily depend on the priest's ministration. So that supposing it to be true that the priest hath a power to remit or retain sins as a judge, and that this power cannot be exercised without knowing what he is to judge; yet it follows not from hence that the people are bound to come this way, and to confess their sins to them, or to ask their pardon. But

2. The second proposition is also false: for supposing the priest by the words of Christ hath given to him the ordinary power of a judge, and that as such he hath power of remitting and retaining sins; yet this power of judging may be such as that it may be performed without enumeration of all the particulars we remember. For the judgment the priest is to make is not of the sins, but of the persons; it is not said *Quæcunque*, but *Quorumcunque remiseritis peccata*. Our blessed Saviour in these words did not distinguish two sorts of sins, one to be remitted, and another to be retained, so that it should be necessary to know the special nature of the sins; He only reckoned one kind, that is, under which all sins are contained. But he distinguished two sorts of sinners; saying, *Quorum*, and

[h] Concil. Trid. sess. xiv. c. 5. Nam venialia quibus a gratia Dei non excludimur, et in quæ frequentius labimur, quanquam recte et utiliter citraque omnem præsumptionem in confessione dicantur, quod piorum hominum usus demonstrat, taceri tamen citra culpam, multisque aliis remediis expiari possunt.—[tom. x. col. 92.]

[i] Vide Vasquez in 3. tom. iv. q. 90. art. 1. dub. 2. sect. 3. [p. 164.]

[k] Ubi supra.

Quorum[1]; the one of penitents (according to the whole design and purpose of the gospel), and their sins are to be remitted; and another of impenitent, whose sins are not to be remitted but retained: and therefore it becomes the ministers of souls to know the state of the penitent rather than the nature and number of the sins. Neither gave He any power to punish, but to pardon, or not to pardon. If Christ had intended to have given to the priests a power to impose a punishment according to the quality of every sin, the priest indeed had been the executioner of the divine wrath: but then because no punishment in this life can be equal to the demerit of a sin which deserves the eternal wrath of God; it is certain the priest is not to punish them by way of vengeance. We do not find any thing in the words of Christ obliging the priest directly to impose penances on the penitent sinner; he may voluntarily submit himself to them if he please, and he may do very well if he do so; but the power of 'retaining sins' gives no power to punish him whether he will or no, for the power of retaining is rather to be exercised upon the impenitent than upon the penitent. Besides this, the word of 'remitting sins' does not certainly give the priest a power to impose penances; for it were a prodigy of interpretation to expound *remittere* by *punire*. But if by 'retaining' it be said this power is given him; then this must needs belong to the impenitent, who are not remitted; and not to the penitent, whose sins at that time they remit, and retain not: unless they can do both at the same time. But if the punishment designed be only by way of remedy, or of disposing the sinners to true penitence; then if the person be already truly penitent, the priest hath nothing to do but to pardon him in the name of God. Now certainly both these things may be done without the special enumeration of all his remembered sins. For

First, the penitent may, and often does, forget many particulars; and then in that case all that the priest can expect, or proceed to judgment upon, is the saying in general 'he is truly sorrowful for them, and for the time to come will avoid them:' and if he then absolve the penitent, as he must, and usually does; it follows that if he does well (and he can do no better) he may make a judgment of his penitent without special enumeration of his sins; and if the priest pardons no sins but those which are enumerated, the penitent will be in an evil condition in most cases: but if he can and does pardon those which are forgotten, then the special enumeration is not indispensably necessary; for it were a strange thing if sins should be easier remitted for being forgotten, and the harder for being remembered; there being in the gospel no other condition mentioned but the 'confessing and forsaking' them: and if there be any difference, certainly he who out of carelessness of spirit, or the multitude of his sins, or want of the sharpness of sorrow (for these commonly are the

[1] Vid. Padre Paolo [Sarpi], hist. conc. Trid., lib. iv. [p. 341.]

causes of it, forgets many of his sins, is in all reason further from pardon than he whose conscience being sore wounded cannot forget that which stings him so perpetually. If he that remembers most, because he is most penitent, be tied to a more severe discipline than he that remembers least; then according to this discipline the worst man is in the best condition. But what if the sinner out of bashfulness do omit to enumerate some sin? is there no consulting with his modesty? is there no help for him but he must confess, or die? S. Ambrose[m] gives a perfect answer to this case. *Lavent lacrymæ delictum quod voce pudor est confiteri; et veniæ fletus consulunt, et verecundiæ; lacrymæ sine horrore culpam loquuntur; lacrymæ crimen sine offensione verecundiæ confitentur.* And the same is almost in words affirmed by Maximus Taurinensis[n]. *Lavat lacrymis delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri: lacrymæ ergo verecundiæ consulunt pariter et saluti; nec erubescunt in petendo, et impetrant in rogando.* And that this may not seem a propriety of S. Peter's repentance, because sacramental confession was not yet instituted (for that Bellarmine offers for an answer;) besides that sacramental confession was (as I have made to appear) never instituted, either then or since then, in scripture, by Christ or by His apostles; besides this, I say, S. Ambrose[o] applies the precedent of S. Peter to every one of us. *Flevit ergo amarissime Petrus; flevit ut lacrymis suum posset lavare delictum; et tu si veniam vis mereri, dilue lacrymis culpam tuam.* And to the same sense also is that of Cassian[p]; *Quod si, verecundia retrahente, revelare [peccata] coram hominibus erubescis, illi quem latere non possunt confiteri ea jugi supplicatione non desinas, ac dicere, ... Tibi soli peccavi, et malum coram Te feci, qui et absque illius verecundiæ publicatione curare, et sine improperio peccata donare consuevit.* To these I shall add a pregnant testimony of Julianus Pomerius, or of Prosper (*De vita contemplativa, lib.* ii. *cap.* 7[q].) *Quod si ipsi sibi judices fiant, et veluti suæ iniquitatis ultores hic in se voluntariam pœnam severissimæ animadversionis exerceant, temporalibus pœnis mutabunt æterna supplicia, et lacrymis ex vera cordis compunctione fluentibus restinguent æterni ignis incendia.* And this was the opinion of divers learned persons in Peter Lombard's[r] time, that if men fear to confess lest they be disgraced, or lest others should be tempted by their evil example, and therefore conceal them to man and reveal them to God; they obtain pardon.

Secondly, for those sins which they do enumerate; the priest by them cannot make a truer judgment of the penitent's repentance and disposition to amendment, than he can by his general profession of his true and deep contrition, and such other human indications by

[m] In Lucam, lib. x. cap. 22. [tom. i. col. 1523 A.]

[n] Homil. iii. de pœnitentia Petri. [Max. bibl. vett. patr., tom. vi. p. 23 G.]

[o] [ubi supra.]

[p] Collatt. xx. c. 8. [p. 772.]

[q] [p. 63.]

[r] Lombard. sent., lib. iv. d. 17. ad finem lit. C. [fol. 176.]

which such things are signified. For still it is to be remembered, he is not the judge of the sin, but of the man. For Christ hath left no rules by which the sin is to be judged; no penitential tables, no chancery tax[s], no penitential canons; neither did His apostles: and those which were in use in the primitive church, as they were vastly short of the merit of the sins, so they are very vastly greater than are now in use, or will be endured. By which it plainly enough appears that they impose penances at their pleasure, as the people are content to take them: and for the greatest sins we see they impose ridiculous penances; and themselves profess they impose but a part of their penance that is due: which certainly cannot be any compliance with any law of God, which is always wiser, more just, and more to purpose. And therefore to exact a special enumeration of all our sins remembered, to enable the priest only to impose a part of penance, is as if a prince should raise an army of ten thousand men to suppress a tumult raised in a little village against the petty constable. Besides which, in the church of Rome they have an old rule which is to this day in use among them;

> Sitque modus pœnæ justæ moderatio culpæ,
> Quæ tanto levior quanto contritio major.

And therefore, *fortiter contritus leviter plectatur*, 'he that is greatly sorrowful needs but little penance.' By which is to be understood that the penance is but to supply the want of internal sorrow, which the priest can no way make judgment of but by such signs as the penitent is pleased to give him. To what purpose then can it be to enumerate all his sins; which he can do with a little sorrow or a great one, with attrition or contrition, and no man knows it but God alone; and it may be done without any sorrow at all, and the sorrow may be put on, or acted; and when the penance is imposed, as it must needs be less than the sin, so it may be performed without true repentance. And therefore neither is the imposing penance any sufficient signification of what the priest enquires after. And because every deliberate sin deserves more than the biggest penance that is imposed on any man for the greatest, and in that as to the sin itself there can be no error in the greatness of it; it follows that by the particular enumeration the priest cannot be helped to make his judgment of the person; and by it or any thing else he can never equally punish the sin; therefore supposing the priest to be a judge, the necessity of particular confession will not be necessary; especially if we consider,

Thirdly, that by the Roman doctrine it is not necessary to salvation that the penitent should perform any penances, he may defer them to purgatory if he please; so that special confession cannot be necessary to salvation for the reason pretended, viz., that the priest may judge well concerning imposing penances, since they are necessary

[s] [See p. 241 above.]

only for the avoiding purgatory, and not for the avoiding damnation.

Fourthly, this further appears in the case of baptism; which is the most apparent and evident use of the power of the keys, it being truly and properly the intromission of catechumens into the house of God, and an admitting them to all the promises and benefits of the kingdom, and, which is the greatest, the most absolute and most evident remission of all the sins precommitted; and yet towards the dispensing this pardon no particular confession of sins is previous, by any necessity or divine law. Repentance in persons of choice and discretion is and was always necessary, but because persons were not tied to confess their sins particularly to a priest before baptism, it is certain that repentance can be perfect without this confession. And this argument is yet of greater force and persuasion against the church of Rome; for since baptizing is for remission of sins, and is the first act of the power of the keys, and the evident way of opening the doors of the house of God, and yet the power of baptizing is, in the church of Rome, in the absence of a priest, given to a layman, and frequently to a deacon; it follows that the power of the keys, and a power of remitting sins, is no judiciary act, unless a layman be declared capable of the power of judging and of remitting sins.

Fifthly, if we consider that without true repentance no sin can be pardoned, and with it all sins may; and that no one sin is pardoned as to the final state of our souls, but at the same time all are pardoned: it must needs follow that it is not the number of sins, but the condition of the person, the change of his life, the sorrow of his heart, the truth of his conversion and his hatred of all sin, that he is to consider. If his repentance be a true change from evil to good, from sin to God, a thousand sins are pardoned as soon as one; and the infinite mercy of God does equally exceed one sin and one thousand. Indeed in order to counsel or comfort it may be very useful to tell all that grieves the penitent, all that for which he hath no rest, and cannot get satisfaction: but as to the exercising any other judgment upon the man, either for the present or for the future; to reckon up what is past seems not very useful, or at all reasonable. But as the priest who baptizes a convert, judges of him as far as he can, and ought; that is, whether he hath laid aside every hindrance, and be disposed to receive remission of sins by the Spirit of God in baptism; so it is in repentance, the man's conversion and change is to be considered; which cannot be by what is past, but by what is present, or future. And now,

3. Although the judicial power of the priest cannot infer the necessity of particular confession; yet if the judicial power be also of another nature than is supposed, or rather be not properly *judicium fori*, the judgment of a tribunal, coercive, penal, and exterminating, by proper effect, and real change of state and person; then the superstructure, and the foundation too, will be digged down. And this therefore shall

be considered briefly. And here the scene is a little changed, and the words of Christ to S. Peter are brought in as auxiliaries, to prove the priest's power to be judicial; and that, with the words of Christ to His apostles, John xx., must demonstrate this point.—First therefore I have the testimony and opinion of the Master of the Sentences[t], affirming that the priest's power is 'declarative,' not 'judicial;' the sentence of an embassador, not of a judge; *Sacerdotibus tribuit potestatem solvendi et ligandi; id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos;* 'the priest's power of loosing and binding is a power of shewing and declaring who are bound, and who are loosed. For when Christ had cured the leper He sent him to the priest, by whose judgment he was to be declared clean; and when Lazarus was first restored to life by Christ, then He bade His disciples loose him and let him go.' And if it be enquired, to what purpose is the priest's solution if the man be pardoned already? it is answered, that 'although he be absolved before God, yet he is not accounted loosed in the face of the church, but by the judgment of the priest.'—But we have the sentence of a greater man in the church than Peter Lombard, viz., of S. Hierome himself, who discourses this affair dogmatically and fully, and so as not to be capable of evasion: speaking of those words of Christ to S. Peter, "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose in earth shall be loosed in heaven;" 'this place,' saith S. Hierome[u], 'some bishops and priests not understanding, take upon them something of the superstitiousness[x] of the pharisees, so as to condemn the innocent or think to acquit the guilty; whereas God enquires not what is the sentence of the priest, but the life of the guilty[y]. In Leviticus, the lepers were commanded to shew themselves to the priests, who neither make them leprous nor clean, but they discern who are clean and who are unclean. As therefore there the priest makes the leprous man clean, or unclean: so here does the bishop or the priest bind or loose; i. e. according to their office, when he hears the variety of sins, he knows who is to be bound and who is to be loosed.'—S. Ambrose[z] adds one advantage more as consequent to the priest's absolving of penitents, but expressly declares against the proper judicial power. "Men give their ministry in the remission of sins, but they exercise not the right of any power; neither are sins remitted by them in their own but in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Men pray, but it is God who forgives: it is man's obsequiousness, but the bountiful gift is from God. So likewise there

[t] Sent., lib. iv. dist. 18. lit. F. [p. 793.]

[u] S. Hieron. in Matth., lib. iii. ad cap. 16. [tom. iv. part. 1. col. 75.]

[x] ['supercilio.']

[y] ['reorum.']

[z] Homines in remissionem peccatorum ministerium suum exhibent, non jus alicujus potestatis exercent: neque enim in suo sed in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus sancti, peccata dimittuntur; isti rogant, divinitas donat, &c.—S. Ambros. de Spir. S., lib. iii. cap. 19. [al. 18. tom. ii. col. 693.]

is no doubt sins are forgiven in baptism, but the operation is of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." Here S. Ambrose affirms the priest's power of pardoning sins to be wholly ministerial, and optative or by way of prayer. Just as it is in baptism, so it is in repentance after baptism; sins are pardoned to the truly penitent, but here is no proper judicial power. The bishop prays, and God pardons; the priest does his ministry, and God gives the gift.—Here are three witnesses against whom there is no exception; and what they have said was good catholic doctrine in their ages; that is, from the fourth age after Christ to the eleventh: how it hath fallen into heresy since that time, is now not worth enquiring; but yet how reasonable that old doctrine is, is very fit to consider.

4. Of necessity it must be true; because whatever kind of absolution or binding it is that the bishops and priests have power to use, it does its work intended without any real changing of state in the penitent. The priest alters nothing; he diminishes no man's right; he gives nothing to him but what he had before. The priest baptizes, and he absolves, and he communicates, and he prays, and he declares the will of God; and by importunity he compels men to come, and if he find them unworthy he keeps them out; but it is such as he finds to be unworthy: such who are in a state of perdition, he cannot, he ought not to admit to the ministries of life. True it is, he prays to God for pardon, and so he prays that God will give the sinner the grace of repentance; but he can no more give pardon than he can give repentance; He that gives this gives that.

And it is so also in the case of absolution; he can absolve none but those that are truly penitent: he can give thanks indeed to God on his behalf; but as that thanksgiving supposes pardon, so that pardon supposes repentance; and if it be true repentance, the priest will as certainly find him pardoned as find him penitent. And therefore we find in the old penitentials and usages of the church, that the priest did not absolve the penitent in the indicative or judicial form. To this purpose it is observed by Goar in the Euchologion[a], that now "many do freely assert, and tenaciously defend, and clearly teach, and prosperously[b] write, that the solemn form of reconciling, *Absolvo te a peccatis tuis,* is not perhaps above the age of four hundred years; and that the old form of absolution in the Latin church was composed in words of deprecation, so far forth as we may conjecture out of the ecclesiastical history, ancient rituals, tradition, and other testimonies without exception." And in the *Opuscula* of Thomas Aquinas[c], he tells that a doctor said to him that the optative form, or deprecatory, was the usual; and that then it was not thirty years since the indicative form of *Ego te absolvo* was used;

[a] Pag. 676. [fol. Par. 1647.]
[b] ['feliciter.']
[c] Opusc. xxii. [cap. 5. p. 346.—fol. Venet. 1587.]

which computation comes near the computation made by Goar. And this is the more evidently so, in that it appears that in the ancient discipline of the church a deacon might reconcile the penitents if the priest were absent; *Si autem necessitas evenerit et presbyter non fuerit præsens, diaconus suscipiat pœnitentem*[d] *ac det sanctam communionem*[e]: and if a deacon can minister this affair, then the priest is not indispensably necessary, nor his power judicial and pretorial.

But besides this, the power of the keys is under the master in the hands of the steward of the house; who is the minister of government: and the power of 'remitting and retaining' being but the verification of the promise of the keys, is to be understood by the same analogy, and is exercised in many instances and to many great purposes, though no man had ever dreamt of a judicial power of absolution of secret sins; viz., in discipline and government, in removing scandals, in restoring persons 'overtaken in a fault' to the peace of the church, in sustaining the weak, in cutting off of corrupt members, in rejecting heretics, in preaching peace by Jesus Christ, and repentance through His name, and ministering the word of reconciliation, and interceding in the ministry of Christ's mediation; that is, being God's embassador, he is God's messenger in the great work of the gospel, which is Repentance and Forgiveness. In short, 'binding and loosing,' 'remitting and retaining,' are acts of government relating to public discipline; and of any other pardoning or retaining, no man hath any power but what he ministers in the word of God and prayer, unto which the ministry of the sacraments is understood to belong. For what does the church when she binds a sinner or retains his sin, but separate him from the communication of public prayers and sacraments? according to that saying of Tertullian[f], *Summum futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit ut a communicatione orationis et conventus et omnis sancti commercii relegetur.* And the like was said by S. Austin[g], *Versetur ante oculos imago futuri judicii, ut cum alii accedunt ad altare Dei quo ipse non accedit, cogitet quam sit contremiscenda illa pœna, qua percipientibus aliis vitam æternam, alii in mortem præcipitantur æternam.* And when the church upon the sinner's repentance does restore him to the benefit of public assemblies and sacraments, she does truly pardon his sins, that is, she takes off the evil that was upon him for his sins. For so Christ proved His power on earth to forgive sins by taking the poor man's palsy away; and so does the church pardon his sins by taking away that horrible punishment of separating him from all the public communion of the church: and both these are, in their several kinds, the most material and proper pardons.

But then as the church gives pardon proportionable to the evil she inflicts, which God also will verify if it be done here in truth and

[d] [al. 'pœnitentiam.']

[e] Alcuin. de divin. offic., cap. De jejunio. [sc. cap. xiii. col. 1036 C.]

[f] Apolog., c. 39. [p. 31 A.]

[g] Homil. l. c. 9. [al. eccli. de pœnit., tom. v. col. 1357 A.]

righteousness; so there is a pardon which God only gives. He is the injured and offended person, and He alone can remit of His own right. But yet to this pardon the church does co-operate by her ministry. Now what this pardon is we understand best by the evils that are by Him inflicted upon the sinner. For to talk of a power of pardoning sins where there is no power to take away the punishment of sin, is but a dream of a shadow; sins are only then pardoned when the punishment is removed [h]. Now who but God alone can take away a sickness, or rescue a soul from the power of his sins, or snatch him out of the devil's possession? The spirit of God alone can do this; 'it is the Spirit that quickeneth,' and raiseth from spiritual death, and giveth us the life of God. Man can pray for the spirit, but God alone can give it; our blessed Saviour obtained for us the Spirit of God by this way, by prayer; "I will pray unto the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter, even the Spirit of truth;" and therefore much less do any of Christ's ministers convey the Spirit to any one, but by prayer and holy ministries in the way of prayer. But this is best illustrated by the case of baptism. "It is a matter of equal power," said Alexander of Ales[i], "to baptize with internal baptism, and to absolve from deadly sin; but it was not fit that God should communicate the power of baptizing internally unto any, lest we should place our hope in man." And S. Austin[j] (if at least he be the author of the *Scala Paradisi*) says, "The office of baptizing the Lord granted unto many, but the power and authority of remitting sins in baptism He retained unto Himself alone; wherefore S. John, *antonomastice et discretive*, by way of distinction and singularity, affirms that He it is who baptizes with the Holy Ghost." And I shall apply this to the power of the keys in the ministry of repentance by the words of S. Cyprian[k], *Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus sancti est, et ipsi soli hujus efficientiæ privilegium manet.* As therefore the bishop, or the priest, can give the Holy Ghost to a repenting sinner; so he can give him pardon, and no otherwise: that is, by prayer, and the ministry of the sacraments to persons fitly disposed, who also can and have received the Holy Ghost, without any such ministry of man; as appears in S. Peter's question, "What hinders these men to be baptized, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" And it is done every day and every hour, in the communion of saints, in the immissions and visitations from heaven, which the saints of God daily receive and often perceive and feel. 'Every man is bound by the cords of his own sins, which ropes and bands the apostles can loose, imitating therein their Master, who

[h] [See *Ἐνιαυτὸς*, Winter half year, serm. viii. 'Of godly fear.'—vol. iv. p. 100-2.]

[i] Summ., part. 4. q. 21. memb. 1. [p. 614.]

[j] August. Scala Parad., c. 3. [tom. vi. append. col. 164 D.]

[k] De operibus cardinalibus Christi, inter Cypriani opera; sed verius Arnoldi Bonævallensis. [De bapt. Christi, p. 30.]

said to them, Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' *Solvunt autem eos apostoli sermone Dei, et testimoniis scripturarum, et exhortatione virtutum,* saith S. Hierome[l]. For the word of God, which is intrusted to the ministry of the church, is that rule and measure by which God will judge us all at the last day; and therefore by the word of God we stand or fall, we are bound or loosed: which word when the ministers of the gospel dispense rightly, they bind or loose; and what they so bind or loose on earth, God will bind and loose in heaven. That is, by the same measures He will judge the man by which He hath commanded His ministers to judge them by; that is, they preach remission of sins to the penitent, and God will make it good; and they threaten eternal death to the impenitent, and God will inflict it. But other powers of binding and loosing than what hath been already instanced, those words of Christ prove not. And these powers, and no other, do we find used by the apostles. "To us" (saith S. Paul[m]) "is committed the word of reconciliation; now then we are embassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." Christ is the great minister of reconciliation; we are His embassadors to the people to that purpose: and we are to preach to them, and to exhort them; to pray them, and to pray for them; and we also by our ministry reconcile them; and we pardon their sins; for God hath set us over the people to that purpose: but then it is also in that manner that God set the priest over the leprous; *μιάνσει μιανεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς*[n], 'the priest with pollution shall pollute them[n];' and the priest shall cleanse him, that is, shall declare him so. And it is in the same manner that God set the prophet Jeremy[o] over the nations, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, to throw down, to build, and to plant; that is, by 'putting His word into his mouth' to do all this, to preach all this, to promise or to threaten respectively, all this. The ministers of the gospel do pardon sins, just as they save men; "This doing, thou shalt save thyself, and them that hear thee[p];" that is, 'by attending to and continuing in the doctrine of Christ:' and "he that converts a sinner from the error of his way, saves a soul from death, and covers a multitude of sins[q]." Bringing the man to repentance, persuading him to turn from vanity to the living God; thus he brings pardon to him, and salvation. And if it be said that a layman can do this: I answer, it is very well for him if he does; and he can, if it please God to assist him: but the ordinary ministry is appointed to bishops and priests; so that although a layman do it extraordinarily, that can be no prejudice to the ordinary power of the keys in the hands of the clergy; which is but a ministry of prayer, of the word and sacraments: ac-

[l] Lib. vi. comment. in Isai., cap. 14. [tom. iii. col. 160.]
[m] [2 Cor. v. 19, 20.]
[n] [Lev. xiii. 44.]
[o] [Jer. i. 10.]
[p] [1 Tim. iv. 16.]
[q] [James v. 20.]

cording to the saying of their own Ferus[r] upon this place; "Christ in this word shews how and to what use He at this time gave them the Holy Ghost, to wit, for the remission of sins; neither for the apostles themselves alone, *sed ut eundem Spiritum, eandemque remissionem peccatorum verbo prædicationis, et sacramentis verbo annexis, distribuerent.* And again he brings in Christ saying, 'I therefore choose you, and I seal your hearts by the Holy Ghost unto the word of the gospel, and confirm you, that going into the world, ye may preach the gospel to every creature, and that ye may distribute that very remission by the word of the gospel, and the sacraments.' For the words of Christ are general and indefinite; and they are comprehensive of the whole power and ministry ecclesiastical: and in those parts of it which are evident and confessed, viz., preaching remission of sins and baptism, a special enumeration of our sins is neither naturally necessary, nor esteemed so by custom, nor made so by virtue of these words of Christ; therefore it is no way necessary, neither have they at all proved it so by scripture. And to this I add only what Ambrosius Pelargus, a divine of the elector of Triers, said in the council of Trent[s], "that the words of our Lord, *Quorum remiseritis*, were perhaps not expounded by any father for an institution of the sacrament of penance; and that by some they were understood of baptism; by others, of any other thing by which pardon of sins is received."

But since there is no necessity declared in scripture of confessing all our sins to a priest, no mention of sacramental penance, or confession, it must needs seem strange that a doctrine of which there is no commandment in scripture, no direction for the manner of doing so difficult a work, no office or officer described to any such purpose; that a doctrine, I say, of which in the fountains of salvation there is no spring, should yet become in process of time to be the condition of salvation. And yet for preaching, praying, baptizing, communicating, we have precept upon precept, and line upon line; we have in scripture three epistles written to two bishops, in which the episcopal office is abundantly described, and excellent canons established, and the parts of their duty enumerated: and yet no care taken about the office of 'father confessor.' Indeed we find a pious exhortation to all 'spiritual' persons, that, 'if any man be overtaken in a fault, they should restore such a one in the spirit of meekness;' restore him, that is, to the public peace and communion of the church, from which by his delinquency he fell; and restore him also, by the word of his proper ministry, to the favour of God; by exhortations to him, by reproving of him, by praying for him: and besides this, we have some little limits more, which the church of Rome, if they please, may make good use of in this question; such as are,

[r] [In Joan. xx. 23. p. 598.]

[s] [Sarpi,] hist. concil. Trid., A.D. 1551, sub Julio tertio. [lib. iv. p. 342.]

"That they who sin should be rebuked before all men, that others also may fear[t];" which indeed is a good warranty for public discipline, but very little for private confession. And S. Paul charges Timothy[u] that he should "lay hands suddenly on no man," that he "be not partaker of other men's sins;" which is a good caution against the Roman way of absolving them that confess as soon as they have confessed, before they have made their satisfactions. The same apostle[x] speaks also of "some that creep into houses, and lead captive silly women;" I should have thought he had intended it against such as then abused auricular confession, it being so like what they do now, but that S. Paul knew nothing of these lately introduced practices. And lastly, he commands every one that is to receive the holy communion to "examine himself, and so let him eat[y]:" he forgot, it seems, to enjoin them to go to confession to be examined: which certainly he could never have done more opportunely than here; and if it had been necessary, he could never have omitted it more undecently. But it seems the first Christians were admitted upon other terms by the apostles than they are at this day by the Roman clergy. And indeed it were infinitely strange that since in the Old testament remission of sins was given to every one that confessed to God, and turned from his evil way[z], that in the New testament, to which liberty is a special privilege, and the imposed yoke of Christ infinitely more easy than the burden of the law, and repentance is the very formality of the gospel covenant; and yet that pardon of our sins shall not be given to us Christians on so easy terms as it was to the Jews, but an intolerable new burden shall be made a new condition of obtaining pardon. And this will appear yet the more strange when we consider that all the sermons of the prophets concerning repentance were not derivations from Moses's law, but homilies evangelical, and went before to prepare the way of the Lord; and John baptist was the last of them; and that in this matter the sermons of the prophets were but the gospel antedated; and in this affair there was no change but to the better and to a clearer manifestation of the divine mercy and the sweet yoke of Christ. The disciples of Christ preached the same doctrine of repentance that the Baptist did, and the Baptist the same that the prophets did, and there was no difference; Christ was the same in all, and He that commanded His disciples to fast to God alone in private, intended that all the parts of repentance transacted between God and our consciences should be as sufficient as that one of fasting, and that other of prayer: and it is said so in all; for "if we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from

[t] [1 Tim. v. 20.]
[u] [ver. 22.]
[x] [2 Tim. iii. 6.]
[y] [1 Cor. xi. 28.]
[z] [Isai. i. 16—18; Ezek. xviii. 22; Ezek. xxxiii. 15. 16; Isai. xxx. 15, secundum LXX. Ὅταν ἀποστραφεὶς στενάξῃς, τότε σωθήσῃ.]

all unrighteousness[a]." It is God alone that can cleanse our hearts, and He that cleanses us, He alone does forgive us; and this is upon our confession to Him, His justice and faithfulness is at stake for it; and therefore it supposes a promise, which we often find upon our confessions made to God, but it was never promised upon confession made to the priest.

II. But now in the next place if we consider whether this thing be reasonable, to impose such a yoke upon the necks of the disciples which upon their fathers was not put in the Old testament, nor ever commanded in the New; we shall find that although many good things might be consequent to the religious and free and prudent use of confession; yet by changing into a doctrine of God that which at most is but a commandment of man, it will not by all the contingent good make recompence for the intolerable evils it introduces.

1. And here first I consider, that many times things seem profitable to us, and may minister to good ends, but God judges them useless and dangerous: for He judges not as we judge. The worshipping of angels, and the abstaining from meats, which some false apostles introduced, looked well, and pretended to humility and mortification of the body; but the apostle approved them not: and of the same mind was the succeeding ages of the church, who condemned the dry diet and the ascetic fasts of Montanus, though they were pretended only for discipline, but when they came to be imposed they grew intolerable. Certainly men lived better lives when by the discipline of the church sinners were brought to public stations and penance, than now they do by all the advantages, real or pretended, from auricular confession; and yet the church thought fit to lay it aside, and nothing is left but the shadow of it.

2. This whole topic can only be a prudential consideration, and can no way infer a divine institution; for though it was as convenient before Christ as since, and might have had the same effects upon the public or private good then as now; yet God was not pleased to appoint it in almost forty ages; and we say He hath not done it yet. However, let it be considered that there being some things which S. Paul says are not to be so much as named amongst Christians, it must needs look undecently that all men and all women should come and make the priest's ears a common-shoar[b] to empty all their filthiness; and that which a modest man would blush to hear, he must be used to, and it is the greatest part of his employment to attend to. True it is that a physician must see and handle the impurest ulcers; but it is because the cure does not depend upon the patient but upon the physician, who by general advertisement cannot cure the patient, unless he had an universal medicine: which the priest hath; the medicine of repentance, which can indifferently cure all sins, whether

[a] [1 John i. 9.]

[b] [More properly 'sewer.']

the priest know them or no. And therefore all this filthy communication is therefore intolerable because it is not necessary: and it not only pollutes the priest's ears, but his tongue too; for lest any circumstance or any sin be concealed, he thinks himself obliged to interrogate and proceed to particular questions in the basest things. Such as that which is to be seen in Burchard[c], and such which are too largely described in Sanchez[d]; which thing does not only deturpate all honest and modest conversation, but it teaches men to understand more sins then ever they (it may be) knew of. And I believe there are but few in the world at this day that did ever think of such a crime as Burchard hath taught them by that question, and possibly it might have expired in the very first instances if there had been no further notice taken of it. I need not tell how the continual representment of such things to the priest must needs infect the fancy and the memory with filthy imaginations, and be a state of temptation to them that are very often young men and vigorous, and always unmarried and tempted.

Φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρησθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί[e].

Aretine's[f] tables do not more pollute the heart through the eyes, than a foul narrative of a beastly action with all the circumstances of perpetration do through the ears; for, as it was said of Thomas Cantipratanus[g], *Vexatis exterius auribus, interius tentationum stimulis agitabatur.* And Marcus Eremita[h] that lived in that age in which this auricular confession began to be the mode of the Latin church, he speaks against it severely, "If thou wilt offer to God an unreprovable confession, do not recount thy sins particularly, for so thou doest greatly defile thy mind; but generously endure their assaults, or what they have brought upon thee." We need no further witness of it but the question and case of conscience which Cajetan[i] puts, *Utrum confessor cognoscens ex his quæ audit in confessione sequi in seipso emissionem seminis sibi displicentem, peccet mortaliter audiendo vel prosequendo tales confessiones?* The question is largely handled, but not so fit to be read; but instead of it I shall only note the answer of another cardinal[j], *Confessarius si forte dum audit confessiones in tales incidit pollutiones, non ob id tenetur non audire alios, nisi sit periculum complacentiæ in pollutione; tunc enim tenetur relinquere confessiones, et auferre peccati occasionem; secus non.* This question and this answer I here bring to no other purpose but to repre-

[c] Lib. xix. Decret.

[d] De matrimonio. [Libros adire nolui.—Ed.]

[e] [1 Cor. xv. 33.—E Thaide Menandri (S. Hieron. in Tit. i. 12.)—E tragico quodam (Clem. Alex., strom. i. 14.)—Ex Euripide (Socr. hist. eccl. iii. 16.)]

[f] [See Moreri, 'Pierre Aretin.']

[g] In vita ejus apud [Joann. Gilemans,] Hagiolog. Brabant.

[h] De iis qui putant se operibus justificari.—[c. 140.] Biblioth. patrum, tom. i. Gr. Lat. [p. 900.—fol. Par. 1624.]

[i] Opusc. Cajet. [tom. i.] tract. 22. [p. 114 sqq.—fol. Lugd. 1562.]

[j] [Tolet.] lib. v. inst. sacerd., c 13. sub fig. 9. edit. Paris. 1619. p. 372. [p. 774. 8vo. Rothom. 1636.]

sent that the priests dwell in temptation, and that their manner of receiving confessions is a perpetual danger, by which he that loves it may chance to perish[k]. And of this there have been too many sad examples remarked, evidencing that this private confession hath been the occasion and the opportunity of the vilest crimes. There happened but one such sad thing in the ancient Greek church[l], which became public by the discipline of public confession, but was acted by the opportunity of the private entercourse; and that was then thought sufficient to alter that whole discipline: but it is infinitely more reasonable to take off the law of private confession, and in that manner as it is enjoined, if we consider the intolerable evils which are committed frequently upon this scene. Erasmus[m] makes a sad complaint of it, that the penitents do often light upon priests who under the pretext of confession commit things not to be spoken of; and instead of physicians become partners, or masters, or disciples of turpitude. The matter is notorious, and very scandalous, and very frequent: insomuch that it produced two bulls of two popes *Contra sollicitantes in confessione;* the first was of Pius quartus to the bishop of Sevil, A.D. MDLXI. April the sixteenth; the other of Gregory the fifteenth, MDCXXII. August the thirtieth, which bulls take notice of it, and severely prohibit the confessors to tempt the women to undecencies when they come to confession. Concerning which bulls, and the sad causes procuring them, even the intolerable and frequent impieties acted by and in confessions, who desires to be plentifully satisfied may please to read the book of Johannes Escobar a Corro[n], a Spanish lawyer, which is a commentary on these two bulls; and in the beginning he shall find sad complaints and sadder stories. But I love not to stir up so much dirt. That which is altogether as remarkable, and (it may be) much more, is that this auricular confession not only can, but oftentimes hath been made the most advantageous way of plotting, propagating, and carrying on treasonable propositions and designs. I shall not instance in that horrid design of the gunpowder treason[o], for that is known every where amongst us; but in the holy league of France. "When the pulpits became unsafe for tumultuous and traitorous preachers, the confessors in private confessions did that with more safety; they slandered the king, and endeavoured to prove it lawful for subjects to covenant or make leagues and confederacies without their king's leave; they sometimes refused to absolve them unless they would enter into the league, and persuaded many miserable persons to be of the faction. But this thing was not done so secretly but notice enough was taken of it; and complaint was made to the bishop,

[k] [vid. Eccius. iii. 26.]

[l] [See p. 531 below.]

[m] In Exomolog., p. 128, 129, &c. [al. tom. v. col. 154 med.]

[n] ['De confessariis solicitantibus' &c. —fol. Cordub. 1642.]—Videatur etiam Orlandini, hist. societ. J., lib. ix. sect. 70. [leg. 71. p. 203.—fol. Antuerp. 1620.]

[o] [See Sermon on November v.]

and then to Franciscus Maurocenus the cardinal legate, who gave notice and caution against it: and the effect it produced was only this; they proceeded afterwards more warily, and began to preach this doctrine; that it was as great a fault if the confitent reveal what he hears from the confessor in confession, as if the priest should reveal the sins told him by the penitent." This narrative I have from Thuanus[q]. To which I add one more, related in the life of Padre Paolo[r]; that *Hippolito da Lucca fù in fama sinistra d' haver nelle confessioni e raggionamenti corrotto prima con larghe promesse e gran speranza persuaso alla duchessa d' adherir alla fattione ecclesiastica,* 'Hippolytus of Lucca was evil reported to have in discourse or in confession persuaded the duchess of Urbin against Cæsar d' Este, and to have corrupted her into the faction of the church.' For which he was made a bishop[s], and in Rome was always one of the prelates deputed in the examination of that controversy. If it were possible, and if it could be in the world, I should believe it to be a baser prostitution of religion to temporal designs which is written of F. Arnold the jesuit[t], confessor to Lewis the thirteenth of France; that he caused the king at confession solemnly to swear never to dislike what Luines the great favourite did, nor himself to meddle with any state affair. Now what advantage the pope hath over christian princes in this particular, and how much they have, and how much more they may suffer by this economy, is a matter of great consideration; *Admonetur omnis ætas posse fieri, quod jam factum vidimus*[u].

3. There is yet another very great evil that attends upon the Roman way of auricular confession; and that is, an eternal scruple of conscience, which to the timorous and to the melancholy, to the pious and considering and zealous, is almost unavoidable. For besides that there is no certainty of distinction between the mortal and venial sins, there being no catalogues of one and the other, save only that they usually reckon but seven deadly sins, and the rest are or may be easily by the ignorant supposed to be venial; and even those sins which are under those seven heads are not all mortal, for there are amongst them many ways of changing their mortality into veniality; and consequent to all this, they are either tempted to slight most sins, or to be troubled with perpetual disputes concerning almost every thing: besides this, I say, there can be no peace (because there can be no certain rule given) concerning the examination of our consciences; for who can say he hath done it sufficiently, or who knows what is sufficient; and yet if it be not sufficient, then the sins which are forgotten by carelessness, and not called to mind

[q] Hist., lib. lxxxv. p. 100. in Leida, 1646. [leg., lib. lxxxvi. c. 17.]

[r] [p. 73.—8vo. 1659.]

[s] By Card. Aldobrandino, the nephew of P. Clement VIII. [ibid.]

[t] Mémoires du duc de Rohan, lib. i. [in A.D. 1617.—tom. i. p. 111.—8vo. Amstel. 1756.]

[u] [vid. Cyprian. ad Donat., p. 5.]

by sufficient diligence, are not pardoned, and then the penitent hath had much trouble to no purpose. There are some confessions 'imperfect' but 'valid,' some 'invalid' for their 'imperfection,' some 'perfect' and yet 'invalid:' and they that made the distinction made the rule, and it binds as they please; but it can cause scruples beyond their power of remedy; because there is no certain principle from whence men can derive peace and a certain determination, some affirming and some denying, and both of them by chance or humour. There are also many reserved cases; some to the bishop, some to the patriarch, some to the pope; and when you shall have run through the fire for these before the priest, you must run once or twice more, and your first absolution is of no force. And amongst these reserved cases there is also great difference; some are reserved by reason of censures ecclesiastical, and some by reason of the greatness of the sin; and these things may be hidden from his eyes, and he supposing himself absolved will perceive himself deceived, and absolved but from one half. Some indeed think that if the superior absolve from the reserved cases alone, that grace is given by which all the rest are remitted; and on the other side some think if the inferior absolves from what he can, grace is given of remitting even of the reserved: but this is uncertain, and all agree that the penitent is never the nearer but that he is still obliged to confess the reserved cases to the superior, if he went first to the inferior; or all to the inferior, in case he went first to the superior, confessing only the reserved. There are also many difficulties in the confession of such things in which the sinner had partners: for if he confess the sin so as to accuse any other, he sins; if he does not, in many cases he cannot confess the circumstances that alter the nature of the crime. Some therefore tell him he may conceal such sins till a fitter opportunity; others say he may let it quite alone: others yet say he may get another confessor; but then there will come another scruple, whether he may do this with leave or without leave; or if he ask leave, whether or no in case it be denied him he may take leave in such an accident. Upon these and many other like accounts there will arise many more questions concerning the iteration of his confession; for if the first confession be by any means made invalid, it must be done over again. But here in the very beginning of this affair, the penitent must be sure that his former confession was invalid. For if it was, he cannot be pardoned unless he renew it; and if it was not, let him take heed, for to confess the same things twice, and twice to be absolved, it may be is not lawful; and against it Cajetan[x] after the scholastical manner brings divers reasons. But suppose the penitent at peace for this, then there are very many cases in which confession is to be repeated; and though it was done before, yet it must be done over again. As if there be

[x] Quæst. quodlibet., quæst. vi. [leg. ix.] de confess. [f. 54 b. fol. Lugd. 1552.]

no manner of contrition, without doubt it must be iterated; but there are many cases concerning contrition: and if it be at all, though imperfect, it is not to be iterated. But what is and what is not contrition, what is perfect and what is imperfect, which is the first degree that makes the confession valid, can never be told. But then there is some comfort to be had, for the sacrament of penance may be true, and yet without form or life, at the same time[y]. And there are divers cases, in which the confession that is but materially half, may be reduced to that which is but formally half: and if there be but a propinquity of the mind to a carelessness concerning the integrity of confession, the man cannot be sure that things go well with him. And sometimes it happens that the church is satisfied when God is not satisfied, as in the case of the *informis confessio;* and then the man is absolved, but his sin is not pardoned; and yet because he thinks it is his soul is cozened. And yet this is but the beginning of scruples. For suppose the penitent hath done his duty, examined himself strictly, repented sadly, confessed fully, and is absolved formally; yet all this may come to nothing by reason that there may be some invalidity in the ordination of the priest, by crime, by irregularity, by direct deficiency of something in the whole succession and ordination; or it may be he hath not ordinary or delegate jurisdiction; for it is not enough that he is a priest, unless he have another authority, says Cajetan[z]; besides his order he must have jurisdiction, which is carefully to be enquired after, by reason of the infinite numbers of friars that take upon them to hear confessions; or if he have both, yet the use of his power may be interverted or suspended for the time, and then his absolution is worth nothing. But here there is some remedy made to the poor distracted penitent; for by the constitution of the council of Constance, under pope Martin the fifth, though the priest be excommunicate, the confession is not to be iterated: but then this also ends in scruples; for this constitution itself does not hold if the excommunication be for the notorious smiting of a clergyman; or if it be not, yet if the excommunication be denounced, be it for what it will, his absolution is void: and therefore the penitent should do well to look about him; especially since, after all this, there may be innumerable deficiencies; yea some even for want of skill and knowledge in the confessor; and when that happens, when the confession is to be iterated, there are no certain rules, but it must be left to the opinion of another confessor. And when he comes, the poor penitent, it may be, is no surer of him than of the other; for if he have no will to absolve the penitent, let him dissemble it as he list, the absolution was but jocular, or pretended, or never intended; or it may be he is secretly an atheist, and laughs at the penitent and himself too, for acting (as he thinks) such a troublesome, theatrical nothing; and then the man's sins cannot be pardoned. And is there

[y] Cajetan. summ. verb. 'Confessio.' [p. 66 sq. 8vo. Lugd. 1567.]
[z] Summ. verb. 'Absolutio.' [p. 4.]

no remedy for all this evil? It is true the cases are sad and dangerous, but the church of Rome hath (such is her prudence and indulgence) found out as much relief as the wit of man can possibly invent; for though there may be thus many and many more deficiencies, yet there are some extraordinary ways to make it up as well as it can. For to prevent all the contingent mischiefs, let the penitent be as wise as he can, and choose his man upon whom these defailances may not be observed; for a man in necessity, as in danger of death, may be absolved by any one that is a priest; but yet if the penitent escape the sickness, or that danger, he must go to him again, or to somebody else; by which it appears that his affair was left but imperfect. But some persons have liberty by reason of their dignity, and some by reason of their condition, as being pilgrims or wanderers; and they have greater freedom, and cannot easily fall into many nullities; or they may have an explicit or an implicit licence: but then they must take heed; for besides many of the precedent dangers, they must know that the licenee extends only to the paschal confessions, or the usual, but not the extraordinary or emergent: and moreover they can go but to the appointed confessors, in the places where they are present; and because under these there is the same danger as in all that went before, the little more certainty which I hoped for in some few cases comes to nothing. But I go about to reckon the sands on the shore. I shall therefore sum this up with the words of a famous preacher reported by Beatus Rhenanus[a] to have made this observation, that "Thomas Aquinas and Scotus, men too subtle, have made confession to be such that according to their doctrines it is impossible to confess:" and that the consciences of penitents, which should be extricated and eased, are by this means catched in a snare and put to torments, said Cassander[b]; so that although confession to a priest prudently managed, without scruple, upon the case of a grieved and an unquiet conscience, and in order to counsel and the perfections of repentance, may be of excellent use; yet to enjoin it in all cases, to make it necessary to salvation, when God hath not made it so; to exact an enumeration of all our sins in all cases, and of all persons; to clog it with so many questions and innumerable inextricable difficulties, and all this, besides the evil manage and conduct of it; is the rack of consciences, the slavery of the church, the evil snare of the simple, and the artifice of the crafty: it was or might have been as the brazen serpent, a memorial of duty, but now it is Nehushtan, *æs eorum;* something of their own framing.

Nor in ecclesiastical tradition either of the latin

III. And this will yet further appear in this, that there is no ecclesiastical tradition of the necessity of confessing all our sins to a priest in order to pardon.

[a] Præfat. in lib. Tertul. de pœnitent. [p. 434.—fol. Basil. 1521.]

[b] Consult. art. xi. [p. 944.]—Videatur etiam Johannes de Sylva in fine tractat. de jurejurando.

That it was not the established doctrine of the Latin church, I have already proved in the beginning of this section; the case is notorious; and the original law of this we find in Platina[c], in the life of pope Zephyrinus. *Idem præterea instituit ut omnes christiani annos pubertatis attingentes, singulis annis in solenni die paschæ publice communicarent; quod quidem institutum Innocentius tertius deinceps non ad communionem solum, verum etiam ad confessionem delictorum traduxit.* Platina was the pope's secretary, and well understood the interests of that church, and was sufficiently versed in the records and monuments of the popes; and tells that as Zephyrinus commanded the eucharist to be taken at Easter, so Innocent the third commanded confession of sins. Before this there was no command, no decree of any council or pope enjoining it: only in the council of Cabaillon[d], can. viii.[e], it was declared to be profitable that penance should be enjoined to the penitent by the priest, after confession made to him. But there was no command for it; and in the second council of Cabaillon[f] it was but a disputed case whether they ought to confess to God alone, or also to the priest. Some said one, and some said another, *Quod utrumque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam fit ecclesiam.* And Theodulfus[g] bishop of Orleans tells the particulars; "The confession we make to the priests gives us this help, that having received his salutary counsel, by the most wholesome duties of repentance, or by mutual prayers, we wash away the stains of our sins: but the confession we make to God alone avails us in this, because by how much we are mindful of our sins, by so much the Lord forgets them; and on the contrary by how much we forget them, by so much the Lord remembers them, according to the saying of the prophet, 'And I will remember thy sins.'" But the fathers of the council gave a good account of these particulars also. *Confessio itaque quæ Deo fit, purgat peccata: ea vero quæ sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque, salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor, plerumque hanc præbet suæ potentiæ invisibili administratione*[h], *plerumque medicorum operatione:* which words are an excellent declaration of the advantages of confession to a priest, but a full argument that it is not necessary, or that without it pardon of sins is not to be obtained. Gratian quoting the words cites Theodore archbishop of Canterbury; but falsely: for it is in the second council of Cabaillon, and not in Theodore's Penitential. But I will not trouble the reader further in the matter of the Latin church, in which it is evident by what hath been already said there was concerning this no apostolical tradition.

[c] [p. 25.—4to. Col. Ubior. 1600.]
[d] [Cabilonense, 'Châlon.']
[e] [tom. iii. col. 949.]
[f] Can. xxxiii. [tom. iv. col. 1037.]
[g] [In capitulari,] in tom. ii. concil. Gallic., c. 30. p. 219. [fol. Lutet. Paris. 1629.]
[h] 'Sola contritione,' ait glossa, ibid. Et habetur [sed paulo aliter] de pœnit., dist. i. cap. 'Quidam Deo' [cap. 90. col. 1871.]

or Greek church. How it was in the Greek church is only to be enquired. Now we might make as quick an end of this also if we might be permitted to take Semeca's[i] word, the gloss of the canon law; which affirms that 'confession of deadly sins is not necessary among the Greeks, because no such tradition hath descended unto them.' This acknowledgment and report of the Greeks not esteeming confession to a priest to be necessary, is not only in the gloss above cited; but in Gratian[k] himself, and in the more ancient collection of canons by Burchard and Ivo Carnotensis. Bellarmine fancies that these words, '*ut Græci,*' are crept into the text of Gratian out of the margent. Well, suppose that; but then how came they into the elder collections of Burchard and Ivo? that's not to be told; "but creep in they did, some way or other, because they are not in the Capitular of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and yet from thence this canon was taken; and that Capitular was taken from the second council of Cabaillon; in which also there are no such words extant;" so the cardinal[l]. In which Bellarmine betrays his carelessness, or his ignorance, very greatly. 1) Because there is no such thing extant in the world that any man knows and tells of, as the Capitular of Theodore. 2) He indeed made a Penitential, a copy of which is in Bene't college library in Cambridge, from whence I have received some extracts by the favour and industry of my friends; and another copy of it is in sir Robert Cotton's library. 3) True it is there is in that Penitential no such words as '*ut Græci,*' but a direct affirmation, *Confessionem suam Deo soli, si necesse est, licebit agere.* 4) That Theodore should take this chapter out of the second council of Cabaillon, is an intolerable piece of ignorance or negligence in so great a scholar as Bellarmine, when it is notorious that the council was after Theodore above one hundred and twenty years. 5) But then lastly, because Theodore, though he sat in the seat of Canterbury, yet was a Greek born; his words are a good record of the opinion of the Greeks, that 'confession of sins is' (if there be need) 'to be made to God alone.' But this I shall prove with firmer testimonies; not many, but pregnant, clear and undeniable.

S. Gregory Nyssen[m] observed that the ancient fathers before him in their public discipline did take no notice of the sins of covetousness, that is, left them without public penance, otherwise than it was ordered in other sins; and therefore he interposes his judgment thus, "But concerning these things, because this is pretermitted by the fathers, I do think it sufficient to cure the affections of covetousness with the public word of doctrine or instruction, curing the diseases (as it were) of repletion, by the word." That is plainly thus: the

[i] De pœnit., dist. v. c. 'In pœnit.' [col. 1958.]

[k] De pœnit., dist. i. c. 'Quidam Deo.' [cap. 90. col. 1870.]

[l] De pœnit., lib. iii. cap. 5. [tom. iii. col. 1364.]

[m] Epist. canon. ad Letoium. [tom. ii. p. 121 C.]

sins of covetousness had no canonical penances imposed upon them, and therefore many persons thought but little of them; therefore to cure this evil, let this sin be reproved in public sermons, though there be no imposition of public penances. So that here is a remedy without penances, a cure without confession, a public sermon instead of a public or private judicatory.

But the fact of Nectarius in abrogating the public penitentiary priest upon the occasion of a scandal, does bear much weight in this question. I shall not repeat the story; who please, may read it in Socrates[n], Sozomen[n], Epiphanius, Cassiodore, and Nicephorus; and it is known every where. Only they who are pinched by it endeavour to confound it, as Waldensis[o] and Canus[p]; some by denying it, as Latinus Latinius[q]; others by disputing concerning every thing in it; some saying that Nectarius abrogated sacramental confession; others that he abrogated the public only, so very many say: and a third sort (who yet speak with most probability) that he only took away the office of the public penitentiary, which was instituted in the time of Decius, and left things as that decree found them; that is, that those who had sinned those sins which were noted in the penitential canons, should confess them to the bishop or in the face of the church, and submit themselves to the canonical penances. This passed into the office of the public penitentiary; and that into nothing, in the Greek church. But there is nothing of this that I insist upon; but I put the stress of this question upon the product of this. For Eudæmon gave counsel to Nectarius, and he followed it, that he took away the penitentiary priest, *ut liberam daret potestatem uti pro sua quisque conscientia ad mysteria participanda accederet*, so Socrates[r]; and Sozomen[s], to the same purpose; *ut unicuique liberum permitteret, prout sibi ipse conscius esset et confideret, ad mysteriorum communionem accedere, pœnitentiarium illum presbyterum exauctoravit.* Now if Nectarius by this decree took away sacramental confession (as the Roman doctors call it) then it is a clear case the Greek church did not believe it necessary; if it was only the public confession they abolished, then for ought appears there was no other at that time; I mean, none commanded, none under any law, or under any necessity: but whatever it was that was abolished, private confession did not by any decree succeed in the place of it; but every man was left to his liberty and the dictates of his own conscience, and according to his own persuasion, to his fears or his confidence, so to come and partake of the divine mysteries. All which is a plain demonstration that they understood nothing of the necessity of confession to a priest of all their sins before they came to the holy sacrament.

[n] [vid. infra.]

[o] [De sacram., cap. cxli. fin. tom. ii. f. 230.]

[p] Relect. de pœnit., part. v. sect. 'Ad sextum.' [p. 897.]

[q] [Epistolæ, &c., p. 826.—4to. Rom. 1659.]

[r] Lib. v. cap. 19. [p. 287.]

[s] Eccl. hist., lib. vii. cap. 16. [p. 300.]

And in pursuance of this are those many exhortations and discourses of S. Chrysostom, who succeeding Nectarius, by his public doctrine could best inform us how they understood the consequence of that decree, and of this whole question. The sum of whose doctrine is this; it is not necessary to have your sins revealed or brought in public, not only in the congregation, but not to any one, but to God alone. "Make a scrutiny, and pass a judgment on your sins inwardly in your conscience, none being present but God alone that seeth all things[t]." And again[u], "Declare unto God alone thy sin, saying, Against Thee only have I sinned and done evil in Thy sight; and thy sin is forgiven thee." "I do not say[x], Tell to thy fellow-servant, who upbraids thee, but tell them to God who heals thy sins." And that after the abolition of the penitentiary priest nothing was surrogated in his stead but pious homilies and public exhortations, we learn from those words of his[y], "We do not bring the sinners into the midst, and publish their sins; but having propounded the common doctrine to all, we leave it to the conscience of the auditors, that out of those things which are spoken every one may find a medicine fitted for his wound." "Let the discussion[z] of thy sins be in the accounts of thy conscience; let the judgment be passed without a witness: let God alone see thee confessing; God who upbraids not thy sins, but out of this confession blots them out." "Hast thou sinned[a]? Enter into the church, say unto God, I have sinned; I exact nothing of thee but that alone:" the same he says in many other places[b]. Now against so many, so clear and dogmatical testimonies it will be to no purpose to say that 'S. Chrysostom only spake against the penitentiary priest set over the public penitents, and this he did in pursuance of his predecessor's act.' For besides that some of these homilies were written before S. Chrysostom was bishop, viz., his one and twenty homilies to the people of Antioch, and the fourth homily of Lazarus which was preached at Antioch before he came to Constantinople, when he was but a priest under Flavianus his bishop; and his homilies on S. Matthew; besides this, it is plain that he not only speaks against the public judicial penance and confession, but against all except that alone which is made to God; allowing the sufficiency of this for pardon, and disallowing the necessity of all other. To these things Bellarmine, Perron, Petrus de Soto, Vasquez,

[t] Homil. lvi. sive viii. [al. vi.] de pœnit., tom. i. [Ben. tom. ii. p. 326 B.]

[u] Homil. ix. [al. iii.] de pœnit. sive homil. lix. [Ben. tom. ii. p. 300 C.]

[x] [Pseudo-Chrysost.] homil. ii. in ps. l. [tom. v. p. 589 A.—Vide etiam homil. iv. de Lazaro, § 4.—tom. i. p. 757 D.]

[y] Homil. 'Quod peccata non sint evulganda.' Vid. hom. lvii. [tom. iii. p. 346 C.]

[z] Homil. de pœnit. et confessione, hom. lviii. tom. v. [Ben. hom. 'Non esse ad gratiam concionandum,' § 3.—tom. ii. p. 663 A.]

[a] Hom. lxviii. tom. v. [Ben. De pœnit. homil. ii. § 1. tom. ii. p. 287 C.]

[b] Homil. xxxi. in ep. ad Hebr.—Homil. xx. in Matth.—Homil. xxviii. in 1 Cor.—Homil. xxi. ad pop. Antioch. εἰς ἀνδριάντας.—Homil. iv. de Lazaro. [The reader may find the passages referred to, at length, in Dallæus de confessione, lib. iv. cap. 25.]

Valentia, and others, strive to find out answers; but they neither agree together, neither do their answers fit the testimonies; as is evident to them that compare the one and the other, the chief of which I have remarked in passing by. The best answers that can be given are those which Latinus Latinius and Petavius give; the first affirming that these homilies 1) are not S. Chrysostom's; or 2) that they are corrupted by heretics; and the latter confessing they are his, but blames S. Chrysostom for preaching such things. And to these answers I hope I shall not need to make any reply: to the two first of Latinus, Vasquez[c] hath answered perfectly; and to that of Petavius there needs none, Petavius instead of answering making himself a judge of S. Chrysostom. I suppose if we had done so in any question against them, they would have taken it in great scorn and indignation; and therefore we choose to follow S. Chrysostom rather than master Petavius.

I do not deny but the Roman doctors do bring many sayings of the Greek and Latin fathers shewing the usefulness of confession to a priest, and exhorting and pressing men to it: but their arts are notorious and evident; and what (according to the discipline of the church at that time) they spake in behalf of the *Exomologesis* or public discipline, that these doctors translate to the private confession; and yet whatever we bring out of antiquity against the necessity of confession to a priest, that they will resolvedly understand only of the public. But besides what hath been said to every of the particulars, I shall conclude this point with the sayings of some eminent men of their own, who have made the same observation, *In hoc labuntur theologi quidam parum attenti, quod quæ veteres illi de hujusmodi publica et generali confessione, quæ nihil aliud erat quam signis quibusdam et piaminibus ab episcopo indictis, se peccatorem et bonorum communione indignum agnoscere, trahunt ad hanc occultam et longe diversi generis:* so Erasmus[d]. And B. Rhenanus[e] says, "Let no man wonder that Tertullian speaks nothing of the secret or clancular confession of sins, which, so far as we conjecture, was bred out of the (old) *Exomologesis* by the unconstrained piety of men; for we do not find it at all commanded of old."

The conclusion of these premises is this: that the old ecclesiastic discipline being passed into desuetude and indevotion, the Latin church especially kept up some little broken planks of it; which so long as charity and devotion were warm, and secular interest had not turned religion into arts, did in some good measure supply the want of the old better discipline; but when it had degenerated into little forms, and yet was found to serve great ends of power, wealth, and ambition, it passed into new doctrines, and is now bold to pretend to

[c] In 3. part. Tho., tom. iv. q. 90. a. 1. dub. 3. n. 31. [p. 173.]

[d] In S. Hieron. epist. ad Oceanum, sive Epitaph. Fabiolæ, [tom. i. f. 204.—fol. Basil. 1526.]

[e] Præfat. in l. Tertull. de pœnit. [p. 11.—fol. Franek. 1597.]

divine institution, though it be nothing but the commandment of men, a snare of consciences, and a ministry of human policy; false in the proposition, and intolerable in the conclusion.

There are divers other instances reducible to this charge, and especially the prohibition of priests' marriage, and the abstinence from flesh at certain times: which are grown up from human ordinances to be established doctrines, that is, to be urged with greater severity than the laws of God; insomuch that the church of Rome permits concubinate and stews at the same time when she will not permit chaste marriages to her clergy. And for abstinence from flesh at times appointed, *Veluti parricida pene dixerim rapitur ad supplicium, qui pro piscium carnibus gustarit carnes suillas.* But I shall not now insist upon these, having so many other things to say, and especially having already in another place[f] verified this charge against them in these instances.—I shall only name one testimony of their own, which is a pregnant mother of many instances; and it is in their own canon law[g]: 'They that voluntarily violate the canons are heavily judged by the holy fathers, and are damned by the Holy Ghost, by whose instinct they were dictated[h]; for they do not incongruously seem to blaspheme the Holy Ghost.' And a little after 'Such a presumption is manifestly one of the kinds of them that blaspheme against the Holy Ghost.' Now if the laws of their church, which are discordant enough[i], and many times of themselves too blameable, be yet by them accounted so sacred that it is taught to be a sin against the Holy Ghost willingly to break them; in the world there cannot be a greater verification of this charge upon them, it being confessed on all hands that 'not every man who voluntarily violates a divine commandment does blaspheme the Holy Ghost.'

[f] 'Rule of Conscience,' lib. iii. c. 4; rule 13, and rule 19 and 20.

[g] Caus. xxv. qu. 1. c. 'Violatores canonum.' [col. 1565.]

[h] Dicati pro dictati.

[i] Vide quæ supra annotavi ex Decreto Gratiani, sect. 1. [p. 371 supra.]

THE

SECOND PART

OF THE

DISSUASIVE FROM POPERY.

THE SECOND BOOK.

§ 1. Of indulgences.

ONE of the great instances to prove the Roman religion to be new, not primitive, not apostolic, is the foolish and unjustifiable doctrine of indulgences. This point I have already handled; so fully and so without contradiction from the Roman doctors (except that they have causelessly snarled at some of the testimonies) that for ought yet appears, that discourse may remain a sufficient reproof of the church of Rome until the day of their reformation. The first testimony I brought is the confession of a party: for I affirmed that bishop Fisher of Rochester did confess that 'in the beginning of the church there was no use of indulgences, and that they began after the people were a while affrighted with the torments of purgatory.' To this there are two answers. The first is, that bishop Fisher said no such words. No? *proferte tabulas.* His words are these[a], "Who can now wonder that in the beginning of the primitive church there was no use of indulgences?" And again, "Indulgences began a while after men trembled at the torments of purgatory." These are the words of Roffensis. What in the world can be plainer? And this is so evident that Alphonsus a Castro[b] thinks himself concerned to answer the objection, and the danger of such concessions; "Neither upon this occasion are indulgences to be despised because their use may seem to be received lately in the church, because there are many things known to posterity which those ancient writers were wholly ignorant of. *Quid ergo mirum si ad hunc modum contigerit de indulgentiis ut apud priscos nulla sit de iis mentio.*" Indeed antiquity was wholly ignorant of these things: and as for their catholic posterity, some of them also did not believe that indulgences did profit any that were dead. Amongst these Hostiensis and Biel[c] were the most noted: but Biel was soon made to alter his opinion; Hostiensis did not, that I find.

The other answer is, by E. W., that 'Roffensis saith it not so absolutely, but with this interrogation, *Quis jam de indulgentiis mi-*

[a] In art. xviii. contr. Luther. [p. 188 supra.]

[b] Lib. viii. adv. hæres. tit. 'Indulgentiæ.' [col. 578.]

[c] Hostiensis in summa, lib. v. tit. 'De remiss.' [num. 9.] Biel in canon. missæ, lect. lvii. [fol. 136 sqq.]—Vide Bellarm., lib. i. c. 14. de Indulg. sect. 'Quod ad primam.' [tom. iii. col. 1548.]

rari potest? who now can wonder concerning indulgences?' Wonder? at what? for E. W. is loth to tell it: but "truth must out." "Who now can wonder that in the beginning of the church there was no use of indulgences?" So Roffensis; which first supposes this, that in the primitive church there was no use of indulgences; none at all. And this, which is the main question here, is as absolutely affirmed as any thing; it is like a precognition to a scientifical discourse. And then the question having presupposed this, does by direct implication say, it is no wonder that there should be then no use of indulgences. That is, it not only absolutely affirms the thing, but by consequence, the notoriety of it, and the reasonableness. Nothing affirms or denies more strongly than a question. "Are not My ways equal," said God, "and are not your ways unequal?" that is, it is evident and notorious that it is so. And by this we understand the meaning of Roffensis in the following words, "Yet (as they say) there was some very ancient use of them among the Romans." 'They say,' that is, there is a talk of it amongst some or other; but such they were whom Roffensis believed not; and that upon which they did ground their fabulous report, was nothing but a ridiculous legend which I have already confuted[d].

The same doctrine is taught by Antoninus, who confesses that concerning them we have nothing expressly either in the scriptures or in the sayings of the ancient doctors. And that he said so cannot be denied, but E. W. says that I omit what Antoninus adds; that is, I did not transcribe his whole book. But what is it that I should have added? This. *Quamvis ad hoc inducatur illud apostoli,* 2 Cor. ii., *Si quid donavi vobis, propter vos in persona Christi.* Now to this there needs no answer but this; that it is nothing to the purpose. To whom the Corinthians forgave any thing, to the same person S. Paul for their sakes did forgive also. But what then? therefore the pope and his clergy have power to take off the temporal punishments which God reserves upon sinners after He hath forgiven them the temporal? and that the church hath power to forgive sins before hand, and to set a price upon the basest crimes and not to forgive, but to sell indulgences? and lay up the supernumerary treasures of the saints' good works, and issue them out by retail in the market of purgatory? Because S. Paul caused the Corinthians to be absolved and restored to the church's peace after a severe penance, so great that the poor man was in danger of being swallowed up with despair and the subtilties of Satan; does this prove that therefore all penances may be taken off when there is no such danger, no such pious and charitable consideration? And yet besides the inconsequence of all this, S. Paul gave no indulgence but what the christian church of Corinth (in which at that time there was no bishop) did first give themselves. Now the indulgence which the people give

[d] Dissuasive, part i. sect. 3. [p. 188 above.]

will prove but little warrant to what the church of Rome pretends; not only for the former reasons, but also because the primitive church had said nothing expressly concerning indulgences, and therefore did not to any such purpose expound the words of S. Paul; but also because Antoninus himself was not moved by those words to think they meant any thing of the Roman indulgences, but mentions it as the argument of other persons. Just as if I should write that there is concerning Transubstantiation nothing expressly said in the scriptures, or in the writings of the ancient fathers, although *Hoc est corpus meum* be brought in for it: would any man in his wits say that I am of the opinion that in scripture there is something express for it, though I expressly deny it? I suppose not.

It appears now that Roffensis and à Castro declared against the antiquity of indulgences; their own words are the witnesses; and the same is also true of Antoninus; and therefore the first discourse of Indulgences in the Dissuasive might have gone on prosperously and needed not to have been interrupted. For if these quotations be true as is pretended, and as now appears, there is nothing by my adversaries said in defence of indulgences, no pretence of an argument in justification of them; the whole matter is so foul, and yet so notorious, that the novelty of it is plainly acknowledged by their most learned men and but faintly denied by the bolder people that care not what they say. So that I shall account the main point of indulgences to be (for ought yet appears to the contrary) gained against the church of Rome.

and pilgrimages. But there is another appendent question that happens in by the by; nothing to the main enquiry, but a particular instance of the usual ways of earning indulgences, viz., by going in pilgrimages; which very particularly I affirmed[e] to be reproved by the ancient fathers: and particularly by S. Gregory Nyssen, in a book or epistle of his written wholly on this subject, (so I said) and so Possevine calls it, *librum contra peregrinationes*, 'the book against pilgrimages.' The epistle is large and learned, and greatly dissuasive of Christians from going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. *Dominus profectionem in Hierosolyma inter recte facta quæ eo (viz. ad regni cœlorum hæreditatem consequendam) dirigant, non enumeravit; ubi beatitudinem annunciat, tale studium talemque operam non est complexus.* And again, *Spiritualem noxam affricat accuratum vitæ genus insistentibus; non est ista tanto digna studio, imo est vitanda*[f] *summo opere.* And if this was directed principally to such persons who had chosen to live a solitary and private life; yet that was because such strict and religious persons were those whose false show of piety he did in that instance reprove; but he reproves it by such arguments all the way as concern all Christians, but especially women; and answers to an objection made against himself for going,

[e] [p. 192 above.]

[f] [Sed vid. loc.]

which he says he did by command, and public charge, and for the service of the Arabian churches, and that he might confer with the bishops of Palestine. This epistle of S. Gregory Nyssen *De adeuntibus Hierosolyma* was printed at Paris in Greek by Guilielmus Morellus, and again published in Greek and Latin with a double version by Peter du Moulin, and is acknowledged by Baronius[g] to be legitimate; and therefore there is no denying the truth of the quotation; the author of the letter had better to have rubbed his forehead hard, and to have answered as Possevine[h] did, *Ab hæreticis prodiit liber sub nomine Gregorii Nysseni;* and Bellarmine[i] being pinched with it, says, *Forte non est Nysseni;..nec scitur quis illam verterit in sermonem Latinum, et forte etiam Græce non invenitur.* All which is refuted by their own parties.

That S. Chrysostom[k] was of the same judgment appears plainly in these few words. *Namque ad impetrandum nostris sceleribus veniam, non pecunias impendere nec aliud aliquid hujusmodi facere: sola sufficit bonæ voluntatis integritas: non opus est in longinqua peregrinando transire, nec ad remotissimas ire nationes*[l], *&c.* S. Chrysostom, according to the sense of the other fathers, teaches a religion and repentance wholly reducing us to a good life, a service perfectly consisting in the works of a good conscience: and in the exclusion of other external things, he reckons this of pilgrimages; for how travelling into foreign countries for pardon of our crimes differs from pilgrimages, I have not been yet taught.

The last I mentioned is S. Bernard; his words[m] are these, "It is not necessary for thee to pass over sea, to penetrate the clouds, to go beyond the Alps; there is, I say, no great journey proposed to you; meet God within yourself, for the word is nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart," &c.; so the author of the 'Letter[n]' acknowledges S. Bernard to have said in the place quoted. Yea, but says this objector, 'I might as well have quoted Moses, Deut. xiii. 14.' Well, what if I had quoted Moses, had it been ever the worse? But though I did not, yet S. Bernard quoted Moses, and that it seems troubled this gentleman. But S. Bernard's words are indeed agreeable to the words of Moses, but not all out[o] the same: for Moses made no prohibition of going to Rome, which I suppose S. Bernard meant by *transalpinare.*

There remains in A. L.[p] yet one cavil, but it is a question of diligence, and not to the point in hand. The authority of S. Austin I

[g] Tom. iv. ad A.D. CCCLXXXVI. num. 39. [p. 454.]

[h] [Sed vide Possev. in Greg. Nyss., tom. i. p. 682.—fol. Col. Agr. 1608.]

[i] Lib. iii. de cultu SS. cap. 8. sect. 'Ad Magdeburgenses.' [tom. ii. col. 1087.]

[k] 1 Homil. in Philem. [see p. 192 above.]

[l] [Letter of] A. L. p. 9. n. 23.

[m] Non oportet o homo maria transfretare, non penetrare nubes, non transalpinare necesse est: non grandis inquam tibi ostenditur via; usque temet ipsum occurrere Deo tuo. [p. 192 above.]

[n] A. L. ibid., p. 9. num. 24.

[o] [sic ed.]

[p] Ibid., num. 25.

marked under the title of his sermon *De martyribus;* but the gentleman to shew his learning tells us plainly that "there is but one in S. Austin's works with that title, to wit his CXVII. sermon *De diversis,* and in that there is not the least word to any such purpose." All this latter part may be true, but the first is a great mistake; for if the gentleman please to look in the Paris edition of S. Austin MDLXXI. *tom.* X. *p.* 277, he shall find the words I have quoted. And whereas he talks of CXVII. sermons *De diversis,* and of one only sermon *De martyribus,* I do a little wonder at him to talk so confidently; whereas in the edition I speak of, and which I followed, there are but XLIX. sermons, and XVII. under the title *De diversis,* and yet there are six sermons that bear the title *De martyribus,* but they are to be found under the title *De sanctis;* so that the gentleman looked in the wrong place for his quotation, and if he had not mistaken himself he could have had no colour for an objection. But for the satisfaction of the reader, the words are these in his third sermon *De martyribus diversis*[q]*; Non dixit, Vade in orientem et quære justitiam, naviga usque ad occidentem ut accipias indulgentiam: dimitte inimico tuo et dimittetur tibi, indulge et indulgebitur tibi, da et dabitur tibi; nihil a te extra te quærit; ad teipsum et ad conscientiam tuam te Deus dirigit, in te enim posuit quod requirit.* But now let it be considered that all those charges which are laid against the church of Rome and her greatest doctors respectively in the matter of indulgences are found to be true; and if so, let the world judge whether that doctrine and those practices be tolerable in a christian church.

But that the reader may not be put off with a mere defence of four quotations, I shall add this; that I might have instanced in worse matters made by the popes of Rome to be the pious works, the condition of obtaining indulgences. Such as was the bull of pope Julius the second, giving indulgence to him that meeting a Frenchman should kill him[r], and another for the killing of a Venetian. But we need not to wonder at it, since according to the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas[s], "We ought to say that in the pope is the fulness of all graces; because he alone bestows a full indulgence of all our sins; so that what we say of our chief Prince and Lord (viz., Jesus Christ) does fit him, for we all have received of his fulness." Which words, besides that they are horrid blasphemy, are also a fit principle of the doctrine and use of indulgences to those purposes and in that evil manner we complain of in the church of Rome.

I desire this only instance may be added to it, that pope Paul the third, he that convened the council of Trent, and Julius the third, for fear (as I may suppose) the council should forbid any more such

[q] [tom. v. append. col. 371 G.]

[r] [vid. concil. Later. v. sess. 3.—tom. ix. col. 1629.]

[s] De regimine principum, lib. iii. cap. 10. inter opuscula, num. xx. [p. 314 C.]

follies, for a farewell to this game gave an indulgence[t] to the fraternity of the sacrament of the altar, or of the blessed body of our Lord Jesus Christ, of such a vastness and unreasonable folly, that it puts us beyond the question of religion, to an enquiry whether it were not done either in perfect distraction, or with a worse design to make religion to be ridiculous, and expose it to a contempt and scorn. The conditions of the indulgence are either to visit the church of S. Hilary of Chartres, to say a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave Mary* every Friday, or at most to be present at processions and other divine service upon *Corpus Christi* day. The gift is as many privileges, indults, exemptions, liberties, immunities, plenary pardon of sins and other spiritual graces, as were given to the fraternity of the image of our Saviour *ad sancta sanctorum;* the fraternity of the charity and great hospital of S. James[u] in Augusta, of S. John baptist, of S. Cosmas and Damianus of the Florentine nation, of the hospital of the Holy Ghost in Saxia, of the order of S. Austin and S. Champ[v], of the fraternities of the said city; of the churches of our lady *de populo et de verbo*[w]: and all those which were ever given to them that visited these churches; or those which should be ever given hereafter: a pretty large gift; in which there were so many pardons, quarter-pardons, half-pardons, true pardons, plenary pardons, quarentanes, and years of quarentanes[x]; that it is a harder thing to number them, than to purchase them.—I shall remark in these some particulars fit to be considered;—

1. That a most scandalous and unchristian dissolution and death of all ecclesiastical discipline is consequent to the making all sin so cheap and trivial a thing, that the horrible demerits and exemplary punishment and remotion of scandal and satisfactions to the church are indeed reduced to trifling and mock-penances. He that shall send a servant with a candle[y] to attend the holy sacrament when it shall be carried to sick people, or shall go himself, or if he can neither go nor send, if he say a *Pater Noster* and an *Ave*, he shall have a hundred years of 'true pardon:' this is fair and easy; but then,

2. It would be considered what is meant by so many years of pardon, and so many years of 'true pardon.' I know but of one natural interpretation of it, and that it can mean nothing but that some of the pardons are but fantastical and not true; and in this I find no fault, save only that it ought to have been said that all of them are fantastical.

3. It were fit we learned how to compute four thousand and eight

[t] Impress. Paris. [? Chartres.] per Philippum Hotot. 1550. [in Bullario in A.D. 1539.—tom. iv. part. i. p. 169.]

[u] ['necnon Caritatis, et Archiepiscopalis S. Jacobi,' &c.]

[v] ['Campi sancti.']

[w] [leg. 'De urbe.'—Taylor read this account (with its mistakes) in Ranchin's 'Review of the Council of Trent,' (Engl. transl.) as quoted, note z, below.]

[x] [See p. 232, note u, above.]

[y] ['Review,' &c., p. 120.]

hundred years of quarentanes; and remission of a third part of all their sins; for so much is given to every brother and sister of this fraternity, upon Easter-day and eight days after. Now if a brother needs not thus many, it would be considered whether it do not encourage a brother or a frail sister to use all their medicine and to sin more freely, lest so great a gift become useless.

4. And this is so much the more considerable because the gift is vast beyond all imagination. The first four days in Lent they may purchase thirty-three thousand years of pardon, besides a plenary remission of all his sins over and above: the first week of Lent, a hundred and three and thirty thousand years of pardon, besides five plenary remissions of all their sins, and two third parts besides, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory: the second week in Lent a hundred and eight and fifty thousand years of pardon, besides the remission of all their sins, and a third part besides, and the delivery of one soul: the third week in Lent, eighty thousand years besides a plenary remission, and the delivery of one soul out of purgatory: the fourth week in Lent, threescore thousand years of pardon, besides a remission of two-thirds of all their sins, and one plenary remission, and one soul delivered: the fifth week, seventy-nine thousand years of pardon and the deliverance of two souls; only the two thousand seven hundred years that is given for the Sunday may be had twice that day, if they will visit the altar twice; and as many quarentanes: the sixth week, two hundred and five thousand years, besides quarentanes, and four plenary pardons; only on Palm sunday, whose portion is twenty-five thousand years, it may be had twice that day. And all this is the price of him that shall upon these days visit the altar in the church of S. Hilary. And this runs on to the fridays, and many festivals and other solemn days in the other parts of the year.

5. Though it may be that a brother may not need all this, at least, at that time, yet that there may be no insecurity, the said popes give to every brother and sister of the fraternity plenary pardon and indulgence of all their sins thrice in their life, upon what day and hour they please. I suppose that one of the times shall be in the article of death; for that's the surest way for a weak brother. I have read that the popes do not only give remission of sins already committed, but also of such as are to be committed[z]. But whether it be so or no, there is in the bulls of this fraternity as good provision; for he that hath a dormant faculty for a plenary pardon laying[a] by him to be used at what hour he please, hath a bull before hand for pardon of sins afterwards to be committed when he hath a mind to it.

6. To what purpose is so much waste of the treasure of the church? *Quorsum perditio hæc?* Every brother or sister of this fraternity may have for so many times visiting the altar aforesaid

[z] Vide Revieu du concile de Trent, lib. v. c. 1. [p. 112.]

[a] [sic ed.]

fourteen or fifteen plenary pardons. Certainly the popes suppose these persons to be mighty criminals, that they need so many pardons, so many plenaries. But two 'alls' of the same thing is as much as two 'nothings.' But if there were not infinite causes of fear that very many of them were nullities, and that none of them were of any certain avail, there could be no pretence of reasonableness in dispensing these jewels with so loose a hand, and useless a freedom, as if a man did shovel mustard or pour hogsheads of vinegar into his friend's mouth, to make him swallow a mouthful of herbs.

7. What is the secret meaning of it that in divers clauses in these bulls of indulgences[b] they put in this clause, a pardon of all their sins 'be they never so heinous'? The extraordinary cases reserved to the pope, and the consequent difficulty of getting pardon of such great sins, because it would cost much more money, was or might be some little restraint to some persons from running easily into the most horrible impieties; but to give such a loose to this little, and this last rein and curb; and by an easy indulgence to take off all even the most heinous sins, what is it but to give the devil an argument to tempt persons that have any conscience or fear left, to throw off all fear, and to stick at nothing.

8. It seems hard to give a reasonable account what is meant by giving a plenary pardon of all their sins, and yet at the same time an indulgence of twelve thousand years, and as many quarentanes: it seems the bounty of the church runs out of a conduit; though the vessels be full, yet the water still continues running and goes into waste.

9. In this great heap of indulgences (and so it is in very many other) power is given to a lay sister or brother to free a soul from purgatory. But if this be so easily granted, the necessity of masses will be very little; what need is there to give greater fees to a physician when a sick person may be cured with a posset and pepper? The remedy of the way of indulgences is cheap and easy, a servant with a candle, a *Pater* and an *Ave*, a going to visit an altar, wearing the scapular of the Carmelites, or the cord of S. Francis[c]: but masses for souls are a dear commodity, five-pence or six-pence is the least a mass will cost in some places; nay it will stand in nine-pence in other places. But then if the pope can do this trick certainly, then what can be said to John Gerson's[d] question,

> Arbitrio papa proprio si clavibus uti
> Possit, cur sinit ut pœna pios cruciet?
> Cur non evacuat loca purgandis animabus
> Tradita?

The answer makes up the tetrastich,

> —sed servus esse fidelis amat.

The pope may be kind, but he must be wise too; a faithful and

[b] Bull. Julii iii. de an. Jubilei, [et sæpius.] [c] [See p. 423 above.]
[d] [De indulg.—opp. part. ii. col. 355.]

wise steward; he must not destroy the whole state of the purging church; if he takes away all the fuel from the fire, who shall make the pot boil? This may not be done, *ut possint superesse quos peccasse pœniteat;* sinners must pay for it, in their bodies or their purses.

§ 2. Of purgatory.

THAT the doctrine of purgatory as it is taught in the Roman church is a novelty, and a part of their new religion, is sufficiently attested by the words of the cardinal of Rochester, and Alphonsus a Castro; whose words I now add, that he who pleases may see how these new men would fain impose their new fancies upon the church, under pretence and title of ancient and catholic verities. The words of Roffensis[e] in his eighteenth article against Luther are these[f], *Legat qui velit Græcorum veterum commentarios, et nullum quantum opinor, aut quam rarissimum de purgatorio sermonem inveniet: sed neque Latini simul omnes, at sensim, hujus rei veritatem conceperunt,* 'he that pleases let him read the commentaries of the old Greeks, and (as I suppose) he shall find none, or very rare mention (or speech) of purgatory: but neither did all the Latins at one time, but by little and little conceive the truth of this thing.' And again, *Aliquamdiu incognitum fuit, sero cognitum universæ ecclesiæ; deinde quibusdam pedetentim, partim ex scripturis, partim ex revelationibus, creditum fuit,* 'for somewhile it was unknown, it was but lately known to the catholic church: then it was believed by some, by little and little; partly from scripture, partly from revelations.' And this is the goodly ground of the doctrine of purgatory, founded no question upon tradition apostolical; delivered some hundreds of years indeed after they were dead; but the truth is, because it was forgotten by the apostles, and they having so many things in their heads when they were alive wrote and said nothing of it, therefore they took care to send some from the dead who by new

e [See p. 195 above.]

f 'A letter to a friend touching Dr. Taylor,' sect. 4. n. 26. p. 10; which if the reader please for his curiosity or his recreation to see, he shall find this pleasant passage, of deep learning and subtle observation, "Dr. Tay. had said that Roffensis and P. V. affirm, that whoso searcheth the writings of the Greek fathers, shall find that none, or very rarely any one of them ever makes mention of purgatory. Whereas Pol. Vergil affirms no such thing; nor doth Roffensis say that very rarely any one of them mentions it, but only that in those ancient writers, he shall find none, or but very rare mention of it." If this man were in his wits when he made this answer (an answer which no man can unriddle, or tell how it opposes the objection) then it is very certain that if this can pass among the answers to the protestants' objections, the papists are in a very great strait, and have very little to say for themselves: and the 'Letter to a friend' was written by compulsion, and by the shame of confutation; not of conscience or ingenuous persuasion. No man can be so foolish as to suppose this fit to be given in answer to any sober discourse; or if there be such pitiful people in the church of Rome, and trusted to write books in defence of their religion; it seems they care not what any man say or proves against them, if the people be but cosened with a pretended answer; for that serves the turn as well as a wiser.

revelations should teach this old doctrine. This we may conjecture to be the equivalent sense of the plain words of Roffensis. But the plain words are sufficient without a commentary.

Now for Polydore Vergil[g], his own words can best tell what he says. The words I have put into the margent because they are many; the sense of them is this. 1. He finds no use of indulgences before the stations of S. Gregory; the consequent of that is, that all the Latin fathers did not receive them before S. Gregory's time; and therefore they did not receive them altogether. 2. The matter being so obscure, Polydore chose to express his sense in the testimony of Roffensis. 3. From him he affirms that the use of indulgences is but new, and lately received amongst Christians. 4. That there is no certainty concerning their original. 5. They report that amongst the ancient Latins there was some use of them; but it is but a report, for he knows nothing of it before S. Gregory's time, and for that also he hath but a mere report. 6. Amongst the Greeks it is not to this day believed. 7. As long as there was no care of purgatory, no man looked after indulgences; because if you take away purgatory, there is no need of indulgences. 8. That the use of indulgences began after men had a while trembled at the torments of purgatory.—This if I understand Latin or common sense, is the doctrine of Polydore Vergil; and to him I add also the testimony of Alphonsus a Castro[h]; *De purgatorio fere nulla mentio, potissimum apud Græcos scriptores; qua de causa usque hodiernum diem purgatorium non est a Græcis creditum.* The consequent of these things is this: If purgatory was not known to the primitive church; if it was but lately known to the catholic church; if the fathers seldom or never make mention of it; if in the Greek church especially there was so great silence of it that to this very day it is not believed amongst the Greeks; then this doctrine was not an apostolical doctrine, not primitive nor catholic, but an innovation and of yesterday.

[g] Lib. viii. cap. 1. de invent. rerum. [p. 475.—12mo. Amstel. (Elzev.) 1671.] Ego vero originem, quod mei est muneris, quæritans, non reperio ante fuisse, quod sciam, quam D. Gregorius ad suas stationes id præmii proposuerit. Quapropter in re parum perspicua utar testimonio Ioannis Roffensis episcopi, qui in eo opere quod nuper in Lutherum scripsit, sic de ejusmodi veniarum initio prodit: multos fortasse movet indulgentiis istis non usque adeo fidere, quod earum usus in ecclesia videatur recentior, et admodum sero apud christianos repertus: quibus ego respondeo, non certo constare, a quo primum tradi cœperint: fuit tamen nonnullus earum usus, ut aiunt, apud Romanos vetustissimus, quod ex stationibus intelligi potest. Et subjicit: Nemo certe dubitat orthodoxus an purgatorium sit, de quo tamen apud priscos nulla vel quam rarissima fiebat mentio: sed et Græcis ad hunc usque diem non est creditum esse: quamdiu enim nulla fuerat de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsivit indulgentias: nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? Cœperunt igitur indulgentiæ, postquam ad purgatorii cruciatus aliquandiu trepidatum est.

[h] Lib. viii. verb. 'Indulg.' vide etiam lib. xii. 'Purgatorium.' [pp. 578, 888.]

Purgatory not a consequent to the doctrine of prayer for the dead.

And this is of itself (besides all these confessions of their own parties) a suspicious matter, because the church of Rome does establish their doctrine of purgatory upon the ancient use of the church of praying for the dead. But this consequence of theirs is wholly vain; because all the fathers did pray for the dead, yet they never prayed for their deliverance out of purgatory, nor ever meant it. To this it is thus objected[i], 'It is confessed that they prayed for them that God would shew them a mercy: now mark well; if they be in heaven, they have a mercy, the sentence is given for eternal happiness: if in hell, they are wholly destitute of mercy; unless there be a third place where mercy can be shewed them.' I have according to my order 'marked it well,' but find nothing in it to purpose. For though the fathers prayed for the souls departed that God would shew them mercy, yet it was that God would shew them mercy in the day of judgment; 'in that formidable and dreadful day, then there is need of much mercy unto us,' saith S. Chrysostom. And methinks this gentleman should not have made use of so pitiful an argument, and would not, if he had considered that S. Paul[k] prayed for Onesiphorus, that 'God would shew him a mercy in that day;' that is in the day of judgment, as generally interpreters ancient and modern do understand it, and particularly S. Chrysostom now cited. The faithful departed are in the hands of Christ as soon as they die, and they are very well; and the souls of the wicked are where it pleases God to appoint them to be, tormented by a fearful expectation of the revelation of the day of judgment; but heaven and hell are reserved till the day of judgment; and the devils themselves are 'reserved in chains of darkness unto the judgment of the great day,' saith S. Jude[l]; and in that day they shall be sentenced, and so shall all the wicked, to everlasting fire, which as yet is but prepared for the devil and his angels for ever. But is there no mercy to be shewed to them unless they be in purgatory? Some of the ancients speak of visitation of angels to be imparted to the souls departed; and the hastening of the day of judgment is a mercy; and the avenging of the martyrs upon their adversaries is a mercy for which the 'souls under the altar pray,' saith S. John in the Revelation[m]: and the Greek fathers speak of a fiery trial at the day of judgment through which every one must pass; and there will be great need of mercy. And after all this, there is a remission of sins proper to this world, when God so pardons that He gives the grace of repentance, that He takes His judgments off from us, that He gives us His holy spirit to mortify our sins, that He admits us to work in His laboratory, that He sustains us by His power, and promotes us by His grace, and stands by us favourably while we work out our salvation with

[i] E. W. 'Truth will out,' cap. 3. p. 23.
[k] [2 Tim. i. 18.]
[l] [verse 6.]
[m] [ch. vi. 9 sqq.]

fear and trembling; and at last He crowns us with perseverance. But at the day of judgment there shall be a pardon of sins that will crown this pardon; when God shall pronounce us pardoned before all the world; and when Christ shall actually and presentially rescue us from all the pains which our sins have deserved, even from everlasting pain: and that's the final pardon, for which till it be accomplished all the faithful do night and day pray incessantly: although to many for whom they do pray, they friendly believe that it is now certain that they shall then be glorified. *Sæpissime petuntur illa quæ certo sciuntur eventura ut petuntur, et hujus rei plurima sunt testimonia*[n], said Alphonsus a Castro[o]; and so also Medina[p] and Bellarmine[q] acknowledge. The thing is true, they say; but if it were not, yet we find that *de facto* they do pray, *Domine Jesu Christe, rex gloriæ, libera animas fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni et de profundo lacu: libera eos de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eos tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum.* So it is in the masses *pro defunctis*[r]. And therefore this gentleman talking that in heaven all is remitted, and in hell nothing is forgiven, and from hence to conclude that there is no avoiding of purgatory; is too hasty a conclusion: let him stay till he comes to heaven, and the final sentence is past, and then he will (if he finds it to be so) have reason to say what he does; but by that time the dream of purgatory will be out; and in the mean time let him strive to understand his mass-book better. S. Austin thought he had reason to pray for pardon and remission for his mother, for the reasons already expressed, though he never thought his mother was in purgatory. It was upon consideration of the dangers of every soul that dies in Adam; and yet he affirms she was even before her death alive unto Christ, and therefore she did not die miserable: nor did she die at all (said her son); [s]*Hoc et documentis ejus morum, et fide non ficta, rationibusque certis tenebamus;* and when he did pray for her, *Credo jam feceris quod Te rogo, sed voluntaria oris mei approba Domine.* Which will yet give another answer to this confident gentleman; S. Austin prayed for pardon for his mother: and did 'believe the thing was done already, but he prayed to God to approve that voluntary oblation of his mouth.' So that now all the objection is vanished; S. Austin prayed (besides many other reasons) to manifest his kindness, not for any need she had. But after all this, was not S. Monica a saint? is she not put in the Roman calendar, and the fourth of May appointed for her festival? and do saints, do canonized persons use to go to purgatory? But let it be as it will, I only desire that this be remembered against a good time,

[n] [See Dan. ix.]

[o] Contr. hæres., lib. xii. tit. 'Purgatorium,' [col. 895.]

[p] Jo. Medina de pœnit., tract. vi. q. 6. Cod. de oratione. [p. 354.]

[q] Bellar. de purgat., lib. ii. cap. 5. [tom. ii. col. 787.]

[r] Vide missam in commemorationem omnium defunctorum. [fol. xciii.]

[s] Confess., lib. ix. cap. 12, 13. [tom. i. coll. 168, 170.]

that here it is confessed that prayers were offered for a saint departed. I fear it will be denied by and by.

The fathers made prayers for those whom they believed not to be in purgatory.

But secondly, the fathers made prayers for those who by the confession of all sides never were in purgatory; for the patriarchs, apostles, &c., and especially for the blessed virgin Mary; this which is a direct and perfect overthrow of the Roman doctrine of purgatory, and therefore if it can be made good, they have no probability left, upon the confidence of which they can plausibly pretend to purgatory: I have already offered something in proof of this, which I shall now review, and confirm fully. I begin with that of Durantus[t], whom I alleged as confessing that they 'offered[u]' for the patriarchs, and prophets, and the blessed Virgin: I intend him for no more; for true it is, he denies that the church prayed for them, but that they communicated and offered sacrifice for them, even for the blessed virgin Mary herself, this he grants. I have alleged him a little out of the order, because observing where Durantus and the Roman doctors are mistaken, and with what boldness they say that 'offering' for them is only 'giving thanks,' and that the Greek fathers did only offer for them eucharists, but no prayers; I thought it fit first to reprove that initial error, viz., that *communicantes et offerentes pro sanctis* is not prayer; and then to make it clear that they did really pray, for mercy, for pardon, for a place of rest, for eternal glory for them who never were in purgatory. For it is a great ignorance to suppose that when it is said 'the sacrifice or oblation is offered,' it must mean only thanksgiving. For it is called in S. Dionys, εὐχαριστήριος εὐχή, 'an eucharistical prayer;' and the Lord's supper is a sacrifice *in genere orationis*, and by themselves is intended as propitiatory for the quick and dead. And S. Cyprian[x] speaking of bishops being made executors of testaments, saith, *Si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur; neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece, qui ab altari sacerdotes .. avocare voluit.* Where *offerre* and *celebrare sacrificium pro dormitione* is done *sacerdotum prece*, it is the oblation and sacrifice of prayer; and S. Cyprian presently after joins them together, *pro dormitione ejus oblatio aut deprecatio.* And if we look at the forms in the old Roman liturgy used in the days of pope Innocent the third, we shall find this well expounded, *Prosit huic sancto vel illi talis oblatio ad gloriam;* they offered, but the offering itself was not eucharistical but deprecatory. And so it is also in the Armenian liturgy[y] published at Cracow, *Per hanc etiam*

[t] Letter, p. 11. n. 31.

[u] 'But then it is to be remembered that they made prayers, and offered, for those who by the confession of all sides never were in purgatory: so we find in Epiphanius, S. Cyril, the canon of the Greeks, and so (viz. that they offered) is acknowledged by their own Durantus,' (Dissuasive, p. 27. line 30, &c.) lib. ii. de ritibus, cap. 35. [p. 619.]

[x] Lib. i. epist. 9. [al. i. p. 3.]

[y] [Le Brun, explication de la messe, tom. v. p. 287.—8vo. Par. 1778.]

oblationem da æternam pacem omnibus qui nos præcesserunt in fide Christi, sanctis patribus, patriarchis, apostolis, prophetis, martyribus, &c., which testimony does not only evince that the offering sacrifices and oblations for the saints did signify praying for them; but that this they did for all saints whatsoever. And concerning S. Chrysostom, that which Sixtus Senensis[z] says is material to this very purpose. *Et in liturgia divini sacrificii ab eo edita, et in variis homiliis ab eodem approbata, conscripsit formulam precandi et offerendi pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, et præcipue pro animabus beatorum, in hæc verba, Offerrimus tibi rationalem hunc cultum pro in fide requiescentibus patribus, patriarchis, prophetis, apostolis . . et martyribus, &c.* By which confession it is acknowledged not only that the church prayed for apostles and martyrs, but that they intended to do so when they offered the sacramental oblations; and *offerimus* is *offerimus tibi preces.* Now since it is so, I had advantage enough in the confession of their own Durantus, that he acknowledged so much, that the church offered sacrifice for saints.—Now though he presently kicked this down with his foot, and denied that they prayed for saints departed, I shall yet more clearly convince him and all the Roman contradictors of their bold and unreasonable error in this affair.

1) Epiphanius[a] is the first I mentioned as a witness, but because I cited no words of his, and my adversaries have cited them for me, but imperfectly, and left out the words where the argument lies, I shall set them down at length. Καὶ γὰρ δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, κ.τ.λ., 'we make mention of the just and of sinners: for sinners, that we may implore the mercy of God for them; for the just, the fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, evangelists and martyrs, confessors, bishops and anachorets, that prosecuting the Lord Jesus Christ with a singular honour, we separate these from the rank of other men, and give due worship to His divine majesty, while we account that He is not to be made equal to mortal men, κἂν τε μυρία καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὑπάρχῃ ἕκαστος ἀνθρώπων, although they had a thousand times more righteousness than they have.' Now first, here is mention made of all in their prayers and oblations, and yet no mention made that the church prays for one sort and only gives thanks for the other, as these gentlemen the objectors falsely pretend[b]. But here is a double separation made of the righteous departed; one is from the worser sort of sinners, the other from the most righteous Saviour. True it is, they believed they had more need to pray for some than for others; but if they did not pray for all, when they made mention of all, how did they honour Christ by separating their condition from His? is it not lawful to give thanks for the life and death, for the resurrection, holiness and glorification of Christ? and if the church only gave thanks for the departed saints, and did not pray for

[z] Lib. vi. biblioth., annot. 47. [p. 756.]
[a] Hær. lxxv. [p. 195 above.].
[b] 'Letter,' p. 10; 'Truth will out,' p. 25.

mercy for them too, how are not the saints in this made equal to Christ? So that I think the testimony of Epiphanius is clear and pertinent. To which greater light is given by the words of S. Austin[c], "Who is he for whom no man prays, but only he who intercedes for all men?" viz., our blessed Lord. And there is more light yet, by the example of S. Austin, who though he did most certainly believe his mother to be a saint, and the church of Rome believes so too, yet he prayed for pardon for her. Now by this it was that Epiphanius separated Christ from the saints departed, for he could not mean any thing else; and because he was then writing against Aërius who did not deny it to be lawful to give God thanks for the saints departed, but affirmed it to be needless to pray for them, viz., he must mean this of the church's praying for all her dead, or else he had said nothing against his adversary, or for his own cause.

2) S. Cyril[d], though he be confidently denied[e] to have said what he did say, yet is confessed to have said these words, "Then we pray for the deceased fathers and bishops, and finally for all who among us have departed this life; believing it to be a very great help of the souls for which is offered the obsecration of the holy and dreadful sacrifice." If S. Cyril means what his words signify, then the church did pray for departed saints; for they prayed for all the departed fathers and bishops, it is hard if amongst them there were no saints: but suppose that, yet if there were any saints at all that died out of the militant church, yet the case is the same; for they prayed for all the departed: and secondly, they offered the dreadful sacrifice for them all; thirdly, they offered it for all in the way of prayer; and fourthly, they believed this to be a great help to souls. Now unless the souls of all saints that died then, went to purgatory (which I am sure the Roman doctors dare not own), the case is plain that prayer, and not thanksgivings only, were offered by the ancient church for souls who by the confession of all sides never went to purgatory; and therefore praying for the dead is but a weak argument to prove purgatory. Nicolaus Cabasilas[f] hath an evasion from all this, as he supposes, 'for ὑπὲρ, which is the word used in the memorials of saints, does not always signify praying for one, but it may signify giving of thanks.' This is true, but it is to no purpose; for whenever it is said δεόμεθα ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖνα, 'we pray for such a one,' that must signify to pray for, and not to give thanks, and that's our present case: and therefore no escape here can be made; the words of S. Cyril are very plain.

3) The third allegation is of the canon of the Greeks; which is so plain, evident, and notorious, and so confessed even by these gentlemen the objectors, that I will be tried by the words which the

[c] In psal. xxxvi. conc. 2. [tom. iv. col. 277 D.]
[d] Mystag. catech. v. [p. 195 above.]
[e] A. L., p. 11.
[f] [Liturg. expos., cap. x.—In bibl. vett. patr. Gr. Lat., tom. ii. p. 211 E.—fol. Paris. 1624.]

author of the letter acknowledges. So it is in the liturgy of S. James, "Remember all orthodox from Abel the just unto this day, make them to rest in the land of the living, in Thy kingdom, and the delights of paradise." Thus far this gentleman quoted S. James, and I wonder that he should urge a conclusion manifestly contrary to his own allegation. Did all the orthodox from Abel to that day go to purgatory? Certainly Abraham, and Moses, and Elias, and the blessed Virgin did not, and S. Stephen did not, and the apostles that died before this liturgy was made did not, and yet the church prayed for all orthodox, 'prayed that they might rest in the land of the living,' &c., and therefore they prayed for such which by the confession of all sides never went to purgatory. In the other liturgies also the gentleman sets down words enough to confute himself, as the reader may see in the letter if it be worth the reading[g]. But because he sets down what he list, and makes breaches and rabbit holes to pop in as he please, I shall for the satisfaction of the reader set down the full sense and practice of the Greek canon in this question.

And first for S. James his liturgy, which, being merrily disposed and dreaming of advantage by it, he is pleased to call the mass of S. James, Sixtus Senensis[h] gives this account of it; "James the apostle in the liturgy of the divine sacrifice prays[i] for the souls of saints resting in Christ, so that he shews they are not yet arrived at the place of expected blessedness. But the form of the prayer is after this manner, *Domine Deus noster, &c.* O Lord our God, remember all the orthodox and them that believe rightly in the faith[k], from Abel the just unto this day. Make them to rest in the region of the living, in Thy kingdom, in the delights of paradise, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob our holy fathers; from whence are banished grief, sorrow and sighing, where the light of Thy countenance is president and perpetually shines."

In the liturgy of S. Basil[l] which he is said to have made for the churches of Syria, is this prayer, "Be mindful, O Lord, of them which are dead and departed out of this life, and of the orthodox bishops which from Peter and James the apostles unto this day have clearly professed the right word of faith, and namely, of Ignatius, Dionysius, Julius and the rest of the saints of worthy memory." Nay, not only for these, but they pray for the very martyrs, "O Lord, remember them who have resisted (or stood) unto blood for religion, and have fed Thy holy flock with righteousness and holiness." Certainly this is not giving of thanks for them, or praying to them, but a direct praying for them, even for holy bishops, confessors, martyrs,

[g] [But see note on p. 286 above.]

[h] Biblioth. sanct., lib. vi. annot. 345. sect. 'Jacob. apostolus.' [p. 963.]

[i] ['ita precatur.']

[k] ['Orthodoxorum et recte de fide sentientium.']

[l] Basilii ἀναφορὰ ab Andrea Masio ex Syriaco conversa. [apud Renaudot. liturg. orient., tom. ii. p. 557. 4to. Paris. 1716.]

that God (meaning in much mercy) would remember them, that is, make them to rest in the bosom of Abraham, in the region of the living, as S. James expresses it.

And in the liturgies of the churches of Egypt[m] attributed to S. Basil, Greg. Naz., and S. Cyril, the churches pray, "Be mindful, O Lord, of Thy saints, vouchsafe to receive all Thy saints which have pleased Thee from the beginning, our holy fathers, the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, preachers, evangelists, and all the souls of the just which have died in the faith, but chiefly of the holy, glorious and perpetual virgin Mary, the mother of God, of S. John baptist the forerunner and martyr, S. Stephen the first deacon and first martyr, S. Mark apostle, evangelist and martyr."

Of the same spirit were all the ancient liturgies or missals, and particularly that under the name of S. Chrysostom[n] is most full to this purpose, "Let us pray to the Lord for all that before time have laboured and performed the holy offices of priesthood; for the memory and remission of sins of them that built this holy house, and of all them that have slept in hope of the resurrection and eternal life in Thy society; of the orthodox fathers and our brethren; φιλάνθρωπε Κύριε, συγχώρησον, O Thou lover of men pardon them." And again, "Moreover we offer unto Thee this reasonable service for all that rest in faith, our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets and apostles, preachers, evangelists, martyrs, &c., especially the most holy and unspotted virgin Mary;" and after concludes with this prayer, "Remember them all who have slept in hope of resurrection to eternal life, and make them to rest where the light of Thy countenance looks over them." Add to these if you please, the Greek[o] mass of S. Peter, "To them, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, we pray that Thou indulge a place of refreshing light and peace." So that nothing is clearer than that in the Greek canon they prayed for the souls of the best of all the saints, whom yet because no man believes they ever were in purgatory, it follows that prayer for the dead used by the ancients does not prove the Roman purgatory.

To these add the doctrine and practice of the Greek fathers. Dionysius[p] speaking of a person deceased, whom the ministers of the church had publicly pronounced to be a happy man, and verily admitted into the society of the saints that have been from the beginning of the world, yet the bishop prayed for him 'that God would forgive him all the sins which he had committed through human infirmity, and bring him into the light and region of the living, into the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, where pain and sorrow and sighing have no place.' To the same purpose is that of S. Gregory Naz.[q] in his funeral oration upon his brother Cæsarius, of whom he

[m] [ibid., tom. i. p. 18.]
[n] [vid. tom. xii. p. 779.]
[o] [? Latin.—See Renaudot. liturg., vol. ii. pp. 150, 8.]
[p] Eccles. hier., cap. vii. in theoria. [p. 145.]
[q] Naz. in funus Cæsarii, orat. x. [al. vii. capp. 15 et 24.—pp. 208, 16.]

had expressly declared his belief that he was 'rewarded with those honours which did befit a new created soul;' yet he presently prays for his soul, 'Now, O Lord, receive Cæsarius.'—I hope I have said enough concerning the Greek church, their doctrine and practice in this particular. And I desire it may be observed that there is no greater testimony of the doctrine of a church than their liturgy: their doctors may have private opinions which are not against the doctrine of the church; but what is put into their public devotions, and consigned in their liturgies, no man scruples it but it is the confession and religion of the church[r].

And such prayers are in the Roman missal.

I. But now that I may make my reader some amends for his trouble in reading the trifling objections of these Roman adversaries, and my defences; I shall also, for the greater conviction of my adversaries, shew that they would not have opposed my affirmation in this particular if they had understood their own mass-book, for it was not only thus from the beginning until now in the Greek church, but it is so to this very day in the Latin church. In the old Latin missal[s] we have this prayer, *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem quam Tibi offerimus pro omnibus in tui nominis confessione defunctis, ut Te dextram auxilii tui porrigente vitæ perennis requiem habeant, et a pœnis impiorum segregati semper in tuæ laudis lætitia perseverent.* And in the very canon of the mass, which these gentlemen I suppose (if they be priests) cannot be ignorant in any part of, they pray, *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis; ipsis Domine et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus, locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur.* Unless all that are at rest in Christ go to purgatory, it is plain that the church of Rome prays for saints who by the confession of all sides never were in purgatory. I could bring many more testimonies if they were needful, but I sum up this particular with the words of S. Austin[t]; *Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum; quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit ecclesia.* The church prays for all persons that died in the christian and catholic faith. And therefore I wonder how it should drop from S. Austin's[u] pen, *Injuriam facit martyri qui orat pro martyre.* But I suppose he meant it only in case the prayer was made for them as if they were

[r] ['To know what was generally believed in all ages, the way is to consult the liturgies, not any private man's writing. As if you would know how the church of England serves God, go to the Common Prayer-book, consult not this nor that man. Besides, liturgies never compliment, nor use high expressions: the fathers ofttimes speak oratoriously.'—Selden, Table talk, 'Liturgy.']

[s] Missa latina antiqua, edit. [8vo.] Argentinæ 1557. p. 52.

[t] De cura pro mortuis, cap. 4. [tom. vi. col. 519 E.]

[u] De verbis apostoli, serm. xvii. [al. serm. clix. tom. v. col. 765 G.]

in an uncertain state, and so it is probable enough, but else his words were not only against himself in other places, but against the whole practice of the ancient catholic church. I remember that when it was asked of pope Innocent[y] by the archbishop of Lyons, why the prayer that was in the old missal for the soul of pope Leo, *Annue nobis Domine, animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio,* it came to be changed into *Annue nobis Domine ut intercessione famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio,* pope Innocent answered him, that who changed it or when, he knew not, but he knew how, that is, he knew the reason of it; because 'the authority of the holy scripture said, he does injury to a martyr that prays for a martyr,' the same thing is to be done for the like reason concerning all other saints. The good man had heard the saying somewhere, but being little used to the bible, he thought it might be there, because it was a pretty saying. However, though this change was made in the mass-books, and prayer for the soul of S. Leo was changed into a prayer to S. Leo[z], and the doctors[a] went about to defend it as well as they could: yet because they did it so pitifully, they had reason to be ashamed of it; and in the missal reformed by order of the council of Trent[b] it is put out again, and the prayer for S. Leo put in again, 'That by these offices of holy atonement' (viz., the celebration of the holy sacrament) 'a blessed reward may accompany him, and the gifts of Thy grace may be obtained for us.'

The Greek and Latin fathers teach that no soul enters heaven till the day of judgment.

II. Another argument was used in the Dissuasive against the Roman doctrine of purgatory, viz., How is purgatory a primitive and catholic doctrine, when generally the Greek and many of the Latin fathers taught that the souls departed in some exterior place expect the day of judgment, but that no soul enters into the supreme heaven, or the place of eternal bliss, till the day of judgment; but at that day, say many of them, all must pass through the universal fire? To these purposes respectively the words of very many fathers are brought by Sixtus Senensis; to all which being so evident and apparent, the gentlemen[c] that write against the Dissuasive are pleased not to say one word, but have left the whole fabric of the Roman purgatory to shift for itself against the battery of so great authorities: only one of them, striving to find some fault, says that 'the Dissuader quotes Sixtus Senensis as saying that pope John the twenty-second not only taught and declared the doctrine (that before the day of judgment the souls of men are kept in certain receptacles)

[y] [Decret. const., lib. iii. c. 132. tom. ii. p. 764; vid. p. 195 supra.—Vide etiam] Sacramentarium Gregor. antiquum. [in Biblioth. vett. patr. Græco-Latt. (fol. Par. 1624.) tom. ii. p. 129.]

[z] Vide Missal. Roman., Paris. 1529. [But the prayer is to God, to accept the intercession of S. Leo; as in text above.]

[a] Cap. 'Cum Marthæ.' Extrav. de celebrat. missarum, in glossa. [vid. p. 481, not. r, supra.]

[b] Missale Rom. in decreto concil. Trid. restit. in festo S. Leonis. [p. 470.]

[c] 'Letter to a friend,' p. 12.

but commanded it to be held by all, as saith Adrian *in iv. sent.;* when Sixtus Senensis saith not so of pope John, &c., but only reports the opinion of others.' To which I answer 1) that I did not quote Senensis as saying any such thing of his own authority. For besides that in the body of the discourse there is no mention at all of John the twenty-second, in the margent also it is only said of Sixtus, *Enumerat S. Jacobum apostolum .. et Johannem pontif. Rom.;* but I add of my own afterwards, that 'pope John not only taught and declared that sentence, but commanded it to be held by all men, as saith Adrian[d].' Now although in his narrative of it Adrian begins with *novissime fertur,* 'it is reported,' yet Senensis himself when he had said, 'pope John is said to have decreed this,' he himself adds that Ocham and pope Adrian are witnesses of this decree. 2) Adrian is so far a witness of it that he gives the reason of the same, even because the university of Paris refused to give promotion to them who denied or did refuse to promise for ever to cleave to that opinion. 3) Ocham is so fierce a witness of it that he wrote against pope John the twenty-second for the opinion. 4) Though Senensis be not willing to have it believed, yet all that he can say against it is that *apud probatos scriptores non est undequaque certum.* 5) Yet he brings not one testimony out of antiquity against this charge against pope John, only he says that pope Benedict the eleventh affirms that John being prevented by death could not finish the decree. 6) But this thing was not done in a corner, the acts of the university of Paris and their fierce adhering to the decree were too notorious. 7) And after all this it matters not whether it be so or no, when it is confessed that so many ancient fathers expressly teach the doctrine contrary to the Roman, as it is this day, and yet the Roman doctors care not what they say: insomuch that S. Bernard[e] having fully and frequently taught 'that no souls go to heaven till they all go, neither the saints without the common people, nor the spirit without the flesh; that there are three states of souls, one in the tabernacles (viz., of our bodies), a second in *atriis* or outward courts, and a third in the house of God;' Alphonsus a Castro[e] admonishes that this sentence is damned; and Sixtus Senensis adds these words, "Which thing also I do not deny, yet I suppose he ought to be excused *ob ingentem numerum illustrium ecclesiæ patrum,* for the great number of the illustrious fathers of the church who before by their testimony did seem to give authority to this opinion."

Doctrine of purgatory no article in S. Augustine's time.

III. But that the present doctrine of the Roman purgatory is but a new article of faith, is therefore certain because it was no article of faith in S. Austin's time, for he doubted of it. And to this purpose I

[d] And these are the words of Senensis concerning P. John xxii. and P. Adrian. [lib. vi. annot. 345. p. 967.—Cf. p. 196, not. n, supra.]

[e] [Sixtus Senensis, ubi supra.]

quoted in the margent two places of S. Austin [h]. The words I shall now produce, because they will answer for themselves. In the sixty-eighth chapter of his manual to Laurentius he takes from the church of Rome their best armour in which they trusted, and expounds the words of S. Paul[i], 'he shall be saved yet so as by fire,' to mean only the loss of such pleasant things as most delighted them in this world. And in the beginning of the next chapter he adds[k], 'That such a thing may also be done after this life, is not incredible, and whether it be so or no it may be enquired, *et aut inveniri aut latere*, and either be found or lie hid.' 'Now what is that which thus may or may not be found out? This, that 'some faithful, by how much more or less they loved perishing goods, by so much sooner or later they shall be saved by a certain purgatory fire.' This is it which S. Austin says is not incredible, only it may be enquired whether it be so or no; and if these be not the words of doubting, 'it is not incredible such a thing may be,' 'it may be enquired after,' 'it may be found to be so, or it may never be found, but lie hid,' then words signify nothing. Yea, 'but the doubting of S. Austin does not relate to the matter or question of purgatory, but to the manner of the particular punishment, viz., whether or no that pain of being troubled for the loss of their goods be not a part of the purgatory flames,' says E. W.[l] A goodly excuse! as if S. Austin had troubled himself with such an impertinent question whether the poor souls in their infernal flames be not troubled that they left their lands and money behind them? Indeed it is possible they might wish some of the waters of their springs or fishponds to cool their tongues; but S. Austin surely did not suspect that the tormented ghosts were troubled they had not brought their best clothes with them, and money in their purses. This is too pitiful and strained an answer, the case being so evidently clear that the thing S. Austin doubted of was, since there was to some of the faithful, who yet were too voluptuous or covetous persons, a purgatory in this world, even the loss of their goods which they so loved, and therefore being lost so grieved for, whether or no they should not also meet with another purgatory after death: that is, whether besides the punishment suffered here, they should not be punished after death; how? by grieving for the loss of their goods? Ridiculous! what then? S. Austin himself tells us, "by so much as they loved their goods more or less, by so much sooner or later they shall be saved." And what he said of this kind of sin, viz., too much worldliness, with the same reason he might suppose of others; this he thought possible, but of this he was not sure, and therefore it was not then an article of faith, and though now the church of Rome hath made it so, yet

[h] Enchirid., cap. lxviii. sq. [p. 197, not. o, supra.]

[i] 1 Cor. iii. [15.]

[k] Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est, et utrum ita sit quæri potest.

[l] E. W., p. 28.

it appears that it was not so from the beginning, but is part of their new fashioned faith. And E. W. striving so impossibly, and so weakly, to avoid the pressure of this argument, should do well to consider whether he have not more strained his conscience, than the words of S. Austin. But this matter must not pass thus. S. Austin repeats this whole passage *verbatim* in his answer to the eighth Quest. of Dulcitius, Qu. 1. and still answers in this and other appendent questions of the same nature, viz., whether prayers for the dead be available, &c. Qu. 2. and whether upon the instant of Christ's appearing, He will pass to judgment, Qu. 3.[m] "In these things which we have described, our and the infirmity of others may be so exercised and instructed, nevertheless that they pass not for canonical authority." And in the answer to the first question he speaks in the style of a doubtful person, "Whether men suffer such things in this life only, or also such certain judgments follow even after this life, this understanding of this sentence is not as I suppose, abhorrent from truth." The same words he also repeats in his book *De fide et operibus, cap.* xvi. There is yet another place of S. Austin[n] in which it is plain he still is a doubting person in the question of purgatory. His sense is this, "After the death of the body until the resurrection, if in the interval the spirits of the dead are said to suffer that kind of fire which they feel not who had not such manners and loves in their lifetime, that their wood, hay and stubble ought to be consumed; but others feel who brought such buildings along with them, whether there only, or whether here and there, or whether therefore here that it might not be there, that they feel a fire of a transitory tribulation burning their secular buildings, (though escaping from damnation,) I reprove it not; for peradventure it is true:" so S. Austin. 'Peradventure yea' is always 'peradventure nay;' and will the bigots of the Roman church be content with such a confession of faith as this of S. Austin in the present article? I believe not.

1. But now after all this I will not deny but S. Austin was much inclined to believe purgatory fire, and therefore I shall not trouble myself to answer the citations to that purpose which Bellarmine, and from him these transcribers, bring out of this father, though most of them are drawn out of apocryphal, spurious and suspected pieces, as his homilies *de SS.* &c., yet that which I urge is this, that S. Austin did not esteem this to be a doctrine of the church, no article of faith, but a disputable opinion; and yet though he did incline to the wrong part of the opinion, yet it is very certain that he sometimes speaks expressly against this doctrine, and other times speaks things absolutely inconsistent with the opinion of purgatory, which is more than an argument of his confessed doubting; for it is a declaration that he understood nothing certain in this affair, but that the con-

[m] De octo quæst. Dulcit., qu. 3. [p. 197, not. q, supra.]

[n] S. Aug. de civit. Dei, lib. xxi. cap. 26. [vid. p. 197, not. o, supra.]

trary to his opinion was the more probable. And this appears in these few following words. S. Austin[o] hath these words, "Some suffer temporary punishments in this life only, others after death, others both now and then:" Bellarmine, and from him Diaphanta, urges this as a great proof of S. Austin's doctrine; but he destroys it in the words immediately following, and makes it useless to the hypothesis of the Roman church, "This shall be before they suffer the last and severest judgment;" meaning, as S. Austin frequently does such sayings, of the general conflagration at the end of the world. But whether he does so or no, yet he adds[p], "But all of them come not into the everlasting punishments which after the judgment shall be to them[q] who after death suffer the temporary." By which doctrine of S. Austin, viz., that those who are in his purgatory shall many of them be damned, and the temporary punishments after death do but usher in the eternal after judgment, he destroys the salt of the Roman fire, who imagines that all that go to purgatory shall be saved. Therefore this testimony of S. Austin, as it is nothing for the avail of the Roman purgatory, so by the appendage it is much against it, which Coquæus, Torrensis, and especially cardinal Perron, observing, have most violently corrupted these words, by falsely translating them. So Perron, *Tous ceux qui souffrent des peines temporelles apres la mort, ne viennent pas aux peines eternelles qui auront lieu apres le jugement*, which reddition is expressly against the sense of S. Austin's words.

2. But another hypothesis there is in S. Austin, to which without dubitation he does peremptorily adhere, which I before intimated, viz., that although he admit of purgatory pains after this life, yet none but such as shall be at the day of judgment[r]; "whoever therefore desires to avoid the eternal pains, let him be not only baptized, but also justified in Christ, and truly pass from the devil unto Christ: but let him not think that there shall be any purgatory pains but before that last and dreadful judgment;" meaning not only that there shall be none to cleanse them after the day of judgment, but that then, at the approach of that day, the general fire shall try and purge. And so himself[s] declares his own sense, "All they that have not Christ in the foundation are argued or reproved;" when? "in the day of judgment; but they that have Christ in the foundation are changed, that is, purged, who build upon this foundation wood, hay, stubble." So that in the day of judgment the trial and escape shall be; for then shall the trial and the condemnation be.

[o] De civit. Dei, lib. xxi. c. 13. [tom. vii. col. 634.]

[p] Ibid.

[q] ['Abest 'his' ab omnibus MSS.'—Not. ed. Ben.]

[r] Purgatorias autem pœnas nullas futuras opinetur, nisi ante illud ultimum tremendumque judicium.—cap. 16. [col. 636 F.]

[s] In psalm. vi. [ver. 2.—(§ 3. tom. iv. col. 24 B.)—'Arguuntur autem in die judicii omnes qui non habent fundamentum, quod est Christus: emendantur autem, id est purgantur, qui huic fundamento superædificant lignum, fœnum, stipulam.']

But yet more clear are his words in other places[t]; "So at the setting of the sun, that is, at the end" (viz., of the world) "the day of judgment is signified by that fire, dividing the carnal which are to be saved by fire, and those who are to be damned in the fire:" nothing is plainer than that S. Austin understood that those who are to be 'saved so as by fire,' are to be saved by passing through the fire at the day of judgment; that was his opinion of purgatory. And again, "Out of these things which are spoken it seems more evidently to appear that there shall be certain purgatory pains of some persons in that judgment; for what thing else can be understood, where it is said, Who shall endure the day of His coming?" &c.

3. S. Austin[u] speaks things expressly against the doctrine of purgatory. "Know ye that when the soul is plucked from the body, presently it is placed in paradise according to its good deservings, or else for her sins is thrown headlong *in inferni Tartara,* into the hell of the damned;" for I know not well how else to render it. And again, "The soul retiring is received by angels and placed either in the bosom of Abraham if she be faithful, or in the custody of the infernal prison if it be sinful, until the appointed day comes in which she shall receive her body:" pertinent to which is that of S. Austin[x], if he be author of that excellent book *De eccles. dogmatibus* which is imputed to him, "After the ascension of our Lord to the heavens, the souls of all the saints are with Christ, and going from the body go unto Christ, expecting the resurrection of their body."

But I shall insist no further upon these things; I suppose it very apparent that S. Austin was no way confident of his fancy of purgatory, and that if he had fancied right, yet it was not the Roman purgatory that he fancied. There is only one objection which I know of, which when I have cleared I shall pass on to other things. S. Austin, speaking of such who have lived a middle kind of an indifferent pious life, saith, *Constat autem,* &c., "but it is certain that such before the day of judgment being purged by temporal pains which their spirits suffer, when they have received their bodies, shall not be delivered to the punishment of eternal fire;" here is a positive determination of the article, by a word of confidence, and a full certificate; and therefore S. Austin in this article was not a doubting person. To this I answer, 1. It may be he was confident here, but it lasted not long; this fire was made of straw and soon went out, for within two chapters after he expressly doubts, as I have proved. 2. These words may refer to the purgatory fire at the general conflagration of the world; and if they be so referred, it is most agreeable to his other sentiments. 3. This *constat,* or decretory phrase, and

[t] De civ. Dei, lib. xvi. c. 24. et lib. xx. c. 25. [tom. vii. coll. 437, 609.]

[u] Aug., tom. ix. De vanitate sæculi, c. 1. [al. Pseudo-Aug. (Eligius) de rectit. cathol. convers. c. 21.] et De consolatione mortuorum, serm. ii. cap. 1. [tom. vi. append., coll. 274 et 261.]

[x] De dogmat. eccles., cap. [46, alias] 79, [tom. viii. append., col. 80.] aut Augustini aut Gennadii.

some lines before or after it, are not in the old books of Bruges and Cologne, nor in the copies printed at Friburg; and Ludovicus Vives supposes they were a marginal note crept since into the text. Now this objection being removed, there remains no ground to deny that S. Austin was a doubting person in the article of purgatory. And this Erasmus[y] expressly affirmed of him, and the same is said of him by Hofmeister[z], but modestly; and against his doubting in his Enchiridion he brings only a testimony in behalf of prayer for the dead, which is nothing to the purpose; and this is also sufficiently noted by Alphonsus a Castro[a], and by Barnesius[b]. 'Well, but suppose S. Austin did doubt of purgatory, this is no warranty to the church of England, for she does not doubt of it as S. Austin did, but plainly condemns it;' so one of my adversaries objects. To which I answer 1. that the church of England may the rather condemn it, because S. Austin doubted of it; for if it be no catholic doctrine, it is but a school point, and without prejudice to the faith may be rejected. But 2. I suppose the church of England would not have troubled herself with the doctrine if it had been left as S. Austin left it, that is, but as a mere uncertain opinion; but when the wrong end of the opinion was taken, and made an article of faith, and damnation threatened to them that believed it not, she had reason to consider it, and finding it to be chaff, wholly to scatter it away. 3. The church of England is not therefore to be blamed if in any case she see more than S. Austin did, and proceed accordingly; for it is certain the church of Rome does decree against divers things of which S. Austin indeed did not doubt, but affirmed confidently; I instance in the necessity of communicating infants, and the matter of appeals to Rome.

The next authority to be examined is, that of Otho Frisingensis[c], concerning which there is a heavy quarrel against the Dissuasive for making him to speak of a purgatory before, whereas he speaks of one after the day of judgment, with a *Quidam asserunt*, 'some affirm it,' viz., that there is a place of purgatory after death; 'Nay, but you are deceived,' says E. W. and the rest of the adversaries, 'he means that some affirm there is a place of purgatory after the day of judgment.' Now truly that is more than I said; but that Otho said it, is by these men confessed. But his words are these[d]; "I think it ought to be searched whether the judgment being passed, besides the lower hell there remain a place for lighter punishments; for that there is (below, or) in hell a purgatory place, in which they that are to be

[y] Contra Pharis. [leg. 'Paris.' scil. 'Declarationes ad censuras facultatis theologiæ Parisiensis.'] tit. viii. [tom. ix. col. 851 C.]

[z] In exposit. precationis missæ. [f. 126. 8vo. Par. 1573.]

[a] Advers. hæres., lib. xii. tit. 'Purgatorium.' [col. 891.]

[b] In Cathol. Romano pacifico, [sect.] ix. de purgat. [ad fin.—p. 130. 8vo. Oxon. 1680.]

[c] [p. 197 above.]

[d] Esse quippe apud inferos locum purgationum in quo salvandi vel tenebris tantum afficiantur vel expiationis igne decoquantur, quidam asserunt. [ibid.]

saved are either affected (*afficiantur*, 'invested, punished') with darkness only, or else are boiled in the fire of expiation, some do affirm." What is or can be more plainly said of purgatory? for 1. the places of scripture brought to confirm this opinion are such which relate to the interval between death and the last judgment; *juxta illud patriarchæ, Lugens descendam ad inferos; et illud apostoli, Ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem;* I hope the Roman doctors will not deny but these are meant of purgatory before the last day: and therefore so is the opinion for the proof of which these places are brought. 2. By *post judicium* in the title, and *transacto judicio* in the chapter, Otho means the particular judgment passing upon every one at their death: which he in a few lines after calls *terminatis in judicio causis singulorum.* 3. He must mean it to be before the last great day; because that which he says 'some do affirm,' *quidam asserunt,* is that those which are *salvandi,* 'to be saved' hereafter, are either in darkness or in a purgatory fire; which therefore must be meant of the interval; for after the day of judgment is passed, and the books shut, and the sentence pronounced, none can be saved that are not then acquitted, unless Origen's opinion of the salvation of devils and damned souls be re-introduced: which the church before Otho many ages had exploded, and therefore so good and great a person would not have thought that fit to be then disputed: and it was not then a question, nor a thing undetermined in the church. 4. Whether Otho means it of a purgatory before or after the day of the last judgment, it makes very much against the present Roman doctrine; for Otho applies the question to the case of infants dying without baptism; now if their purgatory be before the day of judgment, then I quoted Otho according to my own sense and his; but if he means it to be after the day of judgment, then the *limbus infantum* of the Roman church is vanished. For the scruple was moved about infants, *Quid de parvulis qui solo originali delicto tenentur fiet?* and there is none such till after dooms-day; so that let it be as it will, the Roman church is a loser, and therefore let them take their choice on which side they will fall.

But now after S. Austin's time; especially in the time of S. Gregory, and since, there were many strange stories told of souls appearing after death, and telling strange things of their torments below; many of which being gathered together by the *Speculum exemplorum,* the Legend of Lombardy[e] and others, some of them were noted by the Dissuasive to this purpose, to shew that in the time when these stories were told the fire of purgatory did not burn clear; but they found purgatory in baths, in eaves of houses[f], in frosts and cold rains, upon spits roasting like pigs or geese, upon pieces of ice. Now to this there is nothing said, but that 'in the place quoted in the *Speculum* there is no such thing:' which saying as it was spoken in-

[e] [Legenda aurea, sive Lombardica historia.]

[f] [p. 198 above.]

vidiously, so it was to no purpose; for if the objector ever hath read the Distinction which is quoted, throughout, he should have found the whole story at large. It is the thirty-first example, page 205, col. 1[g], printed at Douay MDCIII. And the same words are exactly in an ancienter edition printed at the imperial town of Hagenaw MDXIX., *Impensis Johannis Rynman.* But these gentlemen care not for the force of any argument, if they can any way put it off from being believed upon any foolish pretence.

But then as to the thing itself, though learned men deny the dialogues of S. Gregory, from whence many of the like stories are derived, to be his, as Possevine[h] confesses, and Melchior Canus[i] though a little timorously affirms; yet I am willing to admit them for his: but yet I cannot but note that those dialogues have in them many foolish, ridiculous and improbable stories, but yet they and their like are made a great ground of purgatory; but then the[k] right also may be done to S. Gregory, his doctrine of purgatory cannot consist with the present article of the church of Rome; so fond they are in the alleging of authorities, that they destroy their own hypothesis by their undiscerning quotations. For first, S. Gregory P. affirms that which is perfectly inconsistent with the whole doctrine of purgatory; for he says[l] that 'it is a fruit of our redemption by the grace of' Christ 'our author, that when we are drawn from our dwelling in the body, *mox*, forthwith we are led to celestial rewards;' and a little after, speaking of those words of Job, *In profundissimum infernum descendunt omnia mea*, he says thus, "Since it is certain that in the lower region the just are not in penal places, but are held in the superior bosom of rest, a great question arises what is the meaning of blessed Job." If purgatory can stand with this hypothesis of S. Gregory, then fire and water can be reconciled. This is the doctrine of S. Gregory in his own works: for whether the dialogues under his name be his or no, I shall not dispute; but if I were studying to do honour to his memory, I should never admit them to be his, and so much the rather because the doctrine of the dialogues contradicts the doctrine of his commentaries, and yet even

[g] Post hoc apparuit eidem presbytero columna quædam jubaris immensi, cujus claritas ultra communem solis valentiam coruscare videbatur, de cœlo usque ad terram porrecta, per quam anima quædam angelico ductu ad sidera contendebat. Sciscitante vero presbytero, quidnam hoc esset? respondit alter, Ipsa est anima Constantini quondam judicis et domini Turritani, hæc autem per novem annos ventis et pluviis et algoribus semper exposita, a die exitus sui usque nunc in stillicidio domus suæ constitit, ibique suorum excessuum pœnas luit, sed quia misericors et liberalis in pauperes extitit, et judicium injuriam patientibus fecit, insuper etiam de malis quæ commisit confessa et pœnitens a corpore exivit, idcirco misericordiam a Deo consecuta, hodierna die meretur ab omnibus malis liberari, &c. Hæc et multa alia sacerdos ille vidit et audivit de secretis alterius vitæ.

[h] [Apparat. sac., tom. i. p. 663.]

[i] [Loc. com., lib. xi. cap. 6. p. 540.]

[k] [? 'that:' see note to p. 309 above.]

[l] S. Greg. M., lib. xiii. in Jobum [xvii. 12, 16.—§§ 42, 8.—tom. i. col. 433, 5.] Cum constat quod apud inferos justi non in locis pœnalibus sed in superiori quietis sinu tenerentur, magna nobis oboritur quæstio quidnam sit quod B. Job asserit.

the purgatory which is in the dialogues[m] is unlike that which was declared at Basil; for the Gregorian purgatory supposed only an expiation of small and light faults[n], as immoderate laughter, impertinent talking, which nevertheless he himself says are expiable by fear of death; and Victoria[o], and Jacobus de Graffiis[p] say are to be taken away by beating the breast, holy water, the bishop's blessing; and S. Austin says they are to be taken off by daily saying the Lord's prayer; and therefore being so easily, so readily, so many ways to be purged here, it will not be worth establishing a purgatory for such alone, but he admits not of any remaining punishment due to greater sins forgiven by the blood of Christ. But concerning S. Gregory I shall say no more, but refer the reader to the apology of the Greeks, who affirm that S. Gregory admitted a kind of purgatory, but whether allegorically or no, or thinking so really, they know not; but what he said was *κατ' οἰκονομίαν* and 'by way of dispensation,' and as it were constrained to it by the arguments of those who would have all sins expiable after death, against whom he could not so likely prevail, if he had said that none was; and therefore he thought himself forced to go a middle way, and admit a purgatory only for little or venial sins, which yet will do no advantage to the church of Rome. And besides all this, S. Gregory, or whoever is the author of these dialogues, hath nothing definite or determined concerning the time, manner, measure or place; so wholly new was this doctrine then, that it had not gotten any shape or feature.

It was not owned by the Greek fathers.

Next I am to account concerning the Greeks, whom I affirm always to have differed from the Latins, since they had forged this new doctrine of purgatory in the Roman laboratories: and to prove something of this[q], I affirmed that in the council of Basil they published an apology directly disapproving the doctrine of purgatory. Against this, up starts a man fierce and angry, and says there was no such apology published in the council of Basil, for he had examined it all over, and can find no such apology. I am sorry for the gentleman's loss of his labour, but if he had taken me along with him, I could have helped the learned man. This apology was written by Marcus metropolitan of Ephesus, as Sixtus Senensis[r] confesses, and that he offered it to the council of Basil. That it was given and read to the deputies of the council, June the fourteenth 1438, is attested by Cusanus, and Martinus Crusius in his Turco-Græcia[s]. But it is no wonder if this over-learned author of the Letter missed this apology in his search of the council of Basil,

[m] Lib. iv. dialog., c. 39. [tom. ii. col. 442 sq.]
[n] Cap. 46. [col. 454.]
[o] In summa sacram. eccles., n. 110. [f. 58.]
[p] Decis. cas. conscient., part. i. lib. i. c. 6. n. 10. [p. 14.]
[q] The letter, p. 14.
[r] Biblioth., lib. vi. annot. 259. [p. 912.]
[s] Lib. ii. [p. 186.]

for this is not the only material thing that is missing in the editions of the council of Basil; for Linwood that great and excellent English canonist made an appeal in that council, and prosecuted it with effect in behalf of king Henry of England, *Cum in temporalibus non recognoscat superiorem in terris*, &c. But nothing of this now appears, though it was then registered; but it is no new thing to forge or to suppress acts of councils. But besides this, I did not suppose he would have been so indiscreet as to have looked for that apology in the editions of the council of Basil, but it was delivered to the council by the Greeks, and the council was wise enough not to keep that upon public record; however if the gentleman please to see it, he may have it among the booksellers, if he will please to ask for the *Apologia Græcorum de igne purgatorio* published by Salmasius; it was supposed to be made by Mark archbishop[t], but for saving the gentleman's charge or trouble, I shall tell him a few words out of that apology which will serve his turn, Διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ νῦν καὶ τὸ προκείμενον δόγμα τοῦ καθαρτηρίου πυρὸς ἀποβλητέον ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c. 'for these reasons the doctrine of a purgatory fire is to be cast out of the church, as that which slackens the endeavours of the diligent, as persuading them not to use all means of contention to be purged in this life, since another purgation is expected after it.' And it is infinitely to be wondered at the confidence of Bellarmine[u] (for as for this objector, it matters not so much) that he should in the face of all the world say that 'the Greek church never doubted of purgatory:' whereas he hath not brought one single true and pertinent testimony out of the Greek fathers for the Roman doctrine of purgatory, but is forced to bring in that crude allegation of their words for 'prayer for the dead,' which is to no purpose, as all wise men know; indeed he quotes the Alcoran[x] for purgatory, an authentic author (it seems) to serve such an end. But besides this, two memorable persons of the Greek church, Nilus archbishop of Thessalonica, and Mark archbishop of Ephesus, have in behalf of the Greek church written against the Roman doctrine in this particular. And it is remarkable that the Latins were and are so put to it to prove purgatory fire from the Greek fathers, that they have forged a citation from Theodoret[y], which is not in him at all, but was first cited in Latin by Tho. Aquinas either out of his own head, or cozened by somebody else, and quoted so by Bellarmine[z]; which to wise men cannot but be a very great argument of the weakness of the Roman cause in this question from the Greek fathers, and that Bellarmine saw it, but yet was resolved to run through it and out-face it; but Nilus taking notice of it, says that there are no such words in Theodoret

[t] [Aliter a Nilo archiep. Thessalon. 8vo. Hanov. 1608.] p. 93. [al. 167. sc. in fine libri.]

[u] De purgatorio, lib. i. c. 15. sect. 'Ad secundum dico.' [tom. ii. col. 766.]

[x] Bellarm., [ibid.] lib. i. c. 11. sect. 'De Mahumetanis.' [col. 749.]

[y] In 1 Cor. iii.

[z] Lib. i. de purgat., c. 5. sect. 'Ex Græcis.' [col. 723.]

in the many copies of his works which they had. In Greek it is certain they are not, and Gagneius first translated them into Greek to make the cheat more prevalent, but in that translation makes use of those words of the Wisdom of Solomon[a], ὡς χρυσὸν ἐν χωνευτηρίῳ, 'as gold in the furnace' (meaning it of the affliction of the righteous in this world): but unluckily he made use of that chapter, in the first verse of which chapter it is said, "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and no torment shall touch them," which is a testimony more pregnant against the Roman purgatory than all that they can bring from the Greek fathers for it. And this gentleman confutes the Dissuasive, as he thinks, by telling the story according as his own church hath set it down, who as with subtle and potent arts they forced the Greeks to a seeming union, so they would be sure not to tell the world in their own records how unhandsomely they carried themselves. But besides this, the very answer which the archbishop of Ephesus gave to the Latins in that council (and which words the objector here sets down and confesses) are a plain confutation of himself: for the Latins standing for a purgatory fire, temporary; the archbishop of Ephesus denies it, saying that "the Italians confess a fire, both in the present world, and purgatory by it" (that is, before the day of judgment) "and in the world to come, but not purgatory but eternal: but the Greeks hold a fire in the world to come only" (meaning eternal), "and a temporary punishment of souls, that is, that they go into a dark place, and of grief, but that they are purged," that is, delivered from the dark place, "by priests' prayers and sacrifices, and by alms, but not by fire." Then they fell on disputing about purgatory fire, to which the Greeks delayed to answer; and afterwards being pressed to answer, they refused to say any thing about purgatory, and when they at the upshot of all were *utcunque* united, Joseph the patriarch of C. P.[b] made a most pitiful confession of purgatory, in such general and crafty terms, as sufficiently shewed that as the Greeks were forced to do something, so the Latins were content with any thing, for by those terms the question between them was no way determined; *Romæ veteris papam Domini nostri Jesu Christi vicarium esse concedere, atque animarum purgationem esse non inficior*[c]. He denied not that there is a purgatory. No, for the Greeks confessed it, in this world before death, and some of them acknowledged a dark place of sorrow after this life, but neither fire nor purgatory: for the purgation was made in this world; and after this world by the prayers of the priests, and the alms of their friends, the purgation was made; 'not by fire,' as I cited the words before. The Latins told them there should be no union without it; the Greek emperor refused, and all this the objector is pleased to acknowledge; but after a very great bustle made, and they were forced to patch up a

[a] [ch. iii. 6.] [b] [Bin., conc. Florent.—t. iv. pt. i. p. 731.] [c] [leg. 'inficiari.']

union, hope[d] to get assistance of the Latins. But in this also they were cozened; and having lost C. P., many of the Greeks attributed that fatal loss to their dissembling union made at Florence; and on the other side the Latins imputed it to their opinion of the procession of the Holy Ghost: however, the Greek churches never admitted that union, as is averred by Laonicus Chalcondylas, *De rebus Turcicis*, lib. i. *non longe ab initio*[e]. And it is a strange thing that this affair, of which all Europe was witness, should with so little modesty be shuffled up, and the Dissuasive accused for saying that which themselves acknowledge. But see what some of themselves say, *Unus ex notissimis erroribus Græcorum et Armenorum est, quo docent nullum esse purgatorium locum, in quo animæ ex hac luce migrantes purgentur a sordibus quas in hoc corpore contraxerant*, saith Alphonsus a Castro[f], 'it is one of the most known errors of the Greeks and Armenians that they teach there is no purgatory;' and Aquinas writing *contra Græcorum errores* labours to prove purgatory; and archbishop Antoninus[g] who was present at the council of Florence, after he had rejected the epistle of Eugenius, adds, *Errabant Græci purgatorium negantes, quod est hæreticum.* Add to these the testimony of Roffensis[h] and Polydore Vergil before quoted, *Usque ad hunc diem Græcis non est creditum purgatorium;* and Gregory de Valentia[i] saith, *Expresse autem purgatorium negarunt Waldenses hæretici, ut refert Guido Carmelita in summa de hæres.; item schismatici Græci recentiores, ut ex concilio Florentino apparet.* And Alphonsus a Castro[k] saith, "Unto this very day purgatory is not believed by the Greeks." And no less can be imagined, since their prime and most learned prelate, besides what he did in the council, did also after the council publish an encyclical epistle against the definition of the council, as may be seen in Binius his narrative of the council of Florence. By all which appears how notoriously scandalous is the imputation of falsehood laid upon the Dissuasive by this objector; who by this time is warm with writing, and grows uncivil, being like a baited bull, beaten into choler with his own tail, and angered by his own objections.

It is directly contrary to the ancient fathers of the Latin church.

IV. But the next charge is higher; it was not only doubted of in S. Austin's time, and since; but the Roman doctrine of purgatory without any hesitation or doubting is against the express doctrines delivered by divers of the ancient fathers; and to this purpose some were remarked in the Dissuasive, which I shall now verify, and add others very plain and very considerable.

[d] [sic edd.]
[e] [p. 3 C.]
[f] Lib. xii. tit. 'Purgatorium.' [init., p. 888.]
[g] See Binius, tom. iv. concil. [p. 732.]
[h] Art. xviii. contr. Luther. [p. 188 above.]
[i] [Tom. iv.] disp. xi. qu. 1. punctum i. sect. 5. 'De locis animarum post mortem.' [col. 1687.]
[k] Lib. viii. adv. hæres. tit. 'Indulgentiæ.' [p. 578.]

S. Cyprian[l] exhorts Demetrianus to turn to Christ while this world lasts, saying, that 'after we are dead there is no place of repentance, no place of satisfaction.' To this the Letter[m] answers; it is not said 'when we are dead,' but 'when you are dead,' meaning that this is spoken to heathens, not to Christians. As if *quando istinc excessum fuerit*, being spoken impersonally, does not mean indefinitely all the world, and certainly it may as well one as the other, Christians as well as heathens, for Christians may be in the state of deadly sin, and aversion from God, as well as heathens, and then this admonition and reason fits them as well as the other. E. W.[n] answers, that S. Cyprian means that 'after death there is no meritorious satisfaction;' he says true indeed, there is none that is meritorious, neither before nor after death, but this will not serve his turn, for S. Cyprian says that after death there is none at all, 'no place of satisfaction' of any kind whatsoever, no place of wholesome repentance. And therefore it is vain to say that this counsel was only given to Demetrianus, who was a heathen; for if he had been a Christian, he would or at least might have used the same argument, not to put any part of his duty off upon confidence of any thing to be done or suffered after this life. For his argument is this, 'This is the time of repentance, after death it is not; now you may satisfy (that is, appease) the divine anger, after this life is ended nothing of this can be done.' For S. Cyprian[o] does not speak this *dispensative*, or by relation to this particular case, but *assertive*, he affirms expressly, speaking to the same Demetrian, that 'when this life is finished we are divided, either to the dwellings of death or of immortality.' And that we may see this is not spoken of 'impenitent pagans only,' as the 'Letter to a friend' dreams, S. Cyprian[p] renews the same caution and advice to the lapsed Christians: "O ye my brethren, let every one confess his sin while he that hath sinned is yet in this world, while his confession can be admitted, while satisfaction and pardon made by the priests is grateful with God." If there had been any thought of the Roman purgatory in S. Cyprian's time, he could not in better words have impugned it than here he does. All that have sinned must here look to it, here they must confess, here beg pardon, here make amends and satisfy, afterwards neither one nor the other shall be admitted. Now if to Christians also there is granted no leave to repent, no means to satisfy, no means of pardon after this life, these words are so various and comprehensive that they include all cases; and it is plain S. Cyprian speaks it indefinitely, there is no place of repent-

[l] Ad Demetrian. sect. 16. [p. 192.] et sect. 22. [p. 196.]

[m] Page 17.

[n] Page 32.

[o] Donec ævi temporalis fine completo, ad æternæ vel mortis vel immortalitatis hospitia dividamur.—Ibid. [not. l, supra.] sect. 16. [p. 193.]

[p] Serm. de lapsis.—Confiteantur singuli, quæso vos fratres dilectissimi, delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in sæculo est, dum admitti confessio ejus potest, dum satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est. [p. 134.]

ance, no place of satisfaction; none at all, neither to heathens nor to Christians. But now let these words be set against the Roman doctrine, viz., that there is a place called purgatory, in which the souls tormented do satisfy, and 'come not out thence till they have paid' (viz., by sufferings or by suffrages) 'the utmost farthing,' and then see which we will follow; for they differ in all the points of the compass. And these men do nothing but betray the weakness of their cause by expounding S. Cyprian to the sense of new distinctions, made but yesterday in the forges of the schools. And indeed the whole affair upon which the answer of Bellarmine relies, which these men have translated to their own use, is unreasonable. For is it a likely business, that when men have committed great crimes they shall be pardoned here by confession, and the ministries of the church, &c., and yet that the venial sins though confessed in the general, and as well as they can be, and the party absolved, yet there should be prepared for their expiation the intolerable torments of hell fire for a very long time; and that for the greater sins, for which men have 'agreed with their adversary in the way,' and the adversary hath forgiven them, yet that for these also they should be cast into prison, from whence they shall not come till the utmost farthing be paid; that's against the design of our blessed Saviour's counsel, for if that be the case, then though we and our adversaries are agreed upon the main, and the debt forgiven, yet nevertheless we may be delivered to the tormentors. But then concerning the sense of S. Cyprian in this particular, no man can doubt that shall have but read his excellent treatise 'Of mortality,' that he could not, did not admit of purgatory after death before the day of judgment, for he often said it in that excellent treatise which he made to comfort and strengthen Christians against the fear of death, that "immediately after death we go to God or the devil; and therefore it is for him only to fear to die, who is not willing to go to Christ, and he only is to be unwilling to go to Christ who believes not that he begins to reign with Christ. That we in the mean time die, we pass over by death to immortality. It is not a going forth, but a pass-over, and when our temporal course is run, a going over to immortality. Let us embrace that day, which assigns every one of us to our dwelling, and restores those which are snatched from hence, and are disentangled from the snares of the world to paradise, and the heavenly kingdom." There are here many other things so plainly spoken to this purpose, that I wonder any papist should read that treatise, and not be cured of his infirmity.

To the same purpose is that of S. Dionys[q], calling death "the end of holy agonies," and therefore it is to be supposed they have no more agonies to run through immediately after death. To this E. W.[r] answers, that S. Denis means that 'death is the end of all the agonies

[q] [p. 199, note x, above.]

[r] Page 32.

of this life.' A goodly note! and never revealed till then and now; as if this were a good argument to encourage men to contend bravely and not to fear death, because when they are once dead they shall no more be troubled with the troubles of this life; indeed you may go to worse, and death may let you into a state of being as bad as hell, and of greater torments than all the pains of this world put together amount to. But to let alone such ridiculous subterfuges, see the words of S. Dionys, "They that live a holy life, looking to the true promises of God, as if they were to behold the truth itself in that resurrection which is according to it, with firm and true hope, and in a divine joy, come to the sleep of death, as to an end of all holy contentions." Now certainly if the doctrine of purgatory were true, and that they who had contended here, and for all their troubles in this world were yet in a tolerable condition, should be told that now they shall go to worse, he that should tell them so would be but one of Job's comforters. No, the servant of God "coming to the end of his own troubles" (viz., by death) "is filled with holy gladness, and with much rejoicing ascends to the way of divine regeneration," viz., to immortality, which word can hardly mean that they shall be tormented a great while in hell fire.

The words of Justin Martyr[s], or whoever is the author of those questions and answers imputed to him, affirms that "presently after the departure of the soul from the body, a distinction is made between the just and unjust, for they are brought by angels to places worthy of them; the souls of the just to paradise, where they have the conversation and sight of angels and archangels, but the souls of the unrighteous to the places in Hades, the invisible region, or hell." Against these words, because they pinch severely, E. W.[t] thinks himself bound to say something; and therefore 1) whereas Justin Martyr says, 'After our departure presently there is a separation made,' he answers that Justin Martyr means here to speak of the two final states after the day of judgment, for so it seems he understands εὐθὺς, or 'presently after death,' to mean the day of judgment; of the time of which neither men nor angels know any thing. And whereas Justin Martyr says that presently the souls of the righteous go to paradise, E. W.[u] answers 2) that Justin does not say that all just souls are carried presently into heaven; no, Justin says 'into paradise;' true, but let it be remembered that it is so a part of heaven, as *limbus infantum* is by themselves called a part of hell; that is a place of bliss, the region of the blessed. But 3) Justin says that 'presently there is a separation made,' but he says not that the souls of the righteous are carried to paradise: that's the next answer; which the very words of Justin do contradict. "There is presently a separation made of the just and unjust, for they are by the angels carried to the places they have deserved." This is the separation

[s] Justin. Martyr, resp. ad quæst. lxxv. [p. 470 A.] [t] Page 33. [u] Ibid.

which is made, one is carried to paradise, the other to a place in hell. But these being such pitiful offers at answering, the gentleman tries another way, and says, 4) that this affirmative of Justin contradicts another saying of Justin, which I cited out of Sixtus Senensis, that Justin Martyr and many other of the fathers, affirmed that the souls of men are kept in secret receptacles, "reserved unto the sentence of the great day;" and that before then no man "receives according to his works done in this life." To this I answer, that one opinion does not contradict another; for though the fathers believed that "they who die in the Lord rest from their labours," and are in blessed places, and have antepasts of joy and comforts, yet in those places they are reserved unto the judgment of the great day. The intermedial joy or sorrow respectively of the just and unjust does but antedate the final sentence; and as the comforts of God's spirit in this life are indeed graces of God and rewards of piety, as the torments of an evil conscience are the wages of impiety, yet as these do not hinder but that the great reward is given at doomsday and not before, so neither do the joys which the righteous have in the interval. They can both consist together, and are generally affirmed by very many of the Greek and Latin fathers. And methinks this gentleman might have learned from Sixtus Senensis how to have reconciled these two opinions; for he quotes him[x], saying 'there is a double beatitude, the one imperfect, of soul only; the other consummate and perfect, of soul and body.' The first the fathers called by several names of *sinus Abrahæ, atrium Dei, sub altare, &c.*; the other, 'perfect joy,' 'the glory of the resurrection,' &c. But it matters not what is said, or how it be contradicted, so it seem but to serve a present turn. But at last, if nothing of this will do, 'these words are not the words of Justin, for he is not the author of the questions and answers *Ad orthodoxos*.' To which I answer, it matters not whether they be Justin's or no; but they are put together in the collection of his works, and they are generally called his, and cited under his name, and made use of by Bellarmine[y], when he supposes them to be to his purpose. However the author is ancient and orthodox, and so esteemed in the church, and in this particular speaks according to the doctrine of the more ancient doctors. Well, but how is this against purgatory? says E. W.[z]; for they may be in secret receptacles after they have been in purgatory. To this I answer, that he dares not teach that for doctrine in the church of Rome, who believes that the souls delivered out of purgatory go immediately to 'the heaven of the blessed,' and therefore if his book had been worth the perusing by the censors of books, he might have been questioned, and followed Mr. White's[a] fortune. And he adds, 'it

[x] E. W., p. 36.

[y] Lib. de baptis., c. 25, 26. [?]—Lib. de confirmat., c. 5.—Lib. iii. de euchar., c. 6. [tom. iii. coll. 386, 405, 687.]

[z] P. 36, line 29.

[a] [See p. 311 above.—White's book 'On the middle state of souls,' and other productions of his pen, gave much offence

might be afterwards, according to Origen's opinion;' that is, purgatory might be after the day of judgment, for so Origen held, that all the fires are purgatory, and the devils themselves should be saved. Thus this poor gentleman thinking it necessary to answer one argument against purgatory brought in the Dissuasive, cares not to answer by a condemned heresy, rather than reason shall be taught by any son of the church of England. But however, the very words of the fathers cross his slippery answers so that they thrust him into a corner; for in these receptacles the godly have joy, and they enter into them as soon as they die, and abide there till the day of judgment.

S. Ambrose[b] is so full, pertinent and material to the question in hand, and so destructive of the Roman hypothesis, that nothing can be said against it. His words are these, "Therefore in all regards death is good, because it divides those that were always fighting, that they may not impugn each other; and because it is a certain port to them who being tossed in the sea of this world require the station of faithful rest; and because it makes not our state worse, but such as it finds every one, such it reserves him to the future judgment, and nourishes him with rest, and withdraws him from the envy of present things, and composes him with the expectation of future things." E. W.[c] thinking himself bound to say something to these words; answers, "It is an excellent saying, for worse he is not, but infinitely better, that quit of the occasions of living here, is ascertained of future bliss hereafter, which is the whole drift of the saint in that chapter: read it, and say afterwards if I say not true." It is well put off: but there are very many that read him who never will or can examine what S. Ambrose says, and withal[d] such he hopes to escape. But as to the thing; that death gives a man advantage, and by its own fault no disadvantage, is indeed not only the whole drift of that chapter, but of that whole book. But not for that reason only is a man the better for death, but because it makes him not worse in order to eternity; nay, it does not alter him at all as to that, for as death finds him, so shall the judgment find him (and therefore not purified by purgatory), for 'such he is reserved;' and not only thus, but 'it cherishes him with rest,' which would be very ill done if death carried him to purgatory. Now all these last words and many others, E. W. is pleased to take no notice of, as not being for his purpose. But he that pleases to see more, may read the twelfth and eighteenth chapters of the same treatise.

S. Gregory's[e] saying, that after this life there is no purgation, can no way be put off by any pretences. For he means it of the time

at Rome, and were censured by the court of Inquisition.—Dod's Church History.]

[b] De bono mortis, cap. 4. [p. 199, note z, above.]

[c] Page 84.

[d] [sic ed.]

[e] S. Greg. Nazianz. orat. xv. [al. xvi.] in plagam grandinis.—Μηδὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐστί τις κάθαρσις. [p. 200, note c, above.]

after death before the day of judgment, which is directly opposed to the doctrine of the church of Rome; and unless you will suppose that S. Gregory believed two purgatories, it is certain he did not believe the Roman; for he taught that the purgation which he calls 'baptism by fire,' and 'the saving, yet so as by fire,' was to be performed at the day of judgment: and the curiosity of that trial is the fierceness of that fire, as Nicetas[f] expounds S. Gregory's words in his oration *In sancta lumina.* So that S. Gregory affirming that this world is the place of purgation, and that after this world there is no purgation, could not have spoken any thing more direct against the Roman purgatory.

S. Hilary and S. Macarius speak of two states after death, and no more. True, says E. W., "but they are the two final states." That is true too, in some sense, for it is either of eternal good, or evil; but to one of these states they are consigned and determined at the time of their death, at which time every one is sent either to the bosom of Abraham, or to a place of pain, where they are reserved to the sentence of the great day. S. Hilary's[g] words are these, "There is no stay or delaying, for the day of judgment is either an eternal retribution of beatitude or of pain: but the time of our death hath every one in his laws, whiles either Abraham" (viz. the bosom of Abraham) "or pain reserves every one unto the judgment." These words need no commentary; he that can reconcile these to the Roman purgatory, will be a most mighty man in controversy. And so also are the words of S. Macarius[h], "When they go out of the body, the quires of angels receive their souls, and carry them to their proper place, εἰς τὸν καθαρὸν αἰῶνα, to a pure world, and so lead them to the Lord." Such words as these are often repeated by the holy fathers, and doctors of the ancient church; I sum them up with the saying of S. Athanasius[i], οὐκ ἐστὶ παρὰ τοῖς δικαίοις θάνατος, &c., 'it is not death that happens to the righteous, but a translation, for they are translated out of this world into everlasting rest; and as a man would go out of prison, so do the saints go out of this troublesome life unto those good things which are prepared for them.' Now let these and all the precedent words be confronted against the sad complaints made for the souls in purgatory by Joh. Gerson, in his *Querela defunctorum,* and sir Tho. More in his 'Supplication of souls,' and it will be found that the doctrine of the fathers differs from the doctrine of the church of Rome as much as heaven and hell, rest and labour, horrid torments and great joy.

I conclude this matter of quotations by the saying of pope Leo[k], which one of my adversaries[l] could not find, because the printer was

[f] [In Greg. Naz. orat. xxxix. § 31. (scil. prop. fin.)—Opp. Greg. Naz., tom. ii. col. 1037 D.—fol. Par. 1630.]
[g] In psal. ii. [p. 200, supra.]
[h] Homil. xxii. [p. 200, supra.]—Vide etiam homil. xxvi. [cap. 23. p. 101.]
[i] De virgin. [tom. ii. p. 120.]
[k] [p. 200, note f, above.]
[l] 'Letter,' p. 18.

mistaken; it is the ninety-first epistle, so known, and so used by the Roman writers in the qu. of confession, that if he be a man of learning it cannot be supposed but he knew where to find them. The words are these, "But if any of them for whom we pray unto the Lord, being intercepted by any obstacle, falls from the benefit of the present indulgences, and before he comes to the constituted remedies shall end his temporal life by human condition" (or frailty), "that which abiding in the body he hath not received, being out of the flesh he cannot." Now against these words of S. Leo set the present doctrine of the church of Rome, that 'what is not finished of penances here, a man may pay in purgatory,' and let the world judge whether S. Leo was in this point a Roman catholic. Indeed S. Leo forgot to make use of the late distinction of sins venial and mortal, of the punishment of mortal sins remaining after the fault is taken away; but I hope the Roman doctors will excuse the saint, because the distinction is but new and modern. But this testimony of S. Gregory must not go for a single testimony. "That which abiding in the body could not be received, out of the body cannot;" that is, when the soul is gone out of the body, as death finds them, so shall the day of judgment find them. And this was the sense of the whole church; for after death there is no change of state before the general trial: no passing from pain to rest in the state of separation, and therefore either there are no purgatory pains, or if there be, there is no ease of them before the day of judgment; and the prayers and masses of the church cannot give remedy to one poor soul; and this must of necessity be confessed by the Roman doctors, or else they must shew that ever any one catholic father did teach, that after death, and before the day of judgment, any souls are translated into a state of bliss out of a state of pain: that is, that from purgatory they go to heaven before the day of judgment. He that can shew this, will teach me what I have not yet learned, but he that cannot shew it, must not pretend that the Roman doctrine of purgatory was ever known to the ancient fathers of the church.

§ 3. Of Transubstantiation.

THE purpose of the Dissuasive was to prove the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be new, neither catholic nor apostolic. In order to which I thought nothing more likely to persuade or dissuade, than the testimonies of the parties against themselves. And although I have many other inducements, (as will appear in the sequel) yet by so earnestly contending to invalidate the truth of the quotations, the adversaries do confess by implication, if these sayings be as is pretended, then I have evinced my main point, viz., that the Roman doctrines, as differing from us, are novelties, and no parts of the catholic faith.

Authorities out of Scotus, &c., justified from the exceptions of the adversaries.

Thus therefore the author of the letter begins[m]. "He quotes Scotus, as declaring the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the bible; which he saith not: to the same purpose he quotes Ocham, but I can find no such thing in him: to the same purpose he quotes Roffensis, but he hath no such thing." But in order to the verification of what I said, I desire it be first observed what I did say, for I did not deliver it so crudely as this gentleman sets it down. For first, these words, "the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not expressed in the canon of the bible," are not the words of all them before named, they are the sense of them all, but the words but of one or two of them. Secondly, when I say that some of the Roman writers say that Transubstantiation is not expressed in the scripture, I mean, and so I said plainly, "as without the church's declaration to compel us to admit of it." Now then for the quotations themselves, I hope I shall give a fair account.—First, the words quoted are the words of Biel[n]; when he had first affirmed that Christ's body is contained truly under the bread, and that it is taken by the faithful (all which we believe and teach in the church of England) he adds, *Tamen quomodo ibi sit Christi corpus, an per conversionem alicujus in ipsum* (that is the way of Transubstantiation) *an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantia et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone biblii:* and that's the way of consubstantiation: so that here is expressly taught what I affirmed was taught, that the scriptures did not express the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and he adds that concerning this there were anciently divers opinions. Thus far the quotation is right; but of this man there is no notice taken. But what of Scotus? "He saith no such thing;" well suppose that, yet I hope this gentleman will excuse me for Bellarmine's[o] sake, who says the same thing of Scotus as I do, and he might have found it in the margent against the quotation of Scotus if he had pleased: his words are these, "Secondly he saith" (viz. Scotus) "that there is not extant any place of scripture so express, without the declaration of the church, that it can compel us to admit of Transubstantiation: and this is not altogether improbable; for though the scriptures which we brought above seem so clear to us that it may compel a man that is not wilful, yet whether it be so or no it may worthily be doubted, since most learned and acute men" (such as Scotus eminently was) "believe the contrary."—Well, but the gentleman can find no such thing in Ocham: I hope he did not look far, for OCham is not the man I mean; however the printer might have mistaken, but it is easily pardonable, because from O. Cam., meaning Odo Cameracensis[p],

[m] p. 18.

[n] Lect. xl. in can. missæ, [f. 85 sqq.]

[o] Lib. iii. de euchar., c. 23. sect. 'Secundo dicit.' [tom. iii. col. 752.]

[p] [Taylor appears to have fallen into a mistake here; the 'Cameracensis' whom Bellarmine (after Chemnitius) mentions, is certainly not Odo Cam., (whose doc-

it was easy for the printer or transcriber to write Ocam, as being of more public name: but the bishop of Cambray is the man that followed Scotus in this opinion, and is acknowledged by Bellarmine[q] to have said the same that Scotus did, he being one of his *docti et acutissimi viri* there mentioned. Now if Roffensis[r] have the same thing too, this author of the 'Letter' will have cause enough to be a little ashamed; and for this I shall bring his words: speaking of the whole institution of the blessed sacrament by our blessed Saviour, he says, *Neque ullum hic verbum positum est quo probetur in nostra missa veram fieri carnis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam.* I suppose I need to say no more to verify these citations, but yet I have another very good witness to prove that I have said true; and that is Salmeron[s], who says that Scotus out of Innocentius reckons three opinions, not of heretics, but of such men who all agreed in that which is the main; but he adds[t], "Some men and writers believe that this article cannot be proved against a heretic by scripture alone, or reasons alone." And so Cajetan[u] is affirmed by Suarez[v] and Alanus to have said; and Melchior Canus, *Perpetuam Mariæ virginitatem,.. conversionem panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi,.. non ita expressa in libris canonicis invenies, sed adeo tamen certa in fide sunt ut contrariorum dogmatum auctores ecclesia hæreticos judicarit.* So that the scripture is given up for no sure friend in this Q.; the article wholly relies upon the authority of the church, viz., of Rome, who makes faith, and makes heresies, as she please. But to the same purpose is that also which Chedzy said in his disputation at Oxford, "In what manner Christ is there, whether with the bread transelemented, or transubstantiation, the scripture in open words tells not."

But I am not likely so to escape, for E. W.[x] talks of a famous or rather infamous quotation out of Peter Lombard, and adds foul and uncivil words, which I pass by: but the thing is this, that I said 'Petrus Lombardus could not tell whether there was a substantial change or no.' I did say so, and I brought the very words of Lombard to prove it, and these very words E. W. himself acknowledges: *Si autem quæritur qualis sit ista conversio, an formalis an substantialis vel alterius generis, definire non sufficio,* 'I am not able to define or determine whether that change be formal or substantial.' So far E. W. quotes him, but leaves out one thing very material, viz., whether besides 'formal or substantial,' it be 'of another kind.'

trinal statements are very different) but Petr. de Alyaco Cam.; sc. in iv. sent. q. 6. (cf. pp. 21 and 201 above) art. 3. f. 267.—The fact is, that Taylor had meant Occham all the while (see pp. 21, 49, 51, 8, above), but in vindicating himself here, forgot the original reference, and was caught by the word 'Cameracensis.']

q Ubi supra.

r Contra captiv. Babyl., c. i. [p. 21, note y, above.]

s Tom. ix. tract. xvi. [p. 108.]

t [p. 110.]

u Lib. i. de euchar., c. 34. [p. 419.] [E. W.] page 37. vide Letter, p. 18.

v [See p. 20, note x, above.]

x Page 38. See also the 'Letter to a friend,' p. 19.

Now E. W. not being able to deny that Lombard said this, takes a great deal of useless pains, not one word of all that he says being to the purpose, or able to make it probable that Peter Lombard did not say so, or that he did not think so. But the thing is this: Biel reckoned three opinions which in Lombard's time were in the church: the first of Consubstantiation, which was the way which long since then Luther followed; the second, that the substance of bread is made the flesh of Christ, but ceases not to be what it was; but this is not the doctrine of Transubstantiation, for that makes a third opinion, which is that the substance of bread ceases to be, and nothing remains but the accident. *Quartam opinionem addit magister*, that is, Peter Lombard adds a fourth opinion, that 'the substance of bread is not converted, but is annihilated;' this is made by Scotus to be the second opinion. Now of these four opinions, all which were then permitted and disputed, Peter Lombard[y] seems to follow the second; but if this was his opinion, it was no more, for he could not determine whether that were the truth or no. But whether he does or no truly, I think it is very hard for any man to tell; for this question was but in the forge, not polished, not made bright with long handling. And this was all that I affirmed out of the Master of sentences, I told of no opinion of his at all, but that in his time they did not know whether it (viz., the doctrine of Transubstantiation) were true or no, that is, the generality of the Roman catholics did not know: and he himself could not define it. And this appears unanswerably by Peter Lombard's bringing their several sentiments in this article: and they that differ in their judgments about an article, and yet esteem the others catholic, may think what they please, but they cannot tell certainly what is truth. But then as for Peter Lombard himself, all that I said of him was this, that he could not tell, he could not determine whether there was any substantial change or no. If in his after discourse he declares that the change is of substances, he told it for no other than as a mere opinion: if he did, let him answer for that, not I; for that he could not determine it, himself expressly said it, in the beginning of the eleventh Distinction. And therefore these gentlemen would better have consulted with truth and modesty, if they had let this alone, and not have made such an outcry against a manifest truth. Now let me observe one thing which will be of great use in this whole affair, and demonstrate the change of this doctrine. These three opinions were all held by catholics, and the opinions are recorded not only by pope Innocentius the third[z], but in the gloss of the canon law[a] itself; for this opinion was not fixed and settled, nor as yet well understood, but still disputed, as we see in Lombard and Scotus. And although they all agreed in this (as

[y] Ubi supra. [p. 202, note u.]

[z] Innocent. de offic. miss., part. iii. cap. 18. [26, teste Scoto in iv. d. 11. q. 3.]

[a] Cap. 'Cum Marthæ,' in gloss. Extrav. de celebr. miss. [p. 481, note r, above.]

Salmeron observes of these three opinions, as he cites them out of Scotus) 'that the true body of Christ is there, because to deny this were against the faith;' and therefore this was then enough to cause them to be esteemed catholics, because they denied nothing which was then against the faith, but all agreed in that, yet now the case is otherwise; for whereas one of the opinions was that the substance of bread remains, and another opinion that the substance of bread is annihilated, but is not converted into the body of Christ; now both of these opinions are made heresy, and the contrary to them, which is the third opinion, passed into an article of faith. *Quod vero ibi substantia panis non remanet, jam etiam ut articulus fidei definitum est, et conversionis sive transubstantiationis nomen evictum,* so Salmeron[b]. Now in Peter Lombard's time if they who believed Christ's real presence were good catholics, though they believed no transubstantiation or consubstantiation, that is, did not descend into consideration of the manner, why may they not be so now? is there any new revelation now of the manner, or why is the way to heaven now made narrower than in Lombard's time? For the church of England believes according to one of these opinions, and therefore is as good a catholic church as Rome was then, which had not determined the manner. Nay if we use to value an article the more by how much the more ancient it is, certainly it is more honourable that we should reform to the ancient model, rather than conform to the new. However, this is also plainly consequent to this discourse of Salmeron, "The abettors of those three opinions, some of them do deny something that is of faith, therefore the faith of the church of Rome now is not the same it was in the days of Peter Lombard." Lastly, this also is to be remarked, that to prove any ancient author to hold the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as it is at this day an article of faith at Rome, it is not enough to say that Peter Lombard, or Durand, or Scotus, &c., did say that where bread was before, there is Christ's body now; for they may say that and more, and yet not come home to the present article; and therefore E. W. does argue weakly, when he denies Lombard to say one thing, viz., that he 'could not define whether there was a substantial change or no' (which indeed he spake plainly) because he brings him saying something as if he were resolved the change were substantial, which yet he speaks but obscurely. And the truth is, this question of Transubstantiation is so intricate and involved amongst them, seems so contrary to sense and reason, and does so much violence to all the powers of the soul, that it is no wonder if at first the doctors could not make any thing distinctly of it. However, whatever they did make of it, certain it is they more agreed with the present church of England than with the present church of Rome; for we say as they said, Christ's body is truly there, and there is a conversion of the elements into Christ's

[b] Ubi supra. [note s, above.]

body, for what before the consecration in all senses was bread, is after consecration in some sense Christ's body; but they did not all of them say that the substance of bread was destroyed, and some of them denied the conversion of the bread into the flesh of Christ; which whosoever shall now do, will be esteemed no Roman catholic. And therefore it is a vain procedure[c] to think they have proved their doctrine of Transubstantiation out of the fathers also, if the fathers tell us that 'bread is changed out of his nature into the body of Christ;' that 'by holy invocation it is no more common bread;' that 'as water in Cana of Galilee was changed into wine, so in the evangelist wine is changed into blood;' that 'bread is only bread before the sacramental words, but after consecration is made the body of Christ.' For though I very much doubt all these things in equal and full measures cannot be proved out of the fathers, yet suppose they were, yet all this comes not up to the Roman article of Transubstantiation. All those words are true in a very good sense, and they are in that sense believed in the church of England; but that the bread is no more bread in the natural sense, and that it is naturally nothing but the natural body of Christ, that the substance of one is passed into the substance of the other, this is not affirmed by the fathers, neither can it be inferred from the former propositions, if they had been truly alleged; and therefore all that is for nothing, and must be intended only to cozen and amuse the reader that understands not all the windings of this labyrinth.

Lateran council did not determine the article of Transubstantiation,

In the next place, I am to give an account of what passed in the Lateran council upon this article. For says E. W.[d], the doctrine of Transubstantiation 'was ever believed in the church, though more fully and explicitly declared in the Lateran council.' But in the Dissuasive it was said, that 'it was but pretended to be determined in that council, where many things indeed came then in consultation, yet nothing could be openly decreed[e].' 'Nothing,' says Platina[f]; that is, says my adversary, 'nothing concerning the Holy Land, and the aids to be raised for it,' but for all this there might be a decree concerning Transubstantiation. To this I reply, that it is as true that nothing was done in this question, as that nothing was done in the matter of the holy war; for one was as much decreed as the other. For if we admit the acts of the council, that of giving aid to the Holy Land was decreed in the LXIX. canon, alias LXXI.[g]; so that this answer is not true. But the truth is, neither the one nor the other was decreed in that council. For that I may inform this gentleman in a thing which possibly he never heard of; this council of

[c] E. W., p. 37.
[d] P. 37.
[e] Letter to a friend, p. 18
[f] [In vit. p. Innocent. iii. p. 165.]
[g] Ad liberandam terram sanctam de manibus impiorum.—Extrav. de Judæis et Saracenis, 'Cum sit.' [Dele 'Cum sit.' (quæ est sect. præced.)—Decretal. Greg. ix., lib. v. tit. 6. cap. 17. col. 1528.—Harduin. concil., tom. vii. col. 71.]

Lateran was never published, nor any acts of it, till Cochlæus published them A. D. MDXXXVIII. For three years before this John Martin published the councils, and then there was no such thing as the acts of the Lateran council to be found. But you will say, how came Cochlæus by them? To this the answer is easy[h]; there were read in the council sixty chapters, which to some did seem easy, to others burdensome; but these were never approved, but the council ended in scorn and mockery, and nothing was concluded, neither of faith nor manners, nor war, nor aid for the Holy Land, but only the pope got money of the prelates to give them leave to depart. But afterwards pope Gregory the ninth put these chapters, or some of them, into the Decretals; but doth not entitle any of these to the council of Lateran, but only to pope Innocent in the council, which cardinal Perron ignorantly or wilfully mistaking, affirms the contrary. But so it is, that Platina[i] affirms of the pope, *Plurima decreta retulit; . . improbavit Joachimi libellum; . . damnavit errores Almerici.* The pope recited sixty heads of decrees in the council, but no man says the council decreed those heads. Now these heads Cochlæus says he found in an old book in Germany. And it is no ways probable that if the council had decreed those heads, that Gregory the ninth who published his uncle's decretal epistles, which make up so great a part of the canon law, should omit to publish the decrees of this council; or that there should be no acts of this great council in the Vatican, and that there should be no publication of them till about three hundred years after the council, and that out of a blind corner, and an old unknown manuscript. But the book shews its original, it was taken from the decretals; for it contains just so many heads, viz., seventy-two; and is not any thing of the council, in which only were recited sixty heads, and they have the same beginnings and endings, and the same notes and observations in the middle of the chapters: which shews plainly they were a mere force of the decretals. The consequent of all which is plainly this, that there was no decree made in the council, but every thing was left unfinished, and the council was affrighted by the warlike preparations of them of Genoa and Pisa, and all retired. Concerning which affair the reader that desires it may receive further satisfaction, if he read the *Antiquitates Britannicæ* in the life of Stephen Langton out of the lesser history of Matthew Paris[k]; as also Sabellicus, and Godfride the monk. But since it is become a question what was or was not determined in this Lateran council, I am content to tell them that the same authority, whether of pope or council, which made Transubstantiation an article

but brake up abruptly, without making any canons at all.

[h] Vide præfat. Later. concil. secundum P. Crabbe. [tom. ii. f. xciv. b.]

[i] [p. 165.]

[k] Vid. Matth. Paris, ad A.D. 1215. [p. 228 sqq.] et Naucleri generat. xli. ad eundem annum, [p. 914.] et Sabellicum, ennead. ix. lib. vi. [tom. ii. p. 741.] et Godfridum monachum, ad A.D. 1215. [In Freheri 'Rer. Germ. scriptt. ed. Struv., tom. i. p. 383.]

of faith, made Rebellion and Treason to be a duty of subjects; for in the same collection of canons they are both decreed and warranted under the same signature, the one being the first canon, and the other the third.

The use I shall make of all is this; Scotus was observed above[1] to say that in scripture there is nothing so express as to compel us to believe Transubstantiation, meaning, that without the decree and authority of the church, the scripture was of itself insufficient. And some others, as Salmeron[m] notes, affirm, that scripture and reason are both insufficient to convince a heretic in this article; this is to be proved *ex conciliorum definitione et patrum traditione, &c.*, 'by the definition of councils, and tradition of the fathers,' for it were easy to answer the places of scripture which are cited, and the reasons. Now then, since scripture alone is not thought sufficient, nor reasons alone, if the definitions of councils also shall fail them, they will be strangely to seek for their new article. Now for this their only castle of defence is the Lateran council. Indeed Bellarmine[n] produces the Roman council under pope Nicholas the second, in which Berengarius was forced to recant his error about the sacrament, but he recanted it into a worse error, and such which the church of Rome disavows at this day; and therefore ought not to pretend it as a patron of that doctrine which she approves not. And for the little council under Gregory the seventh, it is just so a general council as the church of Rome is the catholic church, or a particular is an universal: but suppose it so for this once; yet this council meddled not with the *modus*, viz., transubstantiation, or the ceasing of its being bread, but of the real presence of Christ under the elements, which is no part of our question. Berengarius denied it, but we do not, when it is rightly understood. Pope Nicholas himself did not understand the new article, for it was not fitted for publication until the time of the Lateran council; and how nothing of this was in that council determined, I have already[o] made appear: and therefore as Scotus said the scripture alone could not evict this article, so he also said in his argument made for the doctors that held the first opinion mentioned before out of Innocentius, *Nec invenitur ubi ecclesia istam veritatem determinet solenniter*, 'neither is it found where the church hath solemnly determined it.' And for his own particular, though he was carried into captivity by the symbol of pope Innocent the third, for which by that time was pretended the Lateran council; yet he himself said that before that council it was no article of faith: and for this thing Bellarmine[p] reproves him, and imputes ignorance to him, saying, that it was because he had not read the Roman council under Gregory the seventh, nor the consent of the fathers.

[1] [See p. 21, note a, and p. 573, above.]
[m] Tom. ix. tract. 16. [p. 110.]
[n] [See below.]
[o] [p. 577 sq. above.]
[p] Lib. iii. de euchar., c. 23. sect. 'Unum tamen.' [tom. iii. col. 752.]

And to this purpose I quoted Henriquez[q], saying that Scotus saith the doctrine of Transubstantiation is not ancient; the author of the 'Letter' denies that he saith any such thing of Scotus; but I desire him to look once more, and my margent will better direct him.

What the opinion of Durandus was in this question, if these gentlemen will not believe me, let them believe their own friends. But first let it be considered what I said, viz., 'that he maintained' (viz., in disputation) 1) 'that even after consecration the very matter of bread remained; 2) that by reason of the authority of the church it is not to be held; 3) that nevertheless it is possible it should be so; 4) that it is no contradiction that the matter of bread should remain, and yet it be Christ's body too; 5) that this were the easier way of solving the difficulties.' That all this is true I have no better argument than his own words, which are in his first question of the eleventh Distinction *In quartum, num.* 11, *et num.* 15. For indeed the case was very hard with these learned men, who being pressed by authority, did bite the file, and submitted their doctrine, but kept their reason to themselves: and what some in the council of Trent observed of Scotus, was true also of Durandus and divers other schoolmen, with whom it was usual to deny things with a kind of courtesy. And therefore Durandus in the places cited, though he disputes well for his opinion, yet he says the contrary is *modus tenendus de facto.* But besides that his words are, as I understand them, plain and clear to manifest his own hearty persuasion, yet I shall not desire to be believed upon my own account, for fear I be mistaken; but that I had reason to say it, Henriquez[r] shall be my warrant; *Durandus, dist.* xi. *qu.* 3, *ait esse probabile sed absque assertione, &c.;* he saith 'it is probable, but without assertion, that in the eucharist the same matter of bread remains without quantity.' And a little after he adds out of Cajetan, Paludanus, and Soto, that this opinion of Durandus is erroneous, but after the council of Trent it seems to be heretical: and yet (he says) it was held by Ægidius, and Euthymius, who had the good luck, it seems, to live and die before the council of Trent, otherwise they had been in danger of the inquisition for heretical pravity. But I shall not trouble myself further in this particular; I am fully vindicated by Bellarmine[s] himself, who spends a whole chapter in the confutation of this error of Durandus, viz., that the matter of bread remains. He endeavours to answer his arguments, and gives this censure of him, *Itaque sententia Durandi hæretica est,* 'therefore the sentence of Durandus is heretical, although he be not to be called a heretic, because he was ready to acquiesce in the judgment of the church.' So Bellarmine, who if he say true that Durandus was ready to submit to the judgment of the

[q] Scotus negat doctrinam de conversione et transubst. esse antiquam.—Henriquez, lib. viii. c. 23. in marg. ad liter. h. [p. 202, above.]

[r] Summa, lib. viii. c. 23. [p. 448. lit. s. in marg.]

[s] Lib. iii. de euchar., cap. 13. [tom. iii. col. 716 sqq.]

church, then he does not say true when he says the church before his time had determined against him: but however, that I said true of him when I imputed this opinion to him, Bellarmine is my witness. Thus you see I had reason for what I said, and by these instances it appears how hardly, and how long the doctrine of Transubstantiation was before it could be swallowed.

But I remember that Salmeron tells of divers who distrusting of scripture and reason, had rather in this point rely upon the tradition of the fathers, and therefore I descended to take from them this armour in which they trusted. And first, to ease a more curious enquiry, which in a short Dissuasive was not convenient, I used the abbreviature of an adversary's confession. For Alphonsus a Castro[t] confessed that in ancient writers there is seldom any mention made of Transubstantiation. One of my adversaries[u] says this is not spoken of the thing, but of the name of Transubstantiation, but if à Castro meant this only of the word, he spake weakly when he said that 'the name or word was seldom mentioned by the ancients.' 1. Because it is false that it was 'seldom' mentioned by the ancients, for the word was by the ancient fathers 'never' mentioned. 2. Because there was not any question of the word, where the thing was agreed; and therefore as this saying so understood had been false, so also if it had been true, it would have been impertinent. 3. It is but a trifling artifice to confess the name to be unknown, and by that means to insinuate that the thing was then under other names; it is a secret cozenage of an unwary[x] reader to bribe him into peace and contentedness for the main part of the question, by pleasing him in that part which it may be makes the biggest noise, though it be less material. 4. If the thing had been mentioned by the ancients, they need not, would not, ought not to have troubled themselves and others by a new word; to have still retained the old proposition under the old words, would have been less suspicious, more prudent and ingenious: but to bring in a new name is but the cover for a new doctrine; and therefore S. Paul[y] left an excellent precept to the church to avoid *profana vocum novitates*, 'the profane newness of words,' that is, it is fit that the mysteries revealed in scripture should be preached and taught in the words of the scripture, and with that simplicity, openness, easiness, and candour, and not with new and unhallowed words, such as is that of Transubstantiation. 5. A Castro did not speak of the name alone, but of the thing also, *de transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi*, 'of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body;' of this manner of conversion, that is, of this doctrine; now doctrines consist not in words but things: however, his last words are faint and weak and guilty; for being convinced of the weakness of his defence of the thing, he left to himself a subterfuge of words.

[t] [p. 203 above.]
[u] Letter, p. 21.
[x] ['unweary' A.]
[y] [1 Tim. vi. 20, ed. vulg.]

But let it be how it will with à Castro, whom I can very well spare if he will not be allowed to speak sober sense and as a wise man should, we have better and fuller testimonies in this affair. 'That the fathers did not so much as touch the matter or thing of Transubstantiation,' said the Jesuits in prison, as is reported by the author of the 'Modest discourse[z]:' and the great Erasmus[a], who lived and died in the communion of the church of Rome, and was as likely as any man of his age to know what he said, gave this testimony in the present question, *In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definivit ecclesia, et re et nomine veteribus ignotam,* 'in the communion the church hath but lately defined Transubstantiation, which both in the thing and in the name was unknown to the ancients.'

Now this was a fair and friendly inducement to the reader to take from him all prejudice which might stick to him by the great noises of the Roman doctors made upon their pretence of the fathers being on their side[b]; yet I would not so rely upon these testimonies but that I thought fit to give some little essay of this doctrine out of the fathers themselves.

To this purpose is alleged Justin M.[c] saying of the eucharist, that it was 'a figure, which our Lord commanded to do in remembrance of His passion.' These were quoted not as the words, but as the doctrine of that saint; and the 'Letter' will needs suppose me to mean those words, which are (as I find) in 259 and 260 page of the Paris edition[d], "The oblation of a cake was a figure of the eucharistical bread which the Lord commanded to do in remembrance of His passion." These are Justin's words in that place: with which I have nothing to do, as I shall shew by and by; but because card. Perron intends to make advantage of them, I shall wrest them first out of his hands, and then give an account of the doctrine of this holy man in the present article; both out of this place and others. Τῆς σμιδάλεως προσφορὰ, 'the oblation of a cake was a figure of the bread of the eucharist, which our Lord delivered us to do;' therefore says the cardinal, the eucharistical bread is the 'truth,' since the cake was the 'figure' or the shadow. To which I answer, that though the cake was a figure of the eucharistical bread, yet so might that bread be a figure of something else: just as baptism, I mean, the external rite, which although itself be but the outward part, and is the τύπος or 'figure' of the inward washing by the Spirit of grace, and represents our being buried with Christ in His death, yet it is an accomplishment in some sense of those many figures by which (according to the doctrine of the fathers) it was prefigured. Such

[z] [See p. 140, note k, and 202, note t, above.—The work is quoted by Bp. Andrewes, 'Responsio,' cap. 1, and Bp. Cosin on Transubst., cap. vi. § 17.]

[a] In priorem epist. ad Corinthios, citante etiam Salmeron. tom. ix. tract. 16. [p. 108.]

[b] Videat lector Picherellum, exposit. verborum institutionis cœnæ Domini, et ejusdem Dissertationem de missa. [p. 206, note b, above.]

[c] [p. 204, note f, above.]

[d] A.D. 1615.

as in S. Peter[e] the waters of the deluge, in Tertullian were the waters of Jordan into which Naaman descended, in S. Austin the waters of sprinkling: these were types, and to these baptism did succeed, and represented the same thing which they represented, and effected or exhibited the thing it did represent, and therefore in this sense they prefigured baptism: and yet that this is but a figure still, we have S. Peter's warrant, "The like figure whereunto, even baptism, doth also now save us; not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God." The waters of the flood were *τύπος*, 'a type' of the waters of baptism: the waters of baptism were *ἀντίτυπον*, that is, a type answering to a type; and yet even here there is a typical, representing, and signifying part, and beyond that there is the *veritas* or the 'thing signified' by both. So it is in the oblation of the cake, and the eucharistical bread; that was a type of this, and this the *ἀντίτυπον* or correspondent of that; a type answering to a type, a figure to a figure; and both of them did and do respectively represent a thing yet more secret. For as S. Austin said, these and those are 'divers in the sign but equal in the thing signified, divers in the visible species but the same in the intelligible signification;' those were promissive, and these demonstrative, or as others express it, those were pronunciative, and these of the gospel are contestative. So friar Gregory of Padua noted in the council of Trent[f]; and that this was the sense of Justin M. appears to him that considers what he says. First, he does not say 'the cake' is a type of the bread, but 'the oblation of the cake,' that is, that whole rite of offering a cake after the leper was cleansed in token of thankfulness, and for his legal purity, was a type of the bread of the eucharist, 'which for the remembrance of the passion which He suffered for these men whose minds are purged from all perverseness, Jesus Christ our Lord commanded to make or do.' To do what? to do bread? or to make bread? No, but to make bread to be eucharistical, to be a memorial of the passion, to represent the death of Christ: so that it is not the cake and the bread that are the type and the antitype; but the oblation of the cake was 'the figure,' and the celebration of Christ's memorial, and the eucharist, are 'the thing presignified and prefigured.' But then it remains that the eucharistical bread is but the instrument of a memorial or recordation, which still supposes something beyond this, and by this to be figured and represented. For as the apostle[g] says, "Our fathers did eat of the same spiritual meat," that is, they eat Christ, but they eat Him in figure, that is, in an external symbol: so do we, only theirs is abolished, and ours succeeds the old, and shall abide for ever. Nay the very words used by Justin M. do evince this, it is *ἄρτος εὐχαριστίας*, when it is an eucharist, it is still but 'bread;' and therefore there is a body of which this is but an outward argument, a vehicle, a channel and conveyance, and that is the body of Christ; for the eucharistical

[e] [1 Pet. iii. 21.] [f] A.D. 1547. [Sarpi, lib. iii. p. 233.] [g] [1 Cor. x. 3.]

bread is both bread, and Christ's body too. For it is a good argument to say, 'this is bread eucharistical, therefore this is bread;' and if it be bread still, it must be a figure of the bread of life; and this is that which I affirmed to be the sense of Justin M. The like expression to this is in his second Apology[i], 'It is not common bread,' meaning, that it is sanctified and made eucharistical. But here, it may be, the argument will not hold, 'It is not common bread, therefore it is bread;' for I remember that cardinal Perron[j] hath some instances against this way of arguing: for the dove that descended upon Christ's head was not a common dove, and yet it follows not, 'therefore this was a dove:' the three that appeared to Abraham were not common men, 'therefore they were men,' it follows not. This is the sophistry of the cardinal, for the confutation of which I have so much logic left as to prove this to be a fallacy, and it will soon appear if it be reduced to a regular proposition. 'This bread is not common, therefore this bread is extraordinary bread, but therefore this is bread still;' here the consequence is good; and is so still, when the subject of the proposition is something real[k], and not in appearance only: because whatsoever is but in appearance and pretence, is a *non ens* in respect of that real thing which it counterfeits. And therefore it follows not, 'This is not a common dove, therefore it is a dove;' because if this be modelled into a right proposition, *nihil supponit*, 'there is no subject in it,' for it cannot in this case be said, 'This dove is no common dove;' but 'this which is like a dove, is not a common dove;' and 'these persons which look like men, are not common men.' And the rule for this and the reason too is, *Non entis nulla sunt prædicata.* To which also this may be added, that in the proposition as card. Perron expresses it, the negation is not the adjective but the substantive part of the predicate; 'It is no common dove;' where the negative term relates to the 'dove,' not to 'common;' it is no dove: and the words 'not common' are also equivocal, and as it can signify 'extraordinary,' so it can signify 'natural.' But if the subject of the proposition be something real, then the consequent is good; as if you bring a pigeon from Japan, all red, you may say, 'This is no common pigeon,' and your argument is still good, 'therefore it is a pigeon.' So if you take sugared bread, or bread made of Indian wheat, you saying 'this is no common bread,' do mean it is extraordinary or unusual, but it is bread still; and so if it be said, 'this bread is eucharistical,' it will follow rightly, therefore 'this is bread.' For in this case the predicate is only an infinite or negative term, but the subject is supposed and affirmed. And this is also more apparent if the proposition be

[i] [p. 55 supra, et not. o, infra.]

[k] A propositione tertii adjecti ad propositionem secundi adjecti valet consequentia, si subjectum supponat realiter. —Reg. dialect. [See this doctrine fully explained by Chr. Scheibler (Opus Logicum, part. iii. ch. 12. tit. 2, and elsewhere) and by other commentators on Aristot. περὶ ἑρμ.. ch. x.; e. g. Tolet in Periherm. p. 249, together with his references to Albertus, Boethius, and Ammonius.]—Vide sect. v. n. 10, 'Of Christ's real presence and spiritual.'

affirmative, and the terms be not infinite, as it is in the present case, 'This bread is eucharistical.'—I have now I suppose cleared the words of Justin M., and expounded them to his own sense and the truth; but his sense will further appear in other words which I principally rely upon in this quotation. For speaking[1] that of the prophet Isai.[m], *Panis dabitur ei, et aqua ejus fidelis;* he hath these words, "It appears sufficiently that in this prophecy he speaks of bread which our Lord Christ hath delivered to us to do, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τε σωματοποιήσασθαι, for a memorial that He is made a body for them that believe in Him, for whose sake He was made passible; and of the cup which for the recordation of His blood He delivered to them to do; that is, (give thanks, or) celebrate the eucharist." These are the words of Justin: where 1) according to the first simplicity of the primitive church, he treats of this mystery according to the style of the evangelists and S. Paul, and indeed of our blessed Lord himself, commanding all this whole mystery to be done 'in memory of Him.' 2) If S. Justin had meant any thing of the new fabric of this mystery, he must have said, Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν τὸν ἄρτον σωματοποιηθέντα, 'the bread made His body,' though this also would not have done their work for them; but when he says He gave the bread only for the remembrance of His being made a body, the bread must needs be the sign, figure, and representation of that body. 3) Still he calls it bread even then when Christ gave it; still it is wine when the eucharist is made, when the faithful have given thanks; and if it be bread still, we also grant it to be Christ's body, and then there is a figure and the thing figured, the one visible and the other invisible; and this is it which I affirmed to be the sense of Justin Martyr. And it is more perfectly explicated by S. Greg. Naz.[n] calling the paschal lamb 'a figure of a figure,' of which I shall yet give an account in this section. But to make this yet more clear, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πότον ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, κ.τ.λ., 'we do not receive these as common bread or common drink; but as by the word of God Jesus Christ our Lord was made flesh, and for our salvation had flesh and blood: so are we taught that that very nourishment on which by the prayers of His word thanks are given, by which our flesh and blood are nourished by change, is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus.' Here S. Justin compares the consecration of the eucharist by prayer to the incarnation of Christ, the thing with the thing, to shew it is not common bread, but bread made Christ's body; he compares not the manner of one with the manner of the other, as cardinal Perron[o]

[1] [Dial. cum Tryph., § 70.] p. 296. [al. 168.]

[m] [cap. xxxiii. ver. 16.]

[n] Oratio ii. in pascha. [p. 205, note o, above.]

[o] [Vid. De l'euchar. liv. ii. auth. 3. p. 187.] Sic solemus loqui: sicut panis est vita corporis, ita verbum Dei est vita animæ. Non scil. eundem conversionis aut nutriendi modum connotando, sed similem et analogicum effectum utriusque nutrimenti observando.

would fain have it believed; for if it were so, it would not only destroy an article of christian faith, but even of the Roman too; for if the changes were in the same manner, then either the man is transubstantiated into God, or else the bread is not transubstantiated into Christ's body; but the first cannot be, because it would destroy the hypostatical union, and make Christ to be one nature as well as one person; but for the latter part of the dilemma, viz., that the bread is not transubstantiated, whether it be true or false it cannot be affirmed from hence: and therefore the cardinal labours to no purpose, and without consideration of what may follow. But now these words make very much against the Roman hypothesis, and directly prove the εὐχαριστηθεῖσα τροφὴ, 'the consecrated bread' that is, after it is consecrated to be natural nourishment of the body, and therefore to be Christ's body only spiritually and sacramentally: unless it can be two substances at the same time, Christ's body and bread in the natural sense, which the church of Rome at this day will not allow; and if it were allowed, it would follow that Christ's body should be transubstantiated into our body, and suffer the very worst changes which in our eating and digestion and separation happen to common bread. This argument relies upon the concurrent testimony of many of the ancient fathers besides Justin Martyr, especially S. Irenæus[p], and certainly destroys the whole Roman article of Transubstantiation; for if the eucharistical bread nourishes the body, then it is still the substance of bread: for accidents do not nourish, and quantity or quality is not the subject or term of nutrition, but reparation of substance by a substantial change of one into another. But of this enough.

Eusebius is next alleged in the Dissuasive[q]; but his words, though pregnant and full of proof against the Roman hypothesis, are by all the contra-scribers let alone, only one[r] of them says that the place of the quotation is not rightly marked, for the first three chapters are not extant: well, but the words are; and the last chapter is, which is there quoted, and to the tenth chapter the printer should have more carefully attended, and not omit the cypher, which I suppose he would, if he had foreseen he should have been written against by so learned an adversary. But to let them agree as well as they can, the words of Eusebius[s] out of his last chapter I translated as well as I could; the Greek words I have set in the margent, that

[p] Lib. iv. cap. 34. [al. 18. p. 251.] et lib. v. cap. 2. [p. 294.]

[q] [p. 204 above.]

[r] A. L.

[s] Demonstr. evang., lib. i. c. ult. Τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμοὺς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες· 'the apostles received a command according to the constitution of the N. T. to make a memory of this sacrifice upon the table by the symbols of His body and healthful blood:' so the words are translated in the Dissuasive. But the Letter translates them thus, 'Seeing therefore we have received the memory of this sacrifice to be celebrated in certain signs on the table, and the memory of that body and healthful blood, as is the institute of the New testament.'

every one that understands may see I did him right. And indeed to do my adversary right, when he goes about to change, not to mend the translation, he only changes the order of the words, but in nothing does he mend his own matter by it: for he acknowledges the main question, viz., that 'the memory of Christ's sacrifice is to be celebrated in certain signs on the table.' But then that I may do myself right, and the question too; whosoever translated these words for this gentleman hath abused him, and made him to render ἐκτελεῖν as if it were ἐκτελεῖσθαι· and hath made τὴν μνήμην to be governed by παρειληφότες, which is so far off it and hath no relation to it, and not to be governed by ἐκτελεῖν with which it is joined; and hath made σώματος to be governed by τὴν μνήμην, when it hath a substantive of its own, συμβόλων· and he repeats τὴν μνήνην once more than it is in the words of Eusebius, only because he would not have the reader suppose that Eusebius called the consecrated elements 'the symbols of the body and blood.' But this fraud was too much studied to be excusable upon the stock of human infirmity, or an innocent persuasion. But that I may satisfy the reader in this question, so far as the testimony and doctrine of Eusebius[t] can extend, he hath these words fully to our purpose. "First, our Lord and Saviour, and then after Him His priests of all nations, celebrating the spiritual sacrifice according to the ecclesiastic laws, by the bread and the wine signify the mysteries of His body and healing blood." And again[u], "By the wine which is the symbol of His blood, He purges the old sins of them who were baptized into His death and believe in His blood." Again, "He gave to His disciples the symbols of the divine economy, commanding them to make the image" (figure or representation) "of His own body." And again, "He received not the sacrifices of blood, nor the slaying of divers beasts instituted in the law of Moses, but ordained we should use bread, the symbol of His own body." So far I thought fit to set down the words of Eusebius, to convince my adversary that Eusebius is none of theirs, but he is wholly ours in the doctrine of the sacrament.

S. Macarius[x] is cited in the Dissuasive in these words, "In the

[t] Lib. v. c. 3. Πρῶτος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἔπειτα οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες ἱερεῖς ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες κατὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς ἱερουργίαν, οἴνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος αἰνίττονται τὰ μυστήρια. [p. 223 C.]

[u] Lib. viii. c. 1. Διὰ τοῦ οἴνου, ὅπερ ἦν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ σύμβολον, τοὺς εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ βαπτιζομένους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ πεπιστευκότας τῶν πάλαι κακῶν ἀποκαθαίρει. Et paulo post, Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτὸς τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐνθέου οἰκονομίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ παρεδίδου μαθηταῖς τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ποιεῖσθαι παρακελευόμενος. [p. 380 B.]

—Οὐκέτι τὰς δι' αἱμάτων θυσίας οὐδὲ τὰς παρὰ Μωσεῖ ἐν διαφόρων ζώων σφαγαῖς νενομοθετημένας πρησίετο, ἄρτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι συμβόλῳ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος παρεδίδου. [ibid. D.]

[x] Ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσφέρεται ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ἀντίτυπον τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος· καὶ οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τοῦ φαινομένου ἄρτου πνευματικῶς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐσθίουσι. [homil. xxvii. p. 108 C.—p. 204, supra.]

church is offered bread and wine, the antitype of His flesh and blood, and they that partake of the bread that appears, do spiritually eat the flesh of Christ." A. L.[z] saith, "Macarius saith not so, but rather the contrary, viz., bread and wine exhibiting the exemplar (or an antitype) His flesh and blood." Now although I do not suppose many learned or good men will concern themselves with what this little man says; yet I cannot but note that they who gave him this answer, may be ashamed; for here is a double satisfaction in this little answer. First, he puts in the word 'exhibiting' of his own head, there being no such word in S. Macarius in the words quoted. Secondly, he makes σαρκὸς to be put with ἀντίτυπον by way of apposition, expressly against the mind of S. Macarius, and against the very grammar of his words. And after all, he studies to abuse his author, and yet gets no good by it himself; for if it were in the words as he hath invented it, or somebody else for him, yet it makes against him as much, saying, 'bread and wine exhibit Christ's body;' which is indeed true, though not here said by the saint, but is directly against the Roman article, because it confesses that to be bread and wine by which Christ's body is exhibited to us: but much more is the whole testimony of S. Macarius, which in the Dissuasive are translated exactly, as the reader may see by the Greek words cited in the margent.

There now only remains the authority of S. Austin, which this gentleman[z] would fain snatch from the church of England, and assert to his own party. I cited five places out of S. Austin, to the last of which but one, he gives this answer; that S. Austin hath no such words in that book, that is, in the tenth book against Faustus the Manichee. Concerning which, I am to inform the gentleman a little better: these words, "That which by all men is called a sacrifice, is the sign of the true sacrifice," are in the tenth book of S. Austin de C. D. cap. 5, and make a distinct quotation, and ought by the printer[a] to have been divided by a columne[b], as the other. But the following words, "in which the flesh of Christ after His assumption is celebrated by the sacrament of remembrance," are in the twentieth book, cap. 21, against Faustus the Manichee[c]. All these words and divers others of S. Austin I knit together into a close order, like a continued discourse; but all of them are S. Austin's words, as appears in the places set down in the margent. But this gentleman cared not for what was said by S. Austin, he was as well pleased that a figure was false printed; but to the words he hath nothing to say. To the first of the other four only he makes this crude answer; that

[z] Page 22.

[a] [See p. 152 above.—Taylor in writing the 'Dissuasive' referred probably to his own notes in the 'Real Presence.']

[b] [sic ed.]

[c] Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post ascensum Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur.—Lib. xx. c. 21. contr. Faustum Manich. [tom. viii. col. 348.]

"S. Austin denied not the real eating of Christ's body in the eucharist, but only the eating it in that gross, carnal, and sensible manner, as the Capharnaites conceived." To which I reply, that it is true that upon occasion of this error S. Austin did speak those words; and although the Roman error be not so gross and dull as that of the Capharnaites, yet it was as false, as unreasonable, and as impossible. And be the occasion of the words what they are, or can be, yet upon this occasion S. Austin spake words which as well confute the Roman error as the Capharnaitical. For it is not only false which the men of Capernaum dreamt of, but the antithesis to this is that which S. Austin urges, and which comes home to our question, "I have commended to you a sacrament which being spiritually understood shall quicken you."—But because S. Austin was the most diligent expounder of this mystery among all the fathers, I will gratify my adversary, or rather indeed my unprejudicate readers, by giving some other very clear and unanswerable evidences of the doctrine of S. Austin, agreeing perfectly with that of our church. "At this time[d] after manifest token of our liberty hath shined in the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, we are not burdened with the heavy operation of signs; .. but some few instead of many, but those most easy to be done, and most glorious to be understood, and most pure in their observation, our Lord himself and the apostolical discipline hath delivered: such is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord, which when every one takes, he understands[e] whither they may be referred, that he may give them veneration, not with carnal service, but with a spiritual liberty. For as to follow the letter, and to take the signs for the things signified by them, is a servile infirmity; so to interpret the signs unprofitably is an evil wandering error. But he that understands not what the sign signifies, but yet understandeth it to be a sign, is not pressed with servitude. But it is better to be pressed with unknown signs so they be profitable, than by expounding them unprofitably to thrust our necks into the yoke of slavery, from which they were brought forth." All this S. Austin spake concerning the sacramental signs, the bread and the wine in the eucharist; and if by these words he does not intend to affirm that they are the signs signifying Christ's body and blood; let who please to undertake it make sense of them, for my part I cannot.

To the same purpose are these other words of his[f], "Christ is in Himself once immolated[g], and yet in the sacrament He is sacrificed not only in the solemnities of Easter, but every day with the people[h]. Neither indeed does he lie who being asked, shall answer, that He is sacrificed: for if the sacraments have[i] not a similitude of those things

[d] De doctr. Christ., lib. iii. cap. 9. [tom. iii. col. 49.]
[e] ['imbutus agnoscit.']
[f] Epist. xxiii. [al. xcviii. § 9.—tom. ii. col. 267.]
[g] ['immolatus est.']
[h] ['populis immolatur.']
[i] ['haberent.']

of which they are sacraments, they were altogether no sacraments; but commonly for this similitude they take the names of the things themselves." *Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum, &c.*, "as therefore after a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of faith," viz., baptism, "is faith." Christ is but once immolated or sacrificed in Himself, but every day in the sacrament; that properly, this in figure; that in substance, this in similitude; that naturally, this sacramentally and spiritually. But therefore we call this mystery a sacrifice, as we call the sacrament Christ's body, viz., by way of similitude or after a certain manner, for upon this account the names of the things are imputed to their very figures. This is S. Austin's sense: which indeed he frequently so expresses. Now I desire it may be observed, that oftentimes when S. Austin speaking of the eucharist, calls it the body and blood of Christ, he oftentimes adds by way of explication that he means it in the sacramental, figurative sense; but whenever he calls it the figure or the sacrament of Christ's body, he never offers to explain that by any words by which he may signify such a real or natural being of Christ's body there as the church of Rome dreams of; but he ought not, neither would he have given offence or umbrage to the church by any such incurious and loose handling of things, if the church in his age had thought of it otherwise than that it was Christ's body in a sacramental sense.

Though I have remarked all that is objected by A. L., yet E. W.[k] is not satisfied with the quotation out of Greg. Naz.[1]; not but that he acknowledges it to be right, for he sets down the words in Latin, but they conclude nothing against Transubstantiation. Why so? because, though the paschal was a type of a type, a figure of a figure, yet "in S. Gregory's sense Christ concealed under the species of bread may be rightly called a figure of its own self, more clearly hereafter to be shewed us in heaven." To this pitiful answer the reply is easy. S. Gregory clearly enough expresses himself, that in the immolation of the passover Christ was figured; that in the eucharist He still is figured, there more obscurely, here more clearly, but yet still but typically, or in figure; *nunc quidem adhuc typice*, 'here we are partakers of Him typically: afterwards we shall see Him perfectly, meaning in His Father's kingdom.' So that the saint affirms Christ to be received by us in the sacrament after a figurative or typical manner, and therefore not after a substantial, as that is opposed to figurative. Now of what is this a type? of Himself to be more clearly seen in heaven hereafter. It is very true, it is so; for this whole ceremony, and figurative, ritual receiving of Christ's

[k] P. 41.

[1] Orat. ii. in pascha. [p. 205, note o, above.]—Jam vero paschatis participes erimus, nunc quidem adhuc typice, tametsi apertius quam in veteri lege; legale siquidem pascha (nec enim dicere verebor) figuræ figura erat obscurior.

body here, does prefigure our more excellent receiving and enjoying Him hereafter; but then it follows that the very proper substance of Christ's body is not here; for 'figure' or 'shadow' and 'substance' cannot be the same; to say a thing that is present is a figure of itself hereafter, is to be said by no man but him that cares not what he says. *Nemo est sui ipsius imago,* saith S. Hilary[m]; and yet if it were possible to be otherwise, yet it is a strange figure or sign of a thing, that what is invisible should be a sign of what is visible. Bellarmine[n], being greatly put to it by the fathers calling the sacrament the figure of Christ's body, says, it is in some sense a figure of Christ's body on the cross; and here E. W. would affirm out of Naz. that it is a figure of Christ's body glorified. Now suppose both these dreamers say right, then this sacrament, which whether you look forwards or backwards is a figure of Christ's body, cannot be that body of which so many ways it is a figure. So that the whole force of E. W.'s. answer is this, that if that which is like be the same, then it is possible that a thing may be a sign of its self, and a man may be his own picture, and that which is invisible may be a sign to give notice to come see a thing that is visible.

I have now expedited this topic of authority in this question. Amongst the many reasons I urged against Transubstantiation (which I suppose to be unanswerable, and if I could have answered them myself I would not have produced them) these gentlemen my adversaries[o] are pleased to take notice but of one; but by that it may be seen how they could have answered all the rest, if they had pleased. The argument is this; 'Every consecrated wafer (saith the church of Rome) is Christ's body; and yet this wafer is not that wafer; therefore either this or that is not Christ's body, or else Christ hath two natural bodies, for there are two wafers.' To this is answered, the multiplication of wafers does not multiply bodies to Christ, no more than head and feet infer two souls in a man, or conclude there are two Gods, one in heaven and the other in earth, because heaven and earth are more distinct than two wafers. To which I reply, first, that the soul of man is in the head and feet as in two parts of the body which is one and whole, and so is but in one place, and consequently is but one soul. But if the feet were parted from the body by other bodies intermedial, then indeed if there were but one soul in feet and head, the gentleman had spoken to the purpose. But here these wafers are two entire wafers, separate the one from the other; bodies intermedial put between; and that which is here is not there; and yet of each of them it is affirmed that it is Christ's body; that is, of two wafers, and of two thousand wafers, it is at the same time affirmed of every one that it is Christ's body. Now if these wafers are substantially not the same, not one but many, and

[m] Lib. de synod. [p. 155. note l, above.]

[n] De euchar., lib. ii. c. 15. sect. 'Est igitur tertia.' [tom. iii. col. 601.]

[o] E. W., p. 42.

yet every one of these many is substantially and properly Christ's body, then these bodies are many, for they are many of whom it is said, every one distinctly and separately and in itself is Christ's body. Secondly, for his comparing the presence of Christ in the wafer with the presence of God in heaven, it is spoken without common wit or sense; for does any man say that God is in two places, and yet be [o] the same one God? can God be in two places that cannot be in one? can He be determined and numbered by places, that fills all places by His presence? or is Christ's body in the sacrament as God is in the world, that is, *repletive*, filling all things alike, spaces void and spaces full, and there where there is no place, where the measures are neither time nor place, but only the power and will of God? This answer, besides that it is weak and dangerous, is also to no purpose, unless the church of Rome will pass over to the Lutherans, and maintain the ubiquity of Christ's body. Yea but S. Austin[p] says of Christ, *Ferebatur in manibus suis, &c.* 'He bore Himself in His own hands:' and what then? Then though every wafer be Christ's body, yet the multiplication of wafers does not multiply bodies: for then there would be two bodies of Christ, when He carried His own body in His hands. To this I answer, that concerning S. Austin's mind we are already satisfied: but that which he says here is true, as he spake and intended it; for by his own rule, the similitudes and figures of things are oftentimes called by the name of those things whereof they are similitudes: Christ bore His own body in His own hands, when He bore the sacrament of His body; for of that also it is true, that it is truly His body in a sacramental, spiritual, and real manner, that is, to all intents and purposes of the Holy Spirit of God. According to the words of S. Austin cited by P. Lombard[q], "We call that the body of Christ which being taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated by mystic prayer, we receive in memory of the Lord's passion; which when by the hands of men [r] it is brought on to that visible shape, it is not sanctified to become so worthy a sacrament but by the spirit of God working invisibly." If this be good catholic doctrine, and if this confession of this article be right, the church of England is right; but then when the church of Rome will not let us alone in this truth and modesty of confession, but impose what is unknown in antiquity and scripture, and against common sense and the reason of all the world; she must needs be greatly in the wrong. But as to this question I was here only to justify the Dissuasive; I suppose these gentlemen may be fully satisfied in the whole enquiry, if they please to read a book[s] I have written on this subject entirely, of which hitherto they are pleased to take no great notice.

[o] [sic ed.]

[p] In Ps. xxxiii. [enarr. i. § 10.—tom. iv. col. 214.]

[q] Lib. iii. de Trin., c. 4. in fine.—P. Lombard. dist. 11. lib. iv. ad finem, lit. C. [p. 737.]

[r] ['hominis.']

[s] 'Christ's real and spiritual presence in the sacrament against the doctrine of Transubstantiation,' printed at London by R. Royston.

§ 4. Of the half communion.

WHEN the French embassador in the council of Trent A.D. MDLXI.[s] made instance for restitution of the chalice to the laity, among other oppositions the cardinal S. Angelo answered, 'that he would never give a cup full of such deadly poison to the people of France instead of a medicine, and that it was better to let them die than to cure them with such remedies.' The embassador being greatly offended replied 'that it was not fit to give the name of poison to the blood of Christ, and to call the holy apostles poisoners, and the fathers of the primitive church, and of that which followed for many hundred years, who with much spiritual profit have ministered the cup of that blood to all the people.' This was a great and a public, yet but a single person, that gave so great offence.

Decree of the council of Constance.

One of the greatest scandals that ever were given to christendom was given by the council of Constance[t]; which having acknowledged that Christ administered this venerable sacrament under both kinds, of bread and wine, and that in the primitive church this sacrament was received of the faithful under both kinds, yet the council not only condemns them as heretics, and to be punished accordingly, who say it is unlawful to observe the custom and law of giving it in one kind only; but under pain of excommunication forbids all priests to communicate the people under both kinds. This last thing is so shameful and so impious, that A. L. directly denies that there is any such thing: which if it be not an argument of the self-conviction of the man, and a resolution to abide in his error, and to deceive the people even against his knowledge, let all the world judge: for the words of the council's decree, as they are set down by Carranza, at the end of the decree[u], are these, *Item præcipimus sub pœna excommunicationis quod nullus presbyter communicet populum sub utraque specie panis et vini.* I need say no more in this affair: to affirm it necessary to do in the sacraments what Christ did, is called heresy; and to do so is punished with excommunication. But we who follow Christ, hope we shall communicate with Him, and then we are well enough, especially since the very institution of the sacrament in both kinds is a sufficient commandment to minister and receive it in both kinds. For if the church of Rome upon their supposition only that Christ did barely institute confession, do therefore urge it as necessary, it will be a strange partiality that the confessed institution by Christ of the two sacramental species, shall not conclude them as necessary, as the other upon an unproved supposition. And if the institution of the sacrament in both kinds be not equal to a command, then there is no command to receive the bread, or indeed to receive the sacrament at all, but it is a mere act of supererogation that the

[s] [leg. MDLXII.—Sarpi, book vi. p. 508.]

[t] Sess. xiii. [p. 208 above.]

[u] Lugduni, A.D. MDC. apud Horatium Cardon, p. 440. [p. 834, ed. Rothom. MDCXLI.]

priests do it at all, and an act of favour and grace that they give even the bread itself to the laity.

But besides this, it is not to be endured that the church of Rome only binds her subjects to observe the decree of abstaining from the cup *jure humano,* and yet they shall be bound *jure divino* to believe it to be just; and specially since the causes of so scandalous an alteration are not set down in the decree of any council, and those which are set down by private doctors, besides that they are no record of the church, they are ridiculous, weak and contemptible. But as Granatensis said in the council of Trent[x], this affair can neither be regulated by scripture nor traditions (for surely it is against both) but 'by wisdom;' wherein because it is necessary to proceed to[y] circumspection, I suppose the church of Rome will always be considering whether she should give the chalice or no; and because she will not acknowledge any reason sufficient to give it, she will be content to keep it away without reason: and, which is worse, the church of Rome excommunicates those priests that communicate the people in both kinds[z]; but the primitive church excommunicates them that receive but in one kind. It is too much that any part of the church should so much as in a single instance administer the holy sacrament otherwise than it is in the institution of Christ, there being no other warrant for doing the thing at all but Christ's institution, and therefore no other way of learning how to do it but by the same institution by which all of it is done. And if there can come a case of necessity (as if there be no wine, or if a man cannot endure wine) it is then a disputable matter whether it ought or not to be omitted; for if the necessity be of God's making, He is supposed to dispense with the impossibility: but if a man alters what God appointed, he makes to himself a new institution; for which in this case there can be no necessity, nor yet excuse. But suppose either one or other; yet so long as it is, or is thought, a case of necessity, the thing may be hopefully excused, if not actually justified; and because it can happen but seldom, the matter is not great: let the institution be observed always where it can. But then in all cases of possibility let all prepared Christians be invited to receive the body and blood of Christ according to His institution; or if that be too much, at least let all them that desire it be permitted to receive it in Christ's way: but that men are not suffered to do so, that they are driven from it, that they are called heretic for saying it is their duty to receive it as Christ gave it and appointed it, that they should be excommunicated for desiring to communicate in Christ's blood by the symbol of His blood, according to the order of Him that gave His blood; this is such a strange piece of christianity, that it is not easy to imagine what anti-

[x] A.D. MDLXII.

[y] [sic ed.]

[z] Vide 'Preface to the Dissuasive,' part 1.—Canon 'Comperimus.' De consecrat. dist. ii. [p. 209 note o, above.]

christ can do more against it, unless he take it all away. I only desire those persons who are here concerned to weigh well the words of Christ[a], and the consequents of them, "He that breaketh one of the least of My commandments, and shall teach men so," (and what if he compel men so?) "shall be called the least in the kingdom of God."

To the canon last mentioned it is answered, that the canon speaks not of receiving the sacrament by the communicants, but of the consummating the sacrifice by the priest. To this I reply, 1) that it is true that the canon was particularly directed to the priests, by the title which themselves put to it; but the canon meddles not with the consecrating or not consecrating in one kind, but of 'receiving;' for that is the title of the canon. The priest ought 'not to receive the body' of Christ without the blood; and in the canon itself, *Comperimus autem quod quidam sumpta corporis sacri portione, a calice sacrati cruoris abstineant.* By which it plainly appears that the consecration was entire; for it was *calix sacrati cruoris,* the consecrated chalice, from which out of a fond superstition some priests did abstain; the canon therefore relates to the sumption or receiving, not the sacrificing (as these men love to call it) or consecration, and the sanction itself speaks indeed of the reception of the sacrament, but not a word of it as it is in any sense a sacrifice; *aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur.* So that the distinction of 'sacrament' and 'sacrifice' in this question will be of no use to the church of Rome. For if pope Gelasius (for it was his canon) knew nothing of this distinction, it is vainly applied to the expounding of his words; but if he did know of it, then he hath taken that part which is against the church of Rome; for of this mystery as it is a sacrament Gelasius speaks, which therefore must relate to the people as well as to the priest; and this canon is to this purpose quoted by Cassander[b]. And 2) no man is able to shew that ever Christ appointed one way of receiving to the priest, and another to the people: the law was all one, the example the same, the rule is simple and uniform, and no appearance of difference in the scripture, or in the primitive church; so that though the canon mentions only the priest, yet it must by the same reason mean all; there being at that time no difference known. 3) It is called sacrilege to divide one and the same mystery; meaning that to receive one without the other, is to divide the body from the blood, (for the dream of 'concomitancy' was not then found out) and therefore the title of the canon is thus expressed, *Corpus Christi sine ejus sanguine sacerdos non debet accipere;* and that the so doing, viz., by receiving one without the other, cannot be without sacrilege. 4) Now suppose at last that the priests only are concerned in this canon, yet even then also they are abundantly reproved, because even the priests in

[a] [Matth. v. 19.]

[b] In consult. de sacra commun. [p. 1025.]

the church of Rome (unless they consecrate) communicate but in one kind. 5) It is also remarkable that although in the church of Rome there is great use made of the distinction of its being sometime a sacrifice, sometime only a sacrament, as friar Ant. Mondolphus said in the council of Trent [b], yet the arguments by which the Roman doctors do usually endeavour to prove the lawfulness of the half communion do destroy this distinction, viz., that of Christ's ministering to the disciples at Emmaus, and S. Paul in the ship, in which either there is no proof or no consecration in both kinds, and consequently no sacrifice: for there is mention made only of 'blessing the bread,' for they received that which was blessed; and therefore either the consecration was imperfect, or the reception was entire.

Authority of S. Ambrose.

To this purpose also the words of S. Ambrose are severe, and speak clearly of communicants without distinction of priest and people: which distinction though it be in this article nothing to the purpose, yet I observe it to prevent such trifling cavils which my adversaries put me often to fight with. His words are these[c], "He" (viz., the apostle S. Paul) "saith that he is unworthy of the Lord who otherwise celebrates the mystery than it was delivered by Him; for he cannot be devout that presumes otherwise than it was given by the author: therefore he before admonishes that, according to the order delivered, the mind of him that comes to the eucharist of our Lord be devout; for there is a judgment to come, that as every one comes, so he may render an account in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, because they who come without the discipline of the delivery (or tradition) and of conversation are guilty of the body and blood of our Lord." One of my adversaries[d] says these words of S. Ambrose are to be understood only of the priest, and it appears so by the word *celebrat*, not *recipit*, he that 'celebrates' otherwise than is delivered by Christ. To this I answer, that first, it is plain, and S. Ambrose so expresses his meaning to be of all that receive it, for so he says that 'the mind of him that cometh to the eucharist of our Lord ought to be devout.' Secondly, it is an ignorant conceit that S. Ambrose by *celebrat* means the priest only, because he only can celebrate. For however the church of Rome does now almost impropriate that word to the priest, yet in the primitive church it was no more than *recipit* or *accedit ad eucharistiam*, which appears not only by S. Ambrose[e] his expounding it

[b] [Sarpi, book vi. p. 505.]

[c] [In 1 Cor. xi. 27.]—Indignum dicit esse Domino, qui aliter mysterium celebrat quam ab eo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus esse qui aliter præsumit quam datum est ab auctore. Ideoque præmonet ut secundum ordinem traditum devota mens sit accedentis ad eucharistiam Domini; quoniam futurum est judicium, ut quemadmodum accedit unusquisque, reddat causas in die Domini Jesu Christi; quia sine disciplina traditionis et conversationis qui accedunt, rei sunt corporis et sanguinis Domini.

[d] A. L., p. 4.

[e] [Al. S. Maxim. Taurin.] serm. i. de eleemos. [In magn. bibl. vett. patr., tom. v. part. 1. p. 43.—Serm. ii. has these words, 'Apud superos mysterium celebratur.']

so here, but in S. Cyprian[f], speaking to a rich matron, *Locuples et dives es, et dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis,* 'dost thou who art rich and opulent suppose that you celebrate the Lord's supper (or sacrifice) who regardest not the poor man's basket?' *Celebrat* is the word, and 'receive' must needs be the signification, and so it is in S. Ambrose; and therefore I did (as I ought) translate it so. Thirdly, it is yet objected that I translate *aliter quam ab eo traditum est,* 'otherwise than He appointed,' whereas it should be 'otherwise than it was given by Him;' and this surely is a great matter, and the gentleman is very subtle: but if he be asked whether or no Christ appointed it to be done as He did, to be given as He gave it, I suppose this deep and wise note of his will just come to nothing. But *ab eo traditum est,* of itself signifies 'appointed;' for this He delivered not only by His hands, but by His commandment of *Hoc facite;* that was His 'appointment.' Now that all this relates to the whole institution and doctrine of Christ in this matter, and therefore to the duplication of the elements, the reception of the chalice as well as the consecrated bread, appears, first, by the general terms, *qui aliter mysterium celebrat,* 'he that celebrates otherwise than Christ delivered.' Secondly, these words are a commentary upon that of S. Paul[g], "He that eats this bread and drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Now hence S. Ambrose arguing that all must be done as our Lord delivered, says also that the bread must be eaten and the cup drunk as our Lord delivered, and he that does not do both does not do what our Lord delivered. Thirdly, the conclusion of S. Ambrose is full to this particular, 'they are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, who came without the discipline of the delivery and of conversation,' that is, they who receive without due preparation, and not after the manner it was delivered, that is, under the differing symbols of bread and wine. To which we may add that observation of Cassander[h], and of Vossius[i]; that the apostles represented the persons of all the faithful, and Christ saying to them, Take and eat, He also said, "Drink ye all of this;" He said not, "Eat ye all of this;" and therefore if by virtue of these words, "Drink ye all of this," the laity be not commanded to drink, it can never be proved that the laity are commanded to eat; *omnes* is added to *bibite,* but it is not expressly added to *accipite et comedite;* and therefore Paschasius Radbertus[k], who lived about eight hundred and twenty years after Christ's incarnation, so expounds the precept without any hesitation, *Bibite ex hoc omnes, i. e. tam ministri quam reliqui credentes,* 'drink

[f] [De oper. et eleemos., p. 203.]
[g] [1 Cor. xi. 27.]
[h] [De sacra commun., p. 1019.]
[i] Disp. v. de sacra cœna. [Disp. xxiii. quæ est v. de sacris cœnæ dominicæ symbolis; thes. i. tom. vi. p. 443.—fol. Amstel. 1701.]
[k] Lib. de corp. et sang. Domini, c. p. 15. [col. 1598 D.]

ye all of this, as well they that minister, as the rest of the believers.' And no wonder, since for their so doing they have the example and institution of Christ, by which as by an irrefragable and undeniable argument the ancient fathers used to reprove and condemn all usages which were not according to it. For saith S. Cyprian[k], "If men ought not to break the least of Christ's commandments, how much less those great ones which belong to the sacrament of our Lord's passion and redemption, or to change it into any thing but that which was appointed by Him?" Now this was spoken against those who refused the hallowed wine, but took water instead of it; and it is of equal force against them that give to the laity no cup at all; but whatever the instance was or could be, S. Cyprian reproves it upon the only account of prevaricating Christ's institution: the whole epistle is worth reading for a full satisfaction to all wise and sober Christians. *Ab eo quod Christus magister et præcepit et gessit humana et novella institutione decedere,* 'by a new and human institution to depart from what Christ our Master commanded and did,' that the bishops would not do; *tamen quoniam quidam, &c.,* 'because there are some who simply and ignorantly *in calice Dominico sanctificando et plebi ministrando non hoc faciunt quod Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster sacrificii hujus auctor et doctor fecit et docuit, &c.,* 'in sanctifying the cup of the Lord and giving it to the people, do not do what Jesus Christ did and taught,' viz., they did not give the cup of wine to the people; therefore S. Cyprian[l] calls them to return *ad radicem et originem traditionis dominicæ,* 'to the root and original of the Lord's delivery.' Now besides that S. Cyprian plainly says that when the chalice was sanctified, it was also ministered to the people; I desire it be considered whether or no these words do not plainly reprove the Roman doctrine and practice, in not giving the consecrated chalice to the people: do they not 'recede from the root and original of Christ's institution? do they do what Christ did? do they teach what Christ taught? is not their practice quite another thing than it was at first; did not the ancient church do otherwise than these men do, and thought themselves obliged to do otherwise? They urged the doctrine and example of our Lord, and the whole economy of the mystery was their warrant and their reason: for they always believed that a peculiar grace and virtue was signified by the symbol of wine; and it was evident that the chalice was an excellent representment and memorial of the effusion of Christ's blood for us, and the joining both the symbols signifies the entire refection and nourishment of our souls, bread and drink being the natural provisions; and they design and signify our redemption more perfectly, the body being given for our bodies, and the blood for the cleansing our souls, the life of every animal being in the blood: and finally, this in the integrity signifies and represents Christ to have taken body and soul for our redemption. For these

And St. Cyprian.

[k] Epist. lxiii. [p. 155.]

[l] [ibid., p. 148.]

reasons the church of God always in all her public communions gave the chalice to the people for above a thousand years.—This was all I would have remarked in this so evident a matter, but that I observed in a short spiteful passage of E. W., page 44, a notorious untruth spoken with ill intent concerning the holy communion as understood by protestants: the words are these, "Seeing the fruit of protestant communion is only to stir up faith in the receiver, I can find no reason why their bit of bread only may not as well work that effect, as to taste of their wine with it." To these words first I say that although stirring up faith is one of the divine benefits and blessings of the holy communion, yet it is falsely said that 'the fruit of the protestant communion is only to stir up faith:' for in the catechism of the church of England it is affirmed that 'the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's supper;' and that 'our souls are strengthened and refreshed by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine;' and that of stirring up our faith is not at all mentioned: so ignorant, so deceitful, or deceived is E. W. in the doctrine of the church of England. But then as for his foolish sarcasm, calling the hallowed element a 'bit of bread,' which he does in scorn, he might have considered that if we had a mind to find fault whenever his church gives us cause, that the papists' wafer is scarce so much as a 'bit of bread,' it is more like marchpane[m] than common bread. And besides that (as Salmeron[n] acknowledges) anciently, *olim ex pane uno sua cuique particula frangi consueverat,* that which we in our church do was the custom of the church, out of a great loaf to give particles to every communicant, by which the communication of Christ's body to all the members is better represented, and that Durandus[o] affirming the same thing, says that the Grecians continue it to this day; besides this, I say, the author of the Roman order (says Cassander[p]) took it very ill that the loaves of bread offered in certain churches for the use of the sacrifice should be brought from the form of true bread to so slight and slender a form, which he calls *minutias nummulariarum oblatarum,* 'scraps of little pennies or pieces of money,' and not worthy to be called bread, being such which no nation ever used at their meals for bread. But this is one of the innovations which they have introduced into the religious rites of christianity, and it is little noted, they having so many greater changes to answer for.

But it seems this section was too hot for them, they loved not much to meddle with it; and therefore I shall add no more fuel to

[m] ['March-pane,' a sweet biscuit composed of sugar and almonds.—Nares's Glossary.—From 'Martius panis' (Minshew) either as made in March, or as sacred to Mars; and we make them (he says) in form of castles, &c.]

[n] Salmer. in 1 Cor. x. disp. xvii. [tom. xiv.] p. 138.

[o] Durand. ration. divin. offic., lib. iv. c. 53. [f. 201 b.]

[p] Cassand. liturg., c. 27. [p. 61.] sect. 'Et cum mensa.'

their displeasure, but desire the reader who would fully understand what is fit to be said in this question, to read it in a book of mine which I called *Ductor dubitantium*[q], or the 'Cases of conscience;' only I must needs observe that it is an unspeakable comfort to all protestants, when so manifestly they have Christ on their side in this question against the church of Rome. To which I only add, that for above seven hundred years after Christ it was esteemed sacrilege in the church of Rome to abstain from the cup, and that in the *Ordo Romanus* the communion is always described with the cup; how it is since, and how it comes to be so, is too plain. But it seems the church hath power to dispense in this affair, because S. Paul said, that 'the ministers of Christ are dispensers of the mysteries of God:' as was learnedly urged in the council of Trent in the doctrine about this question.

§ 5. Of the scriptures and service in an unknown tongue.

THE question being still upon the novelty of the Roman doctrines and practices; I am to make it good that the present article and practice of Rome is contrary to the doctrine and practice of the primitive church. To this purpose I alleged[r] S. Basil in his sermon or book *De variis scripturæ locis;* but say my adversaries[s], there is no such book. Well, was there such a man as S. Basil? If so, we are well enough; and let these gentlemen be pleased to look into his works printed at Paris MDXLVII. by Carola Guillard, and in the 130. page[t], he shall see this book, sermon, or homily, *In aliquot scripturæ locos,* at the beginning of which he hath an exhortation in the words placed in the margent, there we shall find the lost sheep: the beginning of it is an exhortation to the people congregated, to 'get profit and edification by the scriptures read at morning prayer, the monitions in the psalms, the precepts of the proverbs; search ye the beauty of the history, and the examples, and add to these the precepts of the apostles: but in all things join the words of the gospel, as the crown and perfection, that receiving profit from them all, ye may at length turn to that to which every one is sweetly affected, and for the doing of which he hath received the grace of the Holy Spirit.'

Now this difficulty being over, all that remains for my own justification is, that I make it appear that S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose,

[q] Lib. ii. chap. 3. rule 9.

[r] [See p. 211, note c, above.]

[s] E. W., p. 45; and A. L., p. 25.

[t] [p. 221 B, fol. Paris. apud Michaëlam Guillard, 1566.—Ben., tom. ii. append., p. 587 B.]—Recordemini quæso ex his spiritualibus sermonibus qui lecti sunt vobis hora matutina doctrinarum utilium nostrarum animarum medicinæ; reminiscamini earum quæ sunt in psalmis monitionum; proverbialia præcepta, historiæ pulchritudinem exemplaque investigate: his addite apostolica mandata. In omnibus vero tanquam coronida perfectionemque verba evangelica conjungite, ut ex omnibus utilitatem capientes, ad id demum contendatis ac revertamini ad quod quisque jucunde est affectus, et ad quod obeundum gratiam a Spiritu sancto accepit.

S. Austin, Aquinas and Lyra do respectively exhort to the study of the scriptures, exhorting even the laity to do so, and testify the custom of the ancient church in praying in a known tongue, and commending this as most useful, and condemning the contrary as being useless and without edification. I shall in order set down the doctrine they deliver in their own words, and then the impertinent cavils of the adversaries will of themselves come to nothing.

S. Chrysostom[x] commenting upon S. Paul's words concerning preaching and praying for edification, and so as to be understood; coming to those words of S. Paul, "If I pray with my tongue, my spirit prayeth but my mind is without fruit," "You see," saith he, "how a little extolling prayer[y], he shews that he who is such a one" (viz., as the apostle there describes) "is not only unprofitable to others, but also to himself, since his mind is without fruit." Now if a man praying what he understands not, does not, cannot profit himself; how can he that stands by, who understands no more, be profited by that which does him that speaks no good? For God understands though he does not, and yet he that so prays reaps no benefit to himself, and therefore neither can any man that understands no more: the affirmation is plain, and the reason cogent. To the same purpose are the words of S. Chrysostom[z] which A. L.[a] himself quotes out of him, "If one speaks in only the Persian tongue, or some other strange tongue, but knows not what he saith, certainly he will be a barbarian even to himself, and not to another only, because he knows not the force of the words." This is no more than what S. Paul said before him; but they all say that he who hears and understands not, whether it be the speaker or the scholar, is but a barbarian.—Thus also S. Ambrose[b] in his commentary upon the words of S. Paul, "The apostle says it is better to speak a few words that are open or understood, that all may understand, than to have a long oration in obscurity; that's his sense for reading and preaching: now for prayer he adds, The unskilful man hearing what he understands not, knows not when the prayer ends, and answers not, Amen, that is, So be it, or, It is true, that the blessing may be established:" and a little after, "If ye meet together to edify the church, those things ought to be said which the

[x] Homil. xxxv. in 1 Cor. xiv. cap. [p. 211 above.]

[y] [κατὰ μικρὸν τὸν λόγον ἀνάγων, paulatim extollens orationem, 'gradually raising the argument.']

[z] [As before; see p. 210 above.]

[a] Page 25.

[b] In 1 Cor. xiv. [p. 211, note e, above.] Utilius dicit (apostolus) paucis verbis in apertione sermonis loqui quod omnes intelligant, quam prolixam orationem habere in obscuro. [in ver. 19.]—Imperitus enim audiens quod non intelligit, nescit finem orationis, et non respondet, Amen, id est, verum, ut confirmetur benedictio. [in ver. 16.]—Et in hæc verba [ver. 17.] 'Nam tu quidem bene gratias agis;' de eo dicit qui cognita sibi loquitur, quia scit quid dicat; 'sed alius non ædificatur.' Si utique ad ædificandam ecclesiam convenitis, ea debent dici quæ intelligant audientes. Nam quid prodest ut lingua loquatur quam solus scit, ut qui audit nihil proficiat? Ideo tacere debet in ecclesia, ut ii loquantur qui prosunt audientibus.

hearers may understand; for what profit is it to speak with a tongue, when he that hears is not profited? Therefore he ought to hold his peace in the church, that they who can profit the hearers may speak."—S. Austin[b] compares singing in the church without understanding to "the chattering of parrots and magpies, crows and jackdaws: but to sing with understanding is by the will of God given to man; and we who sing the divine praises in the church must remember that it is written, Blessed is the people that understands singing of praises. Therefore, most beloved, what with a joined voice we have sung, we must understand and discern with a serene heart."—To the same purpose are the words[c] of Lyra and Aquinas, which I shall not trouble the reader withal here, but have set them down in the margent, that the strange confidence of these Romanists, out-facing notorious and evident words, may be made if possible yet more conspicuous.

In pursuance of this doctrine of S. Paul and the fathers, the primitive Christians in their several ages and countries were careful that the bible should be translated into all languages where christianity was planted. That the bibles were in Greek is notorious; and that they were used among the people, S. Chrysostom[d], *homil. i. in Joh. viii.* is witness that it was so, or that it ought to be so; for he exhorts, *Vacemus ergo scripturis, dilectissimi, &c.*, 'let us set time apart to be conversant in the scripture, at least in the gospels, let us frequently handle them to imprint them in our minds, which because the Jews neglected they were commanded to have their books in their hands, but let us not have them in our hands, but in our houses and in our hearts:' by which words we may easily understand that all the churches of the Greek communion had the bible in their vulgar tongue, and were called upon to use them as

[b] S. August. in ii. comment. in ps. xviii. [tom. iv. col. 81.] Deprecati Dominum ut ab occultis nostris mundet nos, et ab alienis parcat servis suis, quid hoc sit intelligere debemus, ut humana ratione, non quasi avium voce cantemus. Nam et meruli, et psittaci, et corvi, et picæ, et hujusmodi volucres sæpe ab hominibus docentur sonare quod nesciunt; scienter autem cantare non avi sed homini [pro 'non avi sed homini' leg. 'naturæ hominis'] divina voluntate concessum est.—Et paulo post; Nos autem qui in ecclesia divina eloquia cantare didicimus, simul etiam instare debemus esse quod scriptum est, Beatus populus qui intelligit jubilationem: [Ps. lxxxviii. 16.] proinde carissimi, quod consona voce cantavimus, sereno etiam corde nosse ac videre debemus.

[c] Tho. Aquin. in 1 Cor. xiv. [lect. iii.] Ille qui intelligit reficitur, et quantum ad intellectum et quantum ad affectum; sed mens ejus qui non intelligit, est sine fructu refectionis. And again, [ibid.] Quantum ad fructum devotionis spiritualis privatur qui non attendit ad ea quæ orat, seu non intelligit.

Lyra [in eund. loc.]—'Cæterum.' Hic consequenter idem ostendit in oratione publica, quia si populus intelligat orationem seu benedictionem sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum et devotius respondet, Amen. And again, Propter quod in primitiva ecclesia benedictiones et cætera omnia (lege 'communia'*) fiebant in vulgari.—*For of common things, that is, things in public, the Dissuasive speaks, common prayers, common preachings, common eucharists and thanksgivings, common blessings; all these and all other public and common things being used in the vulgar tongue in the primitive. 'Communia' and 'omnia' are equivalent, but 'communia' is Lyra's word.

[d] [vide notam sequentem.]

Christians ought to do, that is, to imprint them in their hearts. And speaking of S. John and his gospel, he says[e] that the Syrians, Indians, Persians and Ethiopians and infinite other nations, *εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν μεταβαλόντες γλῶτταν τὰ περὶ τούτου δόγματα εἰσαχθέντα ἔμαθον ἄνθρωποι βάρβαροι φιλοσοφεῖν*, 'they grew wise by translating his (S. John's) doctrines into their several languages.' But it is more that S. Austin[f] says, "The divine scripture, by which help is supplied to so great diseases, proceeded from one language which opportunely might be carried over the whole world, that being by the various tongues of interpreters scattered far and wide, it might be made known to the nations for their salvation." And Theodoret[g] speaks yet more plainly, "We have manifestly shewn to you the inexhausted strength of the apostolic and prophetic doctrine; for the universal face of the earth, whatsoever is under the sun, is now full of those words. For the Hebrew books are not only translated into the Greek idiom, but into the Roman tongue, the Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, Sauromatic languages, and that I may speak once for all, into all tongues which at this day the nations use." By these authorities of these fathers we may plainly see how different the Roman doctrine and practice is from the sentiment and usages of the primitive church, and with what false confidence the Roman adversaries deny so evident truth, having no other way to make their doctrine seem tolerable but by out-facing the known sayings of so many excellent persons; and especially of S. Paul, who could not speak his mind in apt and intelligible words, if he did not in his epistle to the Corinthians exhort the church to pray[h] and prophesy so as to be understood by the catechumens, and by all the people; that is, to do otherwise than they do in the Roman church. Christianity is a simple, wise, intelligible and easy religion; and yet if a man will resolve against any proposition, he may wrangle himself into a puzzle, and make himself not to understand it so, though it be never so plain. What

[e] Homil. i. in viii. Joan. [p. 211, note z, above.]—Videat lector S. Basil. in ascet. in cclxxviii. resp. in regul. brevior. [p. 211, note c, above.] et Cassiodor. [Hist. tripart. viii. 13.]

[f] De doctr. christ., lib. ii. c. 5. [tom. iii. part. i. col. 21.] Ex quo factum est, ut etiam scriptura divina, qua tantis morbis humanarum voluntatum subvenitur, ab una lingua profecta, quæ [al. 'qua'] opportune potuit per orbem terrarum disseminari, per varias interpretum linguas longe lateque diffusa innotesceret gentibus ad salutem.

[g] Lib. v. de curand. Græc. affect. [p. 211, note b, supra.] Nos autem vobis apostolicæ propheticæquè doctrinæ inexhaustum robur manifeste ostendimus; universa enim facies terræ quantacunque soli subjicitur, ejusmodi verborum plena jam est. Hebræi vero libri non modo in Græcum idioma conversi sunt, sed in Romanam quoque linguam, Ægyptiam, Persicam, Indicam, Armenicamque et Scythicam, atque adeo Sauromaticam, semelque ut dicam in linguas omnes quibus ad hunc diem nationes utuntur.

[h] Quamvis per se bonum sit ut officia divina celebrentur ea lingua quam plebs intelligat, id enim per se confert ad plebis ædificationem, ut bene probat hic locus &c.—Estius in 1 ep. Corin., cap. xiv. [ver. 17.]

is plainer than the testimony of their own Cajetan[l], "that it were more for the edification of the church that the prayers were in the vulgar tongue?" He says no more than S. Paul says, and he could not speak it plainer. And indeed no man of sense can deny it, unless he affirms at the same time that it is better to speak what we understand not, than what we do; or that it were better to serve God without that noble faculty than with it; that is, that the way of a parrot[k] and a jackdaw were better than the way of a man, and that in the service of God the priests and the people are to differ as a man and a bird.

But besides all this, was not Latin itself when it was first used in divine service the common tongue, and generally understood by many nations and very many colonies? and if it was then the use of the church to pray with the understanding, why shall it not be so now? However, that it was so then and is not so now, demonstrates that the church of Rome hath in this material point greatly innovated. Let but the Roman pontifical[l] be consulted, and there will be yet found a form of ordination of readers, in which it is said that they must study to read distinctly and plainly, that the people may understand: but now it seems that labour is saved. And when a notorious change was made in this affair, we can tell by calling to mind the following story[m]. The Moravians did say mass in the Slavonian tongue; for which pope John the eighth severely reproved them, and commanded them to do so no more; but being better informed, he wrote a letter to their prince Sfentopulchro, in which he affirms that it is not contrary to faith and sound doctrine to say mass and other prayers in the Slavonian tongue, and adds this reason; because He that made Hebrew, Greek, and Latin[n], hath made the others also for His glory; and this also he confirms with the authority of S. Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians, and some other scriptures, only he commanded for the decorum of the business, the gospel should first be said in Latin and then in the Slavonian tongue. But just two hundred years after this[o] the tables were turned, and though formerly these things were permitted, yet so were many things in the primitive church[p], but upon better examination they have been corrected.

[l] Respon. ad artic. pacis. [leg. 'Paris.,' scil. 'Theologorum Parisiensium.' Opusc., tom. iii. tract. xv. art. 8. p. 299.] Magis fore ad ædificationem ecclesiæ ut preces vulgari lingua conciperentur.—Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur quod melius ad ædificationem ecclesiæ est orationes publicas quæ audiente populo dicuntur dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine.—Idem in 1 Cor. xiv. [ver. 17.]

[k] [See p. 602, note b, above.]

[l] Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte et aperte ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium absque omni mendacio falsitatis proferre, &c. [p. 22. fol. Rom. 1595.]

[m] [See Abp. Ussher's 'Historia dogmatica de scripturis et sacris vernaculis,' in A.D. 880. p. 122.]

[n] ['tres linguas principales.']

[o] [Ussher as above, in A.D. 1080, p. 135.]

[p] ['Cum primitiva ecclesia multa dissimulaverit,' is Gregory's account of the case.]

And therefore P. Gregory the seventh[q] wrote to Vratislaus of Bohemia, that he could not permit the celebration of the divine offices in the Slavonian tongue, and he commanded the prince to oppose the people herein with all his forces. Here the world was strangely altered, and yet S. Paul's epistle was not condemned of heresy, and no council had decreed that all vulgar languages were profane; and no reason can yet be imagined why the change was made, unless it were to separate the priest from the people, by a wall of Latin, and to nurse stupendious[r] ignorance in them, by not permitting to them learning enough to understand their public prayers, in which every man was greatly concerned. Neither may this be called a slight matter; for besides that Gregory the seventh thought it so considerable that it was a just cause of a war or persecution (for he commanded the prince of Bohemia to oppose the people in it with all his forces) besides this, I say, to pray to God with the understanding is much better than praying with the tongue; that alone can be a good prayer, this alone can never; and then the loss of all those advantages which are in prayers truly understood, the excellency of devotion, the passion of desires, the ascent of the mind to God, the adherence to and acts of confidence in Him, the intellectual conversation with God, most agreeable to a rational being, the melting affections, the pulses of the heart to and from God, to and from ourselves, the promoting and exercising of our hopes, all these and very many more (which can never be entire but in the prayers and devotions of the heart, and can never be in any degree but in the same in which the prayers are acts of love and wisdom, of the will and the understanding) will be lost to the greatest part of the catholic church, if the mouth be set open and the soul be gagged[s], so that it shall be the word of the mouth but not the word of the mind.

All these things being added to what was said in this article by the Dissuasive, will more than make it clear that in this article (the consequents of which are very great) the church of Rome hath causelessly troubled christendom, and innovated against the primitive church, and against her own ancient doctrines and practices, and even against the apostle: but they 'care for none of these things.' Some of their own bigots profess the thing in the very worst of all these expressions; for so Reynolds and Gifford in their *Calvino-Turcismus*[t] complain that such horrid and stupendious[r] evils have followed the translation of scriptures into vulgar languages, that they are of force enough *ad istas translationes penitus supprimendas, etiamsi divina vel apostolica auctoritate niterentur,* 'although they did rely upon the authority apostolical or divine, yet they ought to be taken away.' So that it is to no purpose to urge

[q] ['Hildebrandus, monstrum illud hominis;' Ussher, as above.]

[r] [sic ed.]

[s] ['gag'd,' ed.]

[t] [lib. iv. cap. 7. p. 779.—8vo. Antuerp. 1597.]

scripture or any argument in the world against the Roman church in this article; for if God himself command it to be translated, yet it is not sufficient: and therefore these men must be left to their own way of understanding, for beyond the law of God we have no argument. I will only remind them, that it is a curse which God threatens [x] to His rebellious people, "I will speak to this people with men of another tongue, and by strange lips, and they shall not understand." This is the curse which the church of Rome contends earnestly for in behalf of their people.

§ 6. Of the worship of images.

THAT society of Christians will not easily be reformed, that think themselves obliged to dispute for the worship of images, the prohibition of which was so great a part of the Mosaic religion, and is so infinitely against the nature and spirituality of the christian; a thing which every understanding can see condemned in the decalogue, and no man can excuse but witty persons that can be bound by no words; which they can interpret to a sense contradictory to the design of the common: a thing for the hating of and abstaining from which the Jews were so remarked by all the world, and by which as by a distinctive cognizance they were separated from all other nations, and which with perfect resolution they keep to this very day, and for the not observing of which they are intolerably scandalized at those societies of Christians who without any necessity in the thing, without any pretence of any law of God, for no good and for no wise end, and not without infinite danger at least of idolatry, retain a worship and veneration to some stocks and stones. Such men as these are too hard for all laws, and for all arguments; so certain it is that faith is an obedience of the will in a conviction of the understanding; that if in the will and interests of men there be a perverseness and a non-compliance, and that it is not bent by prudent and wise flexures and obedience to God, and the plain words of God in scripture, nothing can ever prevail, neither David, nor his sling, nor all the worthies of his army.

In this question I have said enough in the Dissuasive and also in the *Ductor dubitantium*; but to the arguments and fulness of the persuasion they neither have, nor can they say any thing that is material; but according to their usual method, like flies they search up and down, and light upon any place which they suppose to be sore, or would make their proselytes believe so. I shall therefore, first, vindicate those few quotations which the epistles of his brethren [y] except against (for there are many, and those most pregnant, which they take no notice of) as bearing in them too clear a conviction. Secondly, I shall answer such testimonies which some of them steal out of Bellarmine, and which they esteem as absolutely their best.

[x] [Isa. xxviii. 11.]

[y] [sic ed.]

And thirdly, I shall add something in confirmation of that truth of God which I here have undertaken to defend.

Quotations vindicated, of S. Cyril and other fathers.

I. First, for the questioned quotations against the worship of images; S. Cyril was named in the Dissuasive[z] as denying that the Christians did give veneration and worship to the image even of the cross itself, but no words of S. Cyril were quoted; for the denial is not in express words, but in plain and direct argument: for being by Julian charged with worshipping the cross, S. Cyril in behalf of the Christians takes notice of their using the cross in a religious memory of all good things to which by the cross of Christ we are engaged, that is, he owns all that they did, and therefore taking no notice of any thing of worship, and making no answer to that part of the objection, it is certain that the Christians did not do it, or that he could not justify them in so doing. But because I quoted no words of S. Cyril[a], I now shall take notice of some words of his, which do most abundantly clear this particular by a general rule. "Only the divine nature is capable of adoration, and the scripture hath given adoration to no nature but to that of God alone;" "that, and that alone, ought to be worshipped." But to give yet a little more light to this particular; it may be noted that before S. Cyril's[b] time this had been objected by the pagans, particularly by Cæcilius, to which Minutius[c] answers by directly denying it, and saying, that the pagans did rather worship crosses, that is, the wooden parts of their gods. The Christians indeed were by Tertullian[d] called *religiosi crucis*, because they had it in thankful use and memory, and used it frequently in a symbolical confession of their not being ashamed but of their glorying in the real cross of Christ: but they never worshipped the material cross, or the figure of it, as appears by S. Cyril's owning all the objections excepting this only, of which he neither confessed the fact, nor offered any justification of it when it was objected, but professed a doctrine with which such practice was inconsistent. And the like is to be said of some other of the fathers who speak with great affections and veneration of the cross, meaning to exalt the passion of Christ; and, in the sense of S. Paul, to 'glory in the cross of Christ,' not meaning the material cross, much less the image of it, which we blame in the church of Rome: and this very sense we have expressed in S. Ambrose[e], *Sapienter Helena, quæ crucem in capite regum locavit, ut Christi crux in regibus adoretur*, 'the figure of the material cross was by Helena placed upon the heads

[z] [p. 215 above.]

[a] [As his opponents observed.]

[b] Nemo autem ignorat nulli prorsus naturæ præterquam Dei adorationem a scriptura contribui.—Thesaur., lib. ii. c. 1. [tom. ii. p. 159 C.—fol. Par. 1604.] et alibi.—Una natura est deitatis quam solummodo adorare oportet. [Ibid., p. 158 C.]

[c] [Octav., cap. xxix. § 7. p. 186.]

[d] [Apolog., cap. 16. p. 16 A.]

[e] Orat. de obitu Theodos. [§ 48. tom. ii. col. 1211.]

of kings, that the cross of Christ in kings might be adored:' how so? he answers, *Non insolentia ista sed pietas est cum defertur sacræ redemptioni.* It is to the holy redemption, not to the cross materially taken; this were insolent, but the other is piety. In the same manner also S. Chrysostom is by the Roman doctors, and particularly by Gretser and E. W.[f] urged for the worshipping Christ's cross. But the book *De cruce et latrone*[g], whence the words are cited, Gretser and Possevine suspect it to be a spurious issue of some unknown person: it wants a father; and sometimes it goes to S. Austin, and is crowded into his sermons *De tempore*[h]: but I shall not trouble my discourse any further with such counterfeit ware. What S. Chrysostom's doctrine was in the matter of images, is plain enough in his indubitate works, as is, and shall be remarked in their several places.

The famous testimony of Epiphanius, against the very use of images in churches, being urged in the Dissuasive[i] as an irrefragable argument that the Roman doctrine is not primitive or catholic, the contra-scribers say nothing[k] but that "when S. Hierome translated that epistle of S. Epiphanius, it appears not that this story was in that epistle that S. Hierome translated; which is a great argument that that story was foisted into that epistle after S. Hierome's time." A likely matter; but spoken upon slight grounds. "It appears not," saith the objector, "that this story was in it then:" to whom does it not appear? To Bellarmine indeed it did not, nor to this objector who writes after him. Alan Cope[l] denied that Epiphanius ever wrote any such epistle at all, or that S. Hierome ever translated any such; but Bellarmine, being ashamed of such unreasonable boldness, found out this more gentle answer, which here we have from our objector. Well, but now the case is thus; 'that this story was put into the epistle by some Iconoclast is vehemently suspected by Bellarmine and Baronius.' But this epistle vehemently burns their fingers, and the live coal sticks close to them, and they can never shake it off. For 1) who should add this story to this epistle? Not any of the reformed doctors; for before Luther's time many ages, this epistle with this story was known, and confessed, and quoted, in the manuscript copies of divers nations. 2) This epistle was quoted, and set down as now it is, with this story, by Charles the great, above eight hundred years ago; 3) and a little after by the fathers in the council of Paris, only they call the author John bishop of C. P. instead of Jerusalem. 4) Sirmondus the Jesuit[m] cites this epistle as the genuine work of Epiphanius. 5) Marianus Victor, and Dionysius Petavius a Jesuit of great and deserved fame for learning, in their editions of Epipha-

[f] Page 57.

[g] [al. 'In crucis veneratione,' tom. i. p. 1331. fol. Par. 1588.]

[h] Serm. xxx.

[i] [p. 215 above.]

[k] A. L. [p. 26.]

[l] [scil. Harpsfeldius, ab Alano Copo editus, dial. v. cap. 20, p. 692.]

[m] Sirmond., not. in concil. Narbon. c. 13.—t. i. Concil. Gall. [p. 616.]

nius have published this whole epistle; and have made no note, given no censure upon this story. 6) Before them Thomas Waldensis[n], and since him Alphonsus a Castro, acknowledge this whole epistle as the proper issue of Epiphanius. 7) Who can be supposed to have put in this story? The iconoclasts? Not the Greeks, because if they had, they would have made use of it for their advantage, which they never did in any of their disputations against images; insomuch that Bellarmine[o] makes advantage of it, because they never objected it. Not the Latins that wrote against images; for though they were against the worship of images, yet they were not iconoclasts: indeed Claudius Taurinensis was, but he could not put this story in, for before his time it was in, as appears in the book of Charles the great before quoted.—These things put together are more than sufficient to prove that this story was written by Epiphanius, and the whole epistle was translated by S. Hierome, as himself[p] testifies. But after all this, if there was any foul play in this whole affair, the cozenage lies on the other side; for some or other have destroyed the Greek original of Epiphanius, and only the Latin copies remain, and in all of them of Epiphanius's works this story still remains. But how the Greek came to be lost, though it be uncertain, yet we have great cause to suspect the Greeks to be the authors of the loss: and the cause of this suspicion is the command made by the bishops in the seventh council[q], that all writings[r] against images should be brought in to the bishop of C. P., there to be laid up with the books of other heretics. It is most likely here it might go away: but however, the good providence of God hath kept this record to reprove the follies of the Roman church in this particular.

The authority of S. Austin[s], reprehending the worship of images, was urged from several places of his writings cited in the margent. In his first book *De moribus ecclesiæ* he hath these words which I have now set down in the margent; in which, describing among other things the difference between superstition and true religion, he presses it on to issue, "Tell not me of the professors of the christian name; follow not the troops of the unskilful, who in true religion itself either are superstitious, or so given to lusts that they

[n] Tom. iii. tit. xix. c. 157, et apud Bellarm., lib. de imag., c. 9. [tom. iii. col. 966.]

[o] Lib. ii. de imag., cap. 9. sect. 'Secundo quia hæretici.' [ibid.]

[p] In epist. lxi. [al. xxxviii.] et ci. [al. xxxiii.] ad Pammachium. [tom. iv. part. 2. coll. 248, 331.]

[q] Syn. vii. act. 8. [leg. 7.] can. 9. [tom. iv. col. 768.]

[r] ['Puerilia omnia ludibria, furiosaque ac insana dicta et scripta,' &c.]

[s] De moribus eccles., lib. i. c. 34.—[tom. i. col. 713.] Jam videbitis quid inter ostentationem et sinceritatem, . . postremo quid inter superstitionis sirenas et portum religionis intersit. Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis christiani, nec professionis suæ vim aut scientes aut exhibentes. Nolite consectari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti ut obliti sint quid promiserint Deo. Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores, novi multos esse qui luxuriosissime super mortuos vivant. [aliter 'bibant.']

have forgotten what they have promised to God. I know that there are many worshippers of sepulchres and pictures, I know that there are many who live luxuriously over" (the graves of) "the dead." That S. Austin reckons these that are worshippers of pictures among the superstitious and the vicious, is plain, and forbids us to follow such superstitious persons. But see what follows[t], "But how vain, how hurtful, how sacrilegious they are, I have purposed to shew in another volume." Then addressing himself to the Manichees, who upon the occasion of these evil and superstitious practices of some catholics, did reproach the catholic church, he says, "Now I admonish you that at length you will give over the reproaching the catholic church by reproaching the manners of these men" (viz., worshippers of pictures and sepulchres, and livers riotously over the dead) "whom she herself condemns, and whom as evil sons she endeavours to correct." By these words now cited it appears plainly that S. Austin affirms, that those few Christians who in his time did worship pictures, were not only superstitious, but condemned by the church. This the Letter-writer denies S. Austin to have said; but that he did say so, we have his own words for witness.—Yea, but secondly, "S. Austin did not speak of worshippers of pictures alone:" what then? Neither did he of them alone say they were superstitious, and their actions vain, hurtful and sacrilegious; but does it follow that therefore he does not say so at all of these, because he says it of the others too? —But thirdly, "neither doth he formally call them superstitious;" I know not what this offer of an answer means; certain it is, when S. Austin had complained that many Christians were superstitious, his first instance is of them that worship pictures and graves. But I perceive this gentleman found himself pinched beyond remedy, and like a man fastened by his thumbs at the whipping post, he wries[u] his back and shrinks from the blow, though he knows he cannot get loose.

In the margent of the Dissuasive there were two other testimonies of S. Austin[x] pointed at; but the Letter[y] says that in these S. Austin hath not a word to any such purpose: that is now to be tried. The purpose for which they were brought is to reprove the doctrine and practice of the church of Rome in the matter of images: it was not intended that all these places should all speak or prove the same particular; but that which was affirmed in the text being sufficiently verified by the first quotation in the margent, the other two are fully pertinent to the main enquiry, and to the condemnation of the Roman

[t] Sed et illa quam vana sint, quam noxia, quam sacrilega, et quemadmodum a magna parte vestrum atque adeo pene ab omnibus vobis non observentur, alio volumine ostendere institui. Nunc vos illud admoneo, ut aliquando ecclesiæ catholicæ maledicere desinatis, vituperando mores hominum quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet. [ibid.]

[u] [sic ed.]

[x] De fide et symb., c. vii.—Contr. Adimant., c. 13. [p. 215, note e, above.]

[y] Page 27.

doctrine, as the first was of the Roman practice. The words are these, "Neither is it to be thought that God is circumscribed in a human shape, that they who think of Him should fancy a right or a left side, or that because the Father is said to sit, it is to be supposed that He does it with bended knees, lest we fall into that sacrilege for which the apostle execrates them that change the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of a corruptible man: for, for a Christian to place such an image to God in the church, is wickedness, but much more wicked is it to place it in our heart." So S. Austin; now this testimony had been more properly made use of in the next section, as more relating to the proper matter of it, as being a direct condemnation of the picturing of God; but here it serves without any sensible error, and wherever it is, it throws a stone at them, and hits them. But of this more in the sequel.

But the third testimony (however it pleases A. L.[z] to deny it) does speak home to this part of the question, and condemns the Roman hypothesis: the words are these, "See that ye forget not the testimony[a] of your God which He wrote, or that ye make shapes and images; but it adds also saying, Your God is a consuming fire, and a zealous God[b]. These words from the scripture Adimantus propounded;.. yet remember[c], not only there but also here, concerning the zeal of God he so blames the scriptures, that he adds that which is commanded by our Lord God in those books concerning the not worshipping of images; as if for nothing else he reprehends that zeal of God, but only because by that very zeal we are forbidden to worship images: therefore he would seem to favour images, which therefore they do that they might reconcile the good will of the pagans to their miserable and mad sect," meaning the sect of the Manichees, who to comply with the pagans, did retain the worship of images.

And now the three testimonies are verified; and though this was an unnecessary trouble to me, and I fear it may be so to my reader, yet the church of Rome hath got no advantage but this, that in S. Austin's sense, that which Romanists do now, the Manichees did then; only these did it to comply with the heathens, and those out of direct and mere superstition. But to clear this point in S. Austin's doctrine, the reader may please to read his XIX. book against Faustus the Manichee, chap. 18[d], and the CXIX. epistle against him, chap. 12[e], where he affirms that the Christians observe that which the Jews did, in this, viz., that which was written, 'Hear O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God, thou shalt not make an idol to thee,' and such like things; and in the latter place he affirms that the second commandment is moral, viz., that all of the decalogue are so, but only the fourth. I add a third as pregnant as any of the rest: for in his first

[z] Contr. Adimant., c. 13. [vid. ut supra.]

[a] ['testamentum;' S. Augustin is quoting from Deut. iv. 23 sq.]

[b] [ibid., ver. 24.]

[c] ['meminerimus.']

[d] [tom. viii. col. 323.]

[e] [tom. iii. col. 136.]

book *De consensu evangelistarum*[f], speaking of some who had fallen into error upon occasion of the pictures of S. Peter and S. Paul, he says, *Sic omnino errare meruerunt qui Christum et apostolos ejus non in sanctis codicibus sed in pictis parietibus quæsierunt.*

Of the council of Eliberis.

The council of Eliberis is of great concern in this question, and does great effort to the Roman practices. E. W.[g] takes notice of it, and his best answer to it is, that it hath often been answered already. He says true; it hath been answered both often and many ways. The council was in the year CCCV. of nineteen bishops, who in the thirty-sixth canon decreed this, *Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere,* 'it hath pleased us that pictures ought not to be in churches;' that's the decree; the reason they give is, *ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur,* lest that which is worshipped be painted on the walls. So that there are two propositions; first, pictures ought not to be in churches; secondly, that which is worshipped ought not to be painted upon walls. E. W.[h] hath a very learned note upon this canon. "Mark, first the council supposeth worship and adoration due to pictures, *ne quod colitur et adoratur.*" By which 'mark,' E. W. confesses that pictures are the object of his adoration, and that the council took no care and made no provision for the honour of God (who is and ought to be worshipped and adored in churches, *et illi soli servies*), but only were good husbands for the pictures, for fear 1) they should be spoiled by the moisture of the walls, or 2) defaced by the heathen. The first of these is Bellarmine's, the latter is Perron's answer; but too childish to need a severer consideration. But how easy had it been for them to have commanded that all their pictures should have been in frames, upon boards or cloth, as it is in many churches in Rome and other places. Secondly, why should the bishops forbid pictures to be in churches, for fear of spoiling one kind of them? they might have permitted others though not these. Thirdly, why should any man be so vain as to think that in that age, in which the Christians were in perpetual disputes against the heathens for worshipping pictures and images, they should be so curious to preserve their pictures, and reserve them for adoration? Fourthly, but then to make pictures to be the subject of that caution, *ne quod colitur et adoratur,* and not to suppose God and His Christ to be the subject of it, is so unlike the religion of Christians, the piety of those ages, the economy of the church, and the analogy of the commandment, that it betrays a refractory and heretical spirit in him, that shall so perversely invent an unreasonable commentary, rather than yield to so pregnant and easy testimony. But some are wiser, and consider that the council takes not care that pictures be not spoiled, but 'that they be not in the churches;' and that what is adorable 'be not there painted,' and not 'be not there spoiled.' The not painting

[f] [cap. 10.—tom. iii. part. 2. col. 8.] [g] E. W., p. 57. [h] Ibid.

them is the utmost of their design, not the preserving them; for we see vast numbers of them every where painted on walls, and preserved well enough, and easily repaired upon decay: therefore this is too childish, to blot them out for fear they be spoiled, and not to bring them into churches for fear they be taken out. Agobardus bishop of Lyons above eight hundred years since cited this canon in a book of his which he wrote *De picturis et imaginibus*[i], which was published by Papirius Massonus; and thus illustrates it, *Recte* (saith he) *nimirum ob hujusmodi evacuandam superstitionem ab orthodoxis patribus definitum est picturas in ecclesia fieri non debere; nec quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur.* Where first, he expressly affirms these fathers in this canon to have intended only rooting up this superstition, not the ridiculous preserving the pictures; so it was understood then. But then secondly, Agobardus reads it, *nec*[k], not *ne quod colitur*, which reading makes the latter part of the canon to be part of the sanction, and no reason of the former decree; pictures must not be made in churches, neither ought that to be painted upon walls which is worshipped and adored. This was the doctrine and sentiment of the wise and good men above eight hundred years since. By which also the unreasonable supposition of Baronius that the canon is not genuine, is plainly confuted; this canon not being only in all copies of that council, but owned for such by Agobardus so many ages before Baronius, and so many ages after the council. And he is yet further reproved by cardinal Perron, who tells a story that in Granada, in memory of this council, they use frames for pictures, and paint none upon the wall at this day. It seems they in Granada are taught to understand that canon according unto the sense of the patrons of images, and to mistake the plain meaning of the council: for the council did not forbid only to paint upon the walls, for that according to the common reading is but accidental to the decree; but the council commanded that no picture should be in churches. Now then let this canon be confronted with the council of Trent[l], *Sess. xxv. decret. de SS. invoc. Imagines Christi, Deiparæ virginis, et aliorum sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas,* 'that the images of Christ, and of the Virgin mother of God, and of other saints, be had and kept especially in churches:' and in the world there cannot be a greater contradiction between two than there is between Eliberis and Trent, the old and the new church: for the new church not only commands pictures and images to be kept in churches, but paints them upon walls, and neither fears thieves nor moisture. There are divers other little answers amongst the Roman doctors to this uneasy objection; but they are only such as venture at the telling the secret reasons why the council so decreed; as Alan Cope[m] saith, it was so decreed lest the Christians

[i] [cap. 33. p. 266. 8vo. Paris. 1666.]
[k] ['ne,' ed. Baluz.]
[l] [tom. x. col. 168.]
[m] [Dial. v. cap. 16. p. 661 sqq.—vid. p. 608, not. l, supra.]

should take them for gods, or lest the heathen should think the Christians worshipped them; so Sanders. But it matters not for what reason they decreed: only if either of these say true, then Bellarmine and Perron are false in their conjectures of the reason. But it matters not; for suppose all these reasons were concentred in the decree, yet the decree itself is not observed at this day in the Roman church, but a doctrine and practice quite contrary introduced. And therefore my opinion is that Melchior Canus[n] answers best, *Aut nimis duras*[o] *aut parum rationi consentaneas a conciliis provincialibus interdum editas, non est negandum; qualis illa .. non imprudenter modo verum etiam impie a concilio Elibertino .. de tollendis imaginibus.* By this we may see not only how irreverently the Roman doctors use the fathers when they are not for their turns, but we may also perceive how the canon condemns the Roman doctrine and practice in the matter of images.

Of the council of Nice ii., The next enquiry is concerning matter of history, relating to the second synod of Nice in the east, and that of Francfort in the west. In the Dissuasive[p] it was said that Eginardus, Hincmarus, Aventinus, &c., affirmed, 1) that the bishops assembled at Francfort, and condemned the synod of Nice; 2) that they commanded it should not be called a general council; 3) they published a book under the name of the emperor, confuting that unchristian assembly. These things were said out of these authors, not supposing that every thing of this should be prōved from every one of them, but the whole of it by its several parts from all these put together.

which the council of Francfort condemned, 1. That the bishops of Francfort condemned the synod of Nice or the seventh general. Whether the Dissuasive hath said this truly out of the authors quoted by him, we need no further proof but the confession of Bellarmine[q], *Auctores antiqui omnes conveniunt in hoc, quod in concilio Francofordiensi sit reprobata synodus VII. quæ decreverat imagines adorandas; ita Hincmarus, Aimoinus, Rhegino, Ado, et alii passim docent.* So that if the objector blames the Dissuasive for alleging these authorities, let him first blame Bellarmine, who confesses that to be true which the Dissuasive here affirms. Now that by the seventh synod Bellarmine[r] means the second Nicene, appears by his own words in the same chapter. *Videtur igitur mihi in synodo Francofordiensi vere reprobatam Nicænam II. synodum; sed per errorem, et materialiter, &c.* And Bellarmine was in the right; not only those which the Dissuasive quoted, but "all the ancient writers," saith Bellarmine. So the author of the life of Charles the great[s], speaking of the council of Francfort,

[n] Loc. theol., lib. v. cap. 4. [p. 251.]
[o] [scil. 'leges.']
[p] [p. 216, above.]
[q] Lib. ii. de imagin., c. 14. sect. 'Secundo quia.' [tom. ii. col. 990.]
[r] Sect. 'Neque obstat.' [ibid.]
[s] [Apud Pithœum, Annales &c. Francorum, p. 256.—8vo. Francof. 1594.]

"There queen Fastrada died; *pseudo-synodus Græcorum quam falso septimam vocabant pro imaginibus, rejecta est a pontificibus.* The same is affirmed by the annals of the Francs[t]; by Adhelmus Benedictinus in his annals[u], in the same year; by Hincmarus Rhemensis[v] in an epistle to Hincmarus his nephew; by Strabus the monk of Fulda[w], Rhegino Prumiensis[x], Urspergensis[y], and Hermannus Contractus[z] in their annals and chronicles of the year DCCXCIV.; by Ado Viennensis[a], *Sed pseudo-synodus, quam septimam Græci appellant, pro adorandis imaginibus, abdicata penitus.* The same is affirmed by the annals of Eginhardus[b], and by Aimoinus[c] and Aventinus[d]. I could reckon many more, if more were necessary, but these are they whom the Dissuasive quoted, and some more. Against this truth nothing material can be said, only that Hincmarus and Aimoinus (which are two whom the Dissuasive quotes) do not say that the synod of Francfort rejected the second Nicene, but the synod of C. P. But to this Bellarmine himself answers, that it is true they do so, but it is by mistake, and that they meant the council which was kept at Nice; so that the Dissuasive is justified by his greatest adversary. But David Blondel answers this objection by saying that C. P. being the head of the eastern empire, these authors used the name of the imperial city for the provinces under it: which answer though it be ingenious, yet I rather believe that the error came first from the council of Francfort, who called it the synod at C. P., and that after it these authors took it up: but that error was not great, but always excusable, if not warrantable; because the second Nicene council was first appointed to be at C. P., but by reason of the tumults of the people, was translated to Nice. But to proceed: that Blondus[e] (whom the Dissuasive also quotes) saith the synod of Francfort abrogated the seventh synod, the objector confesses, and adds that it confuted the Felician heresy for taking away of images: concerning which, lest the less wary reader should suppose the synod of Francfort to have determined for images, as Alan Cope, Gregory de Valentia, Vasquez, Suarez, and Binius would fain have the world believe; I shall note that the synod of Francfort did at the same time condemn the heresy of Felix Urgelitanus, which was, that Christ was the adopted son of God. Now because in this synod were condemned the breakers of images, and the worshippers of images; some igno-

[t] Ad annum DCCXCIV. [ibid. p. 13.]

[u] [al. Ademarus, s. Autmarus, De gestis Caroli magni, f. 35 b.—4to. Helmæst. 1594.]

[v] Opusc. lv. N. [i. e. capitum.] cap. 20. [tom. ii. p. 457.—opp. fol. Par. 1645.]

[w] [al. Walafrid. Strabo, de reb. eccles., cap. viii. p. 953 sq.]

[x] [p. 46.]

[y] [p. 176.]

[z] [p. 221.—Apud Pistorium (ed. Struv.) Rer. german. scriptt., tom. i.]

[a] Chron. ætat. vi. ad annum Christi eundem et DCCXCII. [p. 806.]

[b] Ad eund. annum. [p. 156. In Rer. german. scriptt. Heineccii &c.—fol. Francof. ad Mœn. 1707.]

[c] [De gest. Francor.] lib. iv. c. 85. [p. 220. fol. Par. 1603.]

[d] [Annal. Boior., lib. iv. p. 198.]

[e] [Histor., decad. ii. lib. i. p. 161 A.]

rantly (amongst which is this gentleman the objector) have supposed that the Felician heresy was that of the iconoclasts.

commanding that it should not be called a general council.

2. Now for the second thing which the Dissuasive said from these authors, that 'the fathers at Francfort commanded that the second Nicene should not be called a general council,' that matter is sufficiently cleared in the proof of the first particular; for if they abrogated it, and called it *pseudo-synodum*, and decreed against it; *hoc ipso* they caused it should not be or be called a general synod. But I shall declare what the synod did in the words of Adhelmus Benedictinus[f], *Synodus etiam quæ paucos ante annos C. P. sub Helena et Constantino filio ejus congregata, et ab ipsis non tantum septima, verum etiam universalis est appellata, ut nec septima nec universalis diceretur, habereturque quasi supervacua, in totum ab omnibus abdicata est.*

The acts of it are in the capitular of the emperor, written in the time of the synod.

3. Now for the third thing which the Dissuasive said, that they published a book under the name of the emperor, I am to answer: that such a book about that time, within three or four years of it, was published in the name of the emperor, is notoriously known, and there is[g] great reason to believe it was written three or four years before the synod, and sent by the emperor to the pope; but that divers of the church of Rome did endeavour to persuade the world that the emperor did not write it, but that it was written by the synod, and contains the acts of the synod, but published under the emperor's name. Now this the Dissuasive affirmed by the authority of Hincmarus, who does affirm it; and of the same opinion is Bellarmine[h]; *Scripti videntur in synodo Francofordiensi, et acta continere synodi Francofordiensis; id enim asserit Hincmarus ejus temporis auctor.* So that by all this the reader may plainly see how careful the Dissuasive was in what was affirmed, and how careless this gentleman is of what he objects. Only this I add, that though it be said that this book contained the acts of the synod of Francfort, though it might be partly true, yet not wholly: for this synod did indeed do so much against that of the Greeks, and was so decretory against the worship of images, (*quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur*, said Hoveden[i] and Matthew of Westminster) that it is vehemently suspected that the patrons of images (the objector knows whom I mean) have taken a timely course with it, so that the monuments of it are not to be seen, nor yet a famous and excellent epistle of Alcuinus written against the Greek synod, though his other works are in a large volume carefully enough preserved.

Quotations from the fathers vindicated.

It was urged as an argument *a minori ad majus*, that in the primitive church it was accounted unlawful to make images, and therefore it was impos-

[f] In annal. [leg. Aimoinus, ut in not. c, supra.]

[g] ['was' B.]

[h] [vide supra, not. q.] sect. 'Primo quia.' [tom. ii. col. 990.]

[i] A.D. DCCXCIII. [p. 405.]

sible that the worship of images should then be the doctrine or practice of the catholic church[j]. To this purpose Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian and Origen were alleged. First for Tertullian; of whom the Letter says that he said no such thing: sure it is, this man did not care what he said; supposing it sufficient to pass the common reader, to say Tertullian did not say for what he is alleged: for more will believe him than examine him. But the words of Tertullian shall manifest the strange confidence of this person. The quotations out of Tertullian are only noted in the margent, but the words were not cited; but now they must, to justify me and themselves.—First, that reference to Tertullian's book 'Of idolatry[k],' the objector takes no notice of, as knowing it would reproach him too plainly; see the words[l], "The artificers of statues and images, and all kind of representations, the devil brought into the world;" and when he had given the etymology of an 'idol,' saying εἴδωλον is *formula*, he adds, *Igitur omnis forma vel formula idolum se dici exposcit; .. inde omnis idoli artifex ejusdem et unius est criminis:* and a little before, *Exinde jam caput facta est idololatriæ ars omnis quæ idolum quoquo modo edit:* and in the beginning of the fourth chapter[m], *Idolum tam fieri quam coli Deus prohibet: quanto præcedit ut fiat quod coli possit, tanto prius est ne fiat, si coli non licet:* and again, *Toto mundo ejusmodi artibus interdixit servis Dei:* and a little after he brings in some or other objecting[n], *Sed ait quidam adversus similitudinis interdictæ propositionem, Cur ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum serpentis ex ære fecit?* to this at last he answers, *Si eundem Deum observas, habes legem ejus, Ne feceris similitudinem; si et præceptum factæ postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Moysen; ne facias adversus legem simulacrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit.* Now here is no subterfuge for any one: for Tertullian first says, the devil brought into the world all the artists and makers of statues, images and all sorts of similitudes; secondly, he makes all these to be the same with idols: and thirdly, that God as well forbad the making of these and the worship of them, and that the maker is guilty of the same crime; and lastly I add his definition of idolatry[o], *Idololatria est omnis circa omne idolum famulatus et servitus;* every image is an idol, and every service and obeisance about any or every idol, is idolatry. I hope all this put together will convince the gentlemen that denied it, that Tertullian hath said some such thing as the Dissuasive quoted him for.—Now for the other place quoted, the words are these[p]; *Proinde et similitudinem vetans fieri omnium quæ in cœlo et in terra et in aquis, ostendit et causas, idololatriæ scilicet substantiam cohibentes,* 'God forbidding

[j] A. L., p. 27.
[k] Cap. iii. [p. 217, note m, above.]
[l] Diabolum sæculo intulisse artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum. cap. 3. [p. 86 D.]
[m] [p. 87 A.]
[n] [cap. 5. p. 88 A.]
[o] [cap. 3. p. 87 A.]
[p] Lib. ii. advers. Marc., c. 22. [p. 392 D.]

all similitude to be made of things in heaven and earth, and in the waters, shews the causes that restrain idolatry.' The causes of idolatry he more fully described in the fore-cited place, *Quando enim et sine idolo idololatria fiat;* for he supposes the making of the images to be the cause of their worshipping, and he calls this making statues and images, *dæmoniis corpora facere.* But there is yet another place in his books against Marcion[q], where Tertullian affirming that S. Peter knew Moses and Elias on mount Tabor by a spiritual extasy, says it upon this reason, *Nec enim imagines eorum aut statuas populus habuisset, aut similitudines, lege prohibente.* The same also is to be seen in his book *De spectaculis,* c. 23[r]. *Jam vero ipsum opus personarum quæro an Deo placeat, qui omnem similitudinem vetat fieri, quanto magis imaginis suæ.* By this time I hope the gentleman thinks himself in some shame for denying that Tertullian said the making of images to be unlawful.

Now let us see for the other two authors quoted by the Dissuasive. The objector in the Letter[s] says, they only spake of making the images of Jupiter and the other heathen gods: but E. W.[t] says he cannot find those quotations out of Clemens of Alexandria, because the books quoted are too big, and he could not espy them. The author of the Letter never examined them, but took them for granted; but E. W. did search a little, but not exactly. However, he ought not to have looked in the sixth book of the *Stromata* for the words there quoted, but in the *Protrepticon,* as I shall shew by and by. That other quotation in the *Stromata* is the sixth book, and is only referred to as to the question in general against images, for so S. Clement[u] calls it 'spiritual adultery' to make idols or images. Now to this E. W. says, although he did not find what he looked for, yet he knows beforehand that the word in the Latin translation is *simulacrum,* that is, εἴδωλον, 'an idol.' It is indeed well guessed of E. W., for the word is ἀνειδωλοποιῶν, and if he had seen the place, he now tells us what answer we might have expected. But I am beforehand with him in this particular, and out of Tertullian have proved *idolum* to be the same with *formula,* derived from εἶδος, and consequently means the same with an image. And he had a good warrant from the greatest master of the Latin tongue, *Imagines, quæ idola nominant, quorum incursione non solum videamus, sed etiam cogitemus, &c.,* said Cicero[x]: and the same notion of εἴδωλον is in a great master of the Greek, S. Chrysostom[y], who speaking of the statues and images with which they adorned their houses, calls them 'idols;' Οἰκίας . . κατακοσμῶμεν, εἴδωλα πανταχοῦ καὶ ξόανα ἱστῶντες. But it matters not so much what Greek or Latin word is used in any translation, for in the Hebrew, in which the Spirit of God spake,

[q] Lib. iv. c. 22. [p. 436 D.]
[r] [p. 82 C.]
[s] Page 27.
[t] Pages 54, 55.
[u] Strom., lib. vi. p. 687. edit. Paris. 1629. [al. (cap. 16.) p. 816.]
[x] Lib. i. [cap. 6.] de fin. bon. et malor.
[y] In cap. iii. epist. ad Philip. hom. x. [§ 3. tom. xi. p. 279 C.]

when He forbad the worship of images, He used two words, פֶּסֶל *pesel*, and תְּמוּנָה *themunah*, and the latter of these signifies always an image or similitude, and that most properly, and is always so translated; and the former of these is translated indifferently by γλυπτὸν, or εἴδωλον, and εἰκὼν, 'image,' 'carved image,' and 'idol,' for they are all one. And therefore proportionably Justin Martyr, reciting this law of God, says that God forbade every 'image and similitude;' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωμα are the words. But suppose that *idolum* and *imago* were not the same; yet because the commandment forbids not only *idolum* but *imago*, not only *pesel* but *themunah*; they do not observe the commandment who make to themselves, viz., for worship, either one or the other. But to return to S. Clement, of whom our present enquiry is. And to deal most clearly in this affair, as in all things else, that out of the *Stromata* of S. Clement that I rather remark, is not this of the sixth book, but out of the fifth. S. Clement of Alexandria[z] saith, Πάλιν δ' αὖ δακτύλιον μὴ φορεῖν, μηδὲ εἰκόνας αὐτοῖς ἐγχαράσσειν θεῶν, παρεγγυᾷ ὁ Πυθαγόρας· ὥσπερ Μῶυσῆς πρόπαλαι διαῤῥήδην ἐνομοθέτησεν, μηδὲν δεῖν γλυπτὸν, ἢ χωνευτὸν, ἢ πλαστὸν, ἢ γραπτὸν ἄγαλμά τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ποιεῖσθαι, 'Pythagoras commanded that his disciples should not wear rings, or engrave them with the images of their gods, as Moses many ages before made an express law, that no man should make any graven, cast or painted image.' And of this he gives two reasons, first, ὡς μὴ τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς προσανέχωμεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ νοητὰ μετίωμεν, 'that we may not attend to sensible things, but pass on to the things discernible by the understanding;' secondly, ἐξευτελίζει γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θείου σεμνότητα ἡ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τῆς ὄψεως συνήθεια, καὶ τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν δι' ὕλης σεβάζεσθαι, ἀτιμάζειν ἐστὶν αὐτὴν δι' αἰσθήσεως· 'the custom of seeing so readily, causes that the majesty of God becomes vile and contemptible, and by matter to worship that which is perceived intellectually, is to disesteem him by sensation.' Now the reader may perceive that S. Clemens speaks against the making of any images, not only of Jupiter and the heathen gods, but of the true God, of whatsoever intelligible being we ought to worship; and that upon such reasons which will greatly condemn the Roman practices. But hence also it is plain how careless and trifling this objector is, minding no truth but the number of objections. See yet further out of S. Clement[a]; *Nobis enim est aperte velitum fallacem artem exercere: non facies enim (inquit propheta) cujusvis rei similitudinem*, we are forbidden to exercise that cozening art, viz., of making pictures or images, 'for says the prophet' (meaning Moses) 'Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing.' E. W.[b] it seems could not find these words of S. Clement in his Paræneticc; he should have said his Protreptic, for I know of no Paræneticc that he hath written.

[z] Strom., lib. v. p. 559. Paris. 1629. Gr. Lat. [al. (cap. 5.) p. 662.]

[a] In Protreptico, p. 41. [al. (cap. 4.) p. 54.]—Id. Strom., lib. vi. p. 687. [not. u, supra.]

[b] Page 55.

But E. W. followed the printer's error in the margent of the Dissuasive, and very carefully turned over a book that was not, and compared it in bigness with a book that was. But I will not suppose this to be ignorance in him, but only want of diligence: however, the words are to be found in the forty-first page of this Protreptic, or his 'Admonition to the gentiles,' and now they are quoted, and the very page named; only I desire E. W. to observe, that in this place S. Clement uses not the word εἴδωλον, but *πάντος ὁμοίωμα*, not *simulacrum*, but *cujusvis rei similitudinem.*

In the place which was quoted out of Origen in his fourth book against Celsus[c], speaking of the Jews, he hath these words, *Οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰκόνας ποιούντων ἐπολιτεύετο, οὔτε γὰρ ζώγραφος οὐτ' ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν ἦν·* 'all makers of images were turned from their commonwealth; for not a painter or statuary was admitted, their laws wholly forbidding them, lest any occasion should be given to dull men[d], or that their mind should be turned from the worship of God to earthly things by these temptations.' Then he quotes the law of God against making images, and adds, 'by which law this was intended, that being content with the truth of things they should beware of lying figments.' There it is plain that Origen affirms the law of God to have forbidden the making images, any similitude of things in heaven, earth or waters: which law also he in another place[e] affirms to be of a moral and eternal obligation, that is, not to be spoken to them only who came out of the terrestrial Egypt; and therefore is of christian duty. And of the same mind are S. Irenæus[f], Tertullian[g], S. Cyprian[h], and S. Austin[i], affirming the whole decalogue, except the law of the sabbath, to be an unalterable or natural law. But for the further verification of the testimony from Origen against the worship of images in the primitive church, I thought fit to add the concurrent words of the prudent and learned Cassander[k], *Quantum autem veteres initio ecclesiæ ab omni veneratione imaginum abhorruerunt, declarat unus Origines adversus Celsum:* but of this I shall have occasion to speak yet once more. And so at last all the quotations are found to be exact, and this gentleman to be greatly mistaken.

From the premises I infer: if in the primitive church it was accounted unlawful to make images, certainly it is unimaginable they should worship them, and the argument is the stronger, if we understand their opinion rightly; for neither the second commandment,

[c] P. 181. edit. Gr. Lat. Cantab. 1658. [al. § 31. tom. i. p. 524 E.]

[d] [*ἵνα μηδεμία πρόφασις ᾖ τῆς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευῆς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισπωμένης, κ.τ.λ.*]

[e] Homil. viii. in Exod. [§ 3. tom. ii. p. 157.] apud Bellarm. de imagin., lib. ii. c. 7. sect. 'Sed hæc.' [tom. ii. col. 951.]

[f] Lib. iv. cap. 31 et 32. [al. 16 sq. p. 247.]

[g] Lib. de Idololatr., cap. 5. [p. 88.]

[h] Lib. iii. ad Quirin., c. 59, et De exhort. martyrii, c. 1. [pp. 82, 171.]

[i] Lib. xv. contra Faustum, c. 4. et 7. [tom. viii. coll. 274, 8.]

[k] Consult. de imagin. et simulacris. [p. 975.]

nor yet the ancient fathers in their commentaries on them, did absolutely prohibit all making of images, but all that was made for religious worship, and in order to adoration; according as it is expressed in him who among the Jews collected the negative precepts, which Arias Montanus[l] translated into Latin: the second of which is, *Signum cultus causa ne facito;* the third, *Simulacrum divinum nullo pacto conflato;* the fourth, *Signa religiosa nulla ex materia facito.*

Quotations of the adversaries answered.

II. The authorities of these fathers being rescued from slander, and proved very pungent and material, I am concerned in the next place to take notice of some authorities which my adversaries urge from antiquity[m], to prove that in the primitive church they did worship images. Concerning their general council, viz., the second Nicene, I have already made account in the preceding periods. The great S. Basil is with great solemnity brought into the circus, and made to speak for images as apertly, plainly and confidently, as Bellarmine or the council of Trent itself. His words are these[n], "I admit the holy apostles, and prophets, and martyrs, and in my prayer made to God call upon them, that by their intercession God may be propitious unto me: whereupon I honour and adore the characters of their images; and especially those things being delivered from the holy apostles, and not prohibited, but are manifested (or seen) in all our churches." Now I confess these words are home enough, and do their business, at the first sight; and if they prove right, S. Basil is on their side, and therefore E. W. with great noise and preface insults, and calls them unanswerable. The words he says are found in S. Basil's two hundred and fifth epistle *ad Julianum.* I presently consulted S. Basil's works, such as I had with me in the country, of the Paris edition by Guillard MDXLVII., and there I found that S. Basil had not two hundred and five epistles in all; the number of all written by him and to him being but one hundred and eighty, of which, that to Julianus is one, viz., epistle CLXVI., and in that there is not one word to any such purpose as is here pretended. I was then put to a *melius inquirendum.* Bellarmine (though both he and Lindan and Harding cry up this authority as irrefragable) quotes this authority not upon his own credit, but as taking it from the report of a book published MDXCVI., called Synodus Parisiensis[o], which Bellarmine[p]

[l] Liber generationis et regenerationis Adam, lib. iv. [cap. 9. p. 250. 4to. Antuerp. 1593.]

[m] E. W., p. 49.

[n] Δέχομαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, προφήτας καὶ μάρτυρας, καὶ εἰς τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἱκεσίαν τούτους ἐπικαλοῦμαι· τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν, ἤγουν διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτῶν, ἵλεών μοι γενέσθαι τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεὸν, καὶ λύτρον μοι τῶν πταισμάτων γένεσθαι καὶ δοθῆναι, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ, κατ' ἐξαίρετον τούτων παραδεδομένων ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ οὐκ ἀπηγορευμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν τούτων ἀνιστορουμένων.

[o] [Synodus Parisiensis de imaginibus, anno Christi DCCCXXIV. ex vetustissimo codice descripta, et nunc primum in lucem edita.—8vo. Francof. 1696.—The letter to Julian is in p. 93.]

[p] Appendix ad Tract. de cultu imaginum in procem. ante cap. 1, et in cap. 4. [tom. ii. coll. 1030, 4.]

calls 'unworthy to see the light.' From hence arises this great noise; and the fountain being confessedly corrupt, what wholesome thing can be expected thence? But in all the first and voluminous disputations of Bellarmine upon this question, he made no use of this authority, he never saw any such thing in S. Basil's works, or it is not to be imagined that he would have omitted it. But the words are in no ancient edition of S. Basil, nor in any manuscript that is known in the world. Secondly, John Damascene, and Germanus bishop of C. P., who wrote for the worship of images, and are the most learned of all the Greeks that were abused in this question, yet they never urged this authority of S. Basil, which would have been more to their purpose than all that they said beside. Thirdly, the first mention of this is in an epistle of pope Adrian to the emperors in the seventh synod, and that makes the business more suspicious, that when the Greek writers knew nothing of it, a Latin bishop, a stranger, not very well skilled in antiquity, should find this out, which no man ever saw before him nor since in any copy of S. Basil's works. But in the second Nicene council such forgeries as these were many and notorious: S. Gregory the great is there quoted as author of an epistle *De veneratione imaginum,* when it is notorious it was writ by Gregory the third: and there were many Basils, and any one of that name would serve to give countenance to the error of the second Nicene synod; but in S. Basil the great there is not one word like it. And therefore they who set forth S. Basil's works at Paris MDCXVIII.[q], who either could not or ought not to have been ignorant of so vile a cheat, were infinitely to blame to publish this as the issue of the right S. Basil, without any mark of difference or note of enquiry.

There is also another saying of S. Basil[r], of which the Roman writers make much, and the words are by Damascene[s] imputed to the great S. Basil, *Imaginis honor in exemplar transit,* which indeed S. Basil speaks only of the statues of the emperors, and of that civil honour which by consent and custom of the world did pass to the emperor, and he accepted it so; but this is no argument for religious images put up to the honour of God; he says not the honour of any such image passes to God; for God hath declared against it (as will appear in the following periods) and therefore from hence the church of Rome can have no argument, no fair pretence; and yet upon this very account, and the too much complying with the heathen rites and manners, and the secular customs of the empire, the veneration of images came into churches. But suppose it be admitted to be true; yet although this may do some countenance to Thomas Aquinas and

[q] [In which the letter is found, tom. ii. p. 993.—See a curious MS. note on this subject, in the hand-writing of Bp. Barlow, in his copy of S. Basil's works, fol. Paris. 1638, in the Bodleian Library.]

[r] [Lib. de Spir. sancto, cap. xviii. tom. iii. p. 38 B.]

[s] [De imagin., orat. i. tom. i. p. 321 B.]

Bonaventure's way, of worshipping the image and the sampler with the same worship; yet this can never be urged by all those more moderate papists, who make the worship to an image of a lower kind; for if it be not the same worship, then they that worship images, worship God and His saints by the image not as they deserve, but give to them no more than the image itself deserves: let them take which part they please, so that they will but publicly own it. But let this be as it will, and let it be granted true that the honour done to the image can pass to the sampler, yet this is but an arbitrary thing, and a king may esteem it so if he please; but if the king forbids any image to be made of him, and counts it a dishonour to him, then I hope it is; and that's the case now, for God hath forbidden any such way of passing honour to Him by an image of Him; and He hath forbidden it in the second commandment, and this is confessed by Vasquez[t]: so that upon this account, for all the pretence of the same motion to the image and the sampler, to pass such a worship to God is no better than the doing as the heathen did, when they worshipped Mercury by throwing stones at him[u].

Another authority brought by E. W.[v] for veneration of images, is from Athanasius, but himself damns it in the margent, with and without ingenuity; for ingenuously saying that he does not affirm it to be the great Athanasius, yet most disingenuously he adds, *Valeat quantum valere potest,* that is, they that will be cozened let them. And indeed these questions and answers to Antiochus are notoriously spurious, for in them are quoted S. Epiphanius, and Gregory Nyssen, Chrysostom, Scala Johannis, Maximus, and Nicephorus, who were after Athanasius; and the book is rejected by Delrio[w], by Sixtus Senensis, and Possevine. But with such stuff as this the Roman doctors are forced to build their Babel; and E. W. in page 56 quotes the same book against me for worshipping the cross, together with another spurious piece *De cruce et passione Domini,* which Nannius[x], a very learned man of their own and professor at Louvain, rejects, as it is to be seen in his Nuncupatory Epistle.

Yea, but S. Chrysostom's[y] liturgy is very clear, for it is said that 'the priest turns himself to our Saviour's picture, and bows his head before the picture, and says this prayer.' These words indeed are very plain, but it is not plain that these are S. Chrysostom's words, for there are none such in S. Chrysostom's liturgy in the editions of it by Claudius de Sainctes, or Morellus, and Claudius Espencæus acknowledges with great truth and ingenuity that this liturgy, begun and composed by S. Chrysostom, was enlarged by many things put into it according to the variety of times. And it is evidently so,

[t] Tom. iii. comment. in 3. part. qu. 25. art. 3. disp. xciv. [leg. civ.] c. 3. [p. 991.]

[u] [See Suidas, ἑρμαῖον.]

[v] Page 50.

[w] Martinus Delrio, Vindiciæ Areopag., c. 14. [p. 62. 8vo. Antuerp. 1607.]

[x] [In editione opp. S. Athan., lat. vers., fol. Basil. 1564.]

[y] [tom. xii. col. 776 A.]

because divers persons are there commemorated who lived after the death of Chrysostom, as Cyrillus, Euthymius, Sabas, and Johannes Eleemosynarius, whereof the last but one lived a hundred and twenty-six years, the last two hundred and thirteen years after S. Chrysostom. Now how likely, nay how certain it is that this very passage was not put in by S. Chrysostom, but is of later interpolation, let all the world judge by that known saying of S. Chrysostom[z], *Quid enim est vilius atque humilius homine ante res inanimatas se incurvante, et saxa venerante,* 'what in the world is baser and more abject than to see a man worshipping stones, and bowing himself before inanimate things?' These are his great authorities, which are now come to nothing; what he hath from them who came after these, I shall leave to him to make his best of them: for about the time of Gregory some began to worship images, and some to break them, the latter of which he reproves, and the former he condemns; what it was afterwards all the world knows.

III. But now having cleared the question from the trifling arguments of my adversaries, I shall observe some things fit to be considered in this matter of images.

Image worship came from Simon Magus.

1. It came at first from a very base and unworthy stock. I have already pointed at this, but now I shall explain it more fully; it came from Simon Magus and his crew. Theodoret says that the followers of Simon brought in the worship of images, viz., of Simon in the shape of Jupiter, and Helena in the figure of Minerva; but S. Austin[a] says that Simon Magus himself *imagines et suam et cujusdam meretricis quam sibi sociam scelerum fecerat discipulis suis præbuisse adorandas.* E.W.[b], upon what confidence I know not, says that Theodoret hath nothing like it, either under the title *De Simone* or *Carpocrate.* And he says true, but with a shameful purpose to calumniate me, and deceive his reader; as if I had quoted a thing that Theodoret said not, and therefore the reader ought not to believe me. But since in the Dissuasive[c] Theodoret was only quoted *lib. v.*[d] *hæret. fabul.*, and no title set down; if he had pleased to look to the next title, *Simonis hæresis,* where in reason all Simon's heresies were to be looked for, he should have found that which I referred to[e]. But why E. W. denies S. Austin to have reported that for which he is quoted, viz., that Simon Magus brought in some images to be worshipped, I cannot conjecture, neither do I think himself can tell; but the words

[z] Comment. in Isai., c. 2. t. iii. [Ben., tom. vi. p. 29 A.]

[a] De hæres. ad Quodvultdeum, paulo ab initio; hæres. 1. [tom. viii. col. 6 A.]

[b] [p. 51.]

[c] [p. 214 supra.]

[d] [leg., lib. i.]

[e] Cum ejus statuam in Jovis figuram construxissent, Helenæ autem in Minervæ speciem, eis thura adolebant, ac libabant, et tanquam Deos adorabant, Simonianos seipsos nominantes.—Theodoret. hæret. fab., lib. i. tit. 'Simonis hæresis,' in fin. [It is a separate title in the Roman edition of 1547, and in the Latin translation, fol. Col. Agr. 1573, from which Taylor quoted; but in later editions it is all one.]

are plain in the place quoted, according to the intention of the Dissuasive. But that he may yet seem to lay more load upon me, he very learnedly says that Irenæus, in the place quoted by me, says not a word of Simon Magus being author of images; and would have his reader believe that I mistook Simon Magus for Simon Cyrenæus[f]. But the good man I suppose wrote this after supper, and could not then read or consider that the testimony of Irenæus[g] was brought in to no such purpose; neither did it relate to any Simon at all, but to the Gnostics or Carpocratians, who also were very early and very deep in this impiety; only they did not worship the pictures of Simon and Helene, but of Jesus, and Paul, and Homer, and Pythagoras, as S. Austin[h] testifies of them; but that which he remarks in them is this, that Marcellina, one of their sect, worshipped the pictures of Jesus, &c., *adorando, incensumque ponendo,* 'they did adore them, and put incense before them:' I wish the church of Rome would leave to do so, or acknowledge whose disciples they are in this thing. The same also is said by Epiphanius; and that the Carpocratians placed the image of Jesus with the philosophers of the world, *collocatasque adorant, et gentium mysteria perficiunt.* But I doubt that both Epiphanius and S. Austin, who took this story from Irenæus, went further in the narrative than Irenæus; for he says only that they placed the images of Christ, &c., *et has coronant;* no more, and yet even for this, for crowning the image of Christ with flowers, though they did not so much as is now-a-days done at Rome, S. Irenæus[i] made an outcry and reckoned them in the black catalogue of heretics, not for joining Christ's image with that of Homer and Aristotle, Pythagoras and Plato, but even for crowning Christ's image with flowers and coronets, 'as they also did those of the philosophers;' for though this may be innocent, yet the other was a thing not known in the religion of any that were called Christians, till Simon and Carpocrates began to teach the world.

Heathens spake against it.

2. We find the wisest and the most sober of the heathens speaking against the use of images in their religious rites. So Varro[k], when he had said that the old Romans had for one hundred and seventy years worshipped the gods without picture or image, adds, *quod si adhuc mansisset, castius Dii observarentur,* and gives this reason for it, *Qui primi simulacra Deorum populis posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis et metum demsisse et errorem addidisse;* 'the making images of the gods took away fear from men, and brought in error:' which place S. Austin[l] quoting, commends and explicates it, saying, he wisely thought that the gods

[f] ['Irenæus' ed., sed 'Cyrenæus' E.W., p. 52; see note to p. 309 above.]

[g] Vide Irenæum, lib. i. adv. hæres., c. 23 et 24. [al. 24, 25. pp. 101, 5.]

[h] Ubi supra [not. a.] hæres. 7. [col. 7.]

[i] Reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut gentes faciunt, i. e. sicut cæterorum illustrium virorum imaginibus consueverunt facere. [ubi supra, p. 105.]

[k] [Apud S. August. De civ. Dei, lib. v. cap. 31.]

[l] Prudenter existimavit Deos facile posse in simulacrorum stoliditate contemni. [S. August. ibid.]

might easily be despised in the blockishness of images. The same also was observed by Plutarch[l], and he gives this reason, *nefas putantes augustiora exprimere humilioribus, neque aliter aspirari ad Deum quam mente posse.* They accounted it impiety to express the great beings with low matter, and they believed there was no aspiring up to God but by the mind. This is a philosophy which the church of Rome need not be ashamed to learn.

Christians did abominate it.

3. It was so known a thing that Christians did abominate the use of images in religion and in their churches, that Adrian the emperor was supposed to build temples to Christ, and to account Him as God, because he commanded that churches without images should be made in all cities; as is related by Lampridius[m].

Jews never charged Christians with it.

4. In all the disputations of the Jews against the Christians of the primitive church, although they were impatient of having any image, and had detested all use of them, especially ever since their return from Babylon, and still retained the hatred of them, even after the dissolution of their temple, 'even unto superstition' (says Bellarmine[n];) yet they never objected against Christians their having images in their churches, much less their worshipping them. And let it be considered, that in all that long disputation between Justin Martyr and Tryphon the Jew, in which the subtle Jew moves every stone, lays all the load he can at the Christians' door, makes all objections, raises all the envy, gives all the matter of reproach he can against the Christians, yet he opens not his mouth against them concerning images. The like is to be observed in Tertullian's book against the Jews; no mention of images, for there was no such thing amongst the Christians, they hated them as the Jews did; but it is not imaginable they would have omitted so great a cause of quarrel. On the other side, when in length of time images were brought into churches, the Jews forbore not to upbraid the Christians with it. There was a dialogue written a little before the time of the seventh synod, in which a Jew is brought in saying to the Christians[o], "I have believed all ye say, and I do believe in the crucified Jesus Christ, that He is the Son of the living God; *scandalizor autem in vos, christiani, quia imagines adoratis,* 'I am offended at you Christians that ye worship images; for the scripture forbids us every where to make any similitude or graven image.' And it is very observable that in the first and best part of the Talmud of Babylon, called the *Misna,* published about the end of the second century, the Christians are not blamed about images, which shews they gave no occasion; but in the third part of

[l] Plut. in Numa. [tom. i. p. 259.]

[m] Ælius Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo, [in Hist. aug. scriptt.] edit. Salmas., p. 120. [leg. 129 C. fol. Par. 1620.]

[n] De imag., c. 7. sect. 'Ad primum.' [leg. 'Ac primus.'—tom. ii. col. 949.—'Superstitiosissimi contra imagines.']

[o] Synod. vii. act. 5. [tom. iv. col. 293 D.]

the Talmud, about the tenth and eleventh age after Christ, the Christians are sufficiently upbraided and reproached in this matter. In the *Gemara* which was finished about the end of the fifth century, I find that learned men say the Jews called the christian church 'the house of idolatry;' which though it may be expounded in relation to images, which about that time began in some churches to be placed and honoured; yet I rather incline to believe that they meant it of our worshipping Jesus for the true God and the true Messias; for at this day they call all Christians idolaters, even those that have none and can endure no images in their religion or their churches. But now since these periods it is plain that the case is altered, and when the learned Christians of the Roman communion write against the Jews, they are forced to make apologies for the scandal they give to the Jews in their worshipping of images, as is to be seen (besides Leontius Neapolitanus of Cyprus his apology[p] which he published for the Christians against the Jews;) in Ludovicus Carretus[q] his epistle, in Sepher Amana[r], and Fabianus Fioghus[s] his catechetical dialogues. But I suppose this case is very plain, and is a great conviction of the innovation in this matter made by the church of Rome.

The primitive fathers never taught those distinctions which the papists use.

5. The matter of worshipping images looks so ill, so like idolatry, so like the forbidden practices of the heathens, that it was infinitely reasonable that if it were the practice and doctrine of the primitive church, the primitive priests and bishops should at least have considered and stated the question, how far and in what sense it was lawful, and with what intention and in what degrees and with what caution and distinctions this might lawfully be done; particularly when they preached and wrote commentaries and explications upon the decalogue; especially since there was at least so great a semblance of opposition and contradiction between the commandment and any such practice; God forbidding any image and similitude to be made of Himself, or any thing else in heaven, or in earth, or in the sea, and that with such threatenings and interminations of His severe judgments against them that did make them for worship, and this thing being so constantly objected by all those many that opposed their admission and veneration; it is certainly very strange that none of the fathers should take notice of any difficulty in this affair. They objected the commandment against the heathens for doing it; and yet that they should make no account or take notice how their worshipping saints and God himself by images, should differ from the heathen superstition that was the same thing to look upon: this indeed is very unlikely. But so it is;

[p] [Apud Canisium, antiq. lectt., tom. i. p. 795—fol. Antverp. 1725.]

[q] ['Liber visorum divinorum,' sc. Epistola ad Judæos, eos ad resipiscentiam invitans.—4to. Par. 1553.]

[r] [סֵפֶר אֱמוּנָה, 'Liber fidei;' a work in defence of christianity, written by some Jew unknown, and translated by Paulus Fagius. 4to. Isnæ, 1542.]

[s] ['Dialogo fra il cathecumino et il padre cathechizante,' 4to. Rom. 1582.]

Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, speak plainly enough of this matter, and speak plain downright words against making and worshipping images, and so careless they were of any future chance, or the present concern of the Roman church, that they do not except the image of the true God, nor the image of saints and angels, no not of Christ, or the blessed virgin Mary herself. Nay, Origen[t] expounds the commandments, and S. Austin makes a professed commentary upon them, but touched none of these things with the top of his finger, only told that they were all forbidden: we are not so careless now-a-days in the church of Rome, but carefully expound the commandments against the unsufferable objections of the heretics of late, and the prophets and the fathers of old. But yet for all this a suspicious man would conclude that in the first four hundred years there was no need of any such explications, inasmuch as they had nothing to do with images, which only could make any such need.

The second commandment is against it.

6. But then in the next place I consider, that the second commandment is so plain, so easy, so peremptory against all the making and worshipping any image or likeness of any thing, that besides that every man naturally would understand all such to be forbidden, it is so expressed, that upon supposition that God did intend to forbid it wholly, it could not more plainly have been expressed. For the prohibition is absolute and universal, and therefore of all particulars; and there is no word or sign by the virtue of which it can with any probability be pretended that any one of any kind is excepted. Now then to this when the church of Rome pretends to answer, they overdo it, and make the matter the more suspicious. Some of them answer by saying that this is no moral commandment, not obligatory to Christians, but to the Jews only. Others say that by this commandment it is only forbidden to account an image to be very God; so Cajetan. Others say that an 'idol' only is forbidden, and that an image is no idol. Others yet distinguish the manner of worshipping, saying that the image is worshipped for the sampler's sake, not for its own. And this worship is by some called δουλεία or 'service,' by others λατρεία· saying that the first is to images of saints, the other to God only. And yet with this difference; some saying that the image of God is adored with the same kind of adoration that God is, only it is to the image for God's sake; so S. Thomas of Aquine, and generally his scholars: others say that it is a religious kind of worship due to images, but not at all divine. Some say it is but a civil worship, and then it is for the image sake, and so far is intransitive, but whatever is paid more to the image is transitive, and passes further. And whatsoever it be, it cannot be agreed how it ought to be paid: whether properly or improperly, univocally or equivocally, for themselves or for something else, whether analogically or simply, whether

[t] Homil. viii. in Exod. [p. 620, note e, above.]

absolutely or by reduction. And it is remarkable what Bellarmine[u] answers to the question, With what kind of worship images may be adored? He answers with this proposition, "The worship which by itself and properly is due to images, is a certain imperfect worship, which analogically and reductively pertains to a kind of that worship which is due to the exemplar:" and a little after, "to the images a certain inferior worship is due, and that not all one, but various according to the variety of images." To the images of saints is due *dulia secundum quid*, which if you do not understand, Bellarmine in the next words explains most clearly; *dulia secundum quid*, is as a man may say reductive and analogical. But after all this we may be mistaken, and we cannot tell whom to follow nor what to do in the case. Thomas and his scholars warrant you to give the same worship to God's image as to God: and is the easiest way indeed to be understood, and indeed may quickly be understood to be direct idolatry. Bellarmine and others tell you, Stay, not so altogether; but there is a way to agree with S. Thomas, that it shall be the same worship, and not the same worship; for it is 'the same by reduction,' that is, it is of the same kind, and therefore divine, but it is 'imperfectly divine,' as if there could be degrees in divine worship; that is, as if any worship could be divine, and yet not the greatest. But if this seems difficult, Bellarmine illustrates it by similitudes. This worship of images is the same with the worship of the example (viz., of God, or of Christ, as it happens) just as a painted man is the same with a living man, and a painted horse with a living horse; for a painted man and a painted horse differ specifically, as the true man and the true horse do; and yet the painted man is no man, and the painted horse is no horse. The effect of which discourse is this, that the worship of images is but the image of worship; hypocrisy and dissimulation all the way; nothing real, but imaginative and fantastical; and indeed though this gives but a very ill account of the agreement of Bellarmine with their saints, Thomas and Bonaventure, yet it is the best way to avoid idolatry, because they give no real worship to images. But then on the other side, how do they mock God and Christ, by offering to them that which is nothing; by pretending to honour them by honouring their images; when the honour they do give to images is itself but imaginary, and no more of reality in it than there is of human nature in the picture of a man. However, if you will not commit downright idolatry, as some of their saints teach you, then you must be careful to observe these plain distinctions, and first be sure to remember that when you worship an image, you do it not materially, but formally; not as it is of such a substance, but as it is a sign; next take care that you observe what sort of image it is, and then proportion your right kind to it, that you do not give *latria* to that

[u] Lib. ii. de imagin. SS., cap. 25. [tom. ii. col. 1008.]

where *hyperdulia* is only due; and be careful that if *dulia* only be due that your worship be not hyperdulical. In the next place consider that the worship to your image is intransitive but in few cases, and according but to a few doctors; and therefore when you have got all these cases together, be sure that in all other cases it be transitive. But then when the worship is passed on to the exemplar, you must consider that if it be of the same kind with that which is due to the example, yet it must be an imperfect piece of worship, though the kind be perfect; and that it is but analogical, and it is reductive, and it is not absolute, not simple, not by itself; not by an act to the image distinct from that which is to the example, but one and the same individual act, with one intention as to the supreme kind, though with some little variety if the kinds be differing. Now by these easy, ready, clear, and necessary distinctions, and rules, and cases, the people being fully and perfectly instructed, there is no possibility that the worship of images should be against the second commandment, because the commandment does not forbid any worship that is transitive, reduct, accidental, consequential, analogical and hyperdulical, and this is all that the church of Rome does by her wisest doctors teach now-a-days. But now after all this, the easiest way of all certainly is to worship no images, and no manner of way, and trouble the people's heads with no distinction; for by these no man can ever be at peace, or understand the commandment, which without these laborious devices (by which they confess the guilt of the commandment does lie a little too heavy upon them) would most easily by every man and every woman be plainly and properly understood. And therefore I know not whether there be more impiety or more fearful caution in the church of Rome in being so curious that the second commandment be not exposed to the eyes and ears of the people; leaving it out of their manuals, breviaries and catechisms, as if when they teach the people to serve God, they had a mind they should not be tempted to keep all the commandments. And when at any time they do set it down, they only say thus, *Non facies tibi idolum,* which is a word not used in the second commandment at all; and if the word which is there used be sometimes translated *idolum,* yet it means no more than 'similitude;' or if the words be of distinct signification, yet because both are expressly forbidden in that commandment, it is very ill to represent the commandment so, as if it were observed according to the intention of that word, yet the commandment might be broken by the not observing it according to the intention of the other word which they conceal. But of this more by and by.

7. I consider that there is very great scandal and offence given to enemies and strangers to christianity, the very Turks and Jews, with whom the worship of images is of very ill report, and that upon (at least) the most probable grounds in the world. Now the apostle having commanded all Christians to pursue those things which are

of good report, and to walk circumspectly and charitably towards them that are without, and that we 'give no offence neither to the Jew nor to the gentile:' now if we consider, that if the christian church were wholly without images, there would nothing perish to the faith or to the charity of the church, or to any grace which is in order to heaven; and that the spiritual state of the christian church may as well want such baby ceremonies as the synagogue did; and yet on the other side, that the Jews and Turks are the more, much more estranged from the religion of Christ Jesus, by the image-worship done by His pretended servants; the consequent will be, that to retain the worship of images is both against the faith and the charity[x] of Christians, and puts limits, and retrenches the borders of the christian pale.

It is a scandal, and makes way for heathen idolatry.

8. It is also very scandalous to Christians, that is, it makes many, and endangers more, to fall into the direct sin of idolatry. Polydore Vergil[y] observes out of S. Hierome, that "almost all the holy fathers damned the worship of images," for this very reason, "for fear of idolatry;" and Cassander says, that all the ancients did abhor all adoration of images; and he cites Origen[z] as an instance great enough to verify the whole affirmative. *Nos vero ideo non honoramus simulacra, quia quantum possumus cavemus ne quando incidamus in eam credulitatem ut et iis tribuamus divinitatis aliquid.* This authority E. W., page 55, is not ashamed to bring in behalf of himself in this question, saying that "Origen hath nothing against the use of images, and declares our christian doctrine thus," then he recites the words above quoted; than which Origen could not speak plainer against the practice of the Roman church: and E. W. might

[x] [1 Cor. viii. 13.]

[y] De invent. rerum, lib. vi. cap. 13. [p. 423. 8vo. Amstel. (Elzev.) 1671.] Eo insaniæ deventum est, ut hæc pietatis pars parum differat ab impietate: sunt enim bene multi rudiores stupidioresque, qui saxeas vel ligneas .. seu in parietibus pictas .. imagines colant, non ut figuras, sed perinde quasi ipsæ sensum aliquem habeant, et iis magis fidant quam Christo.—Lilius Giraldus, in Syntagm. [i. p. 14.] de diis gentium, loquens de excessu Romanæ ecclesiæ in negotio imaginum, præfatur, 'Satius esse ea Harpocrati et Angeronæ consignare: illud certe non prætermittam, nos, dico christianos, ut aliquando Romanos, fuisse sine imaginibus in primitiva quæ vocatur ecclesia.'—Erasmus in catechesi [vi. tom. v. col. 1187 C.] ait, Usque ad ætatem Hieronymi erant probatæ religionis viri qui in templis nullam ferebant imaginem, nec pictam, nec sculptam, nec textam, ac ne Christi quidem.—Et ibid. [col. 1188 A.] Ut imagines sint in templis nulla præcipit vel humana constitutio; et ut facilius est, ita tutius quoque est omnes imagines e templis submovere.—Videatur etiam Cassandri Consultatio, sub hoc titulo [p. 974.] et Masius in Josuam, cap. viii. [p. 155 sqq.]—Sic autem queritur Ludovicus Vives, Comment. in lib. viii. c. ult. de civit. Dei, [tom. i. p. 514.] Divos divasque non aliter venerantur, quam Deum; nec video in multis quod sit discrimen inter eorum opinionem de sanctis, et id quod gentiles putabant de suis diis.—Diodorus Siculus [eclog. xl.] dixit de Mose, Imaginem statuit nullam, ideo quod non crederet Deum homini similem esse; et Dion, lib. xxxvi. [p. 37 C.] Nullam effigiem in Hierosolymis habuere, quod Deum crederent ut ineffabilem, ita inaspicuum (ἀειδῆ.)

[z] Consult. de imagin. ex Origene contr. Celsum, lib. vii. versus finem. [p. 976.]

as well have disputed for the Manichees with this argument, 'The scripture doth not say that God made the world, it only declares the christian doctrine thus, in the beginning God made heaven and earth,' &c. But this gentleman thinks any thing will pass for argument amongst his own people. And of this danger S. Austin[a] gives a rational account, "No man doubts but idols want all sense: but when they are placed in their[b] seats, in an honourable sublimity, that they may be attended[b] by them that pray and offer sacrifice, by the very likeness of living members and senses, although they be senseless and without life, they affect weak minds, that they seem to live and feel[b], especially when the veneration of a multitude is added to it, by which so great a worship is bestowed upon them." Here is the danger, and how much is contributed to it in the church of Rome, by clothing their images in rich apparel, and by pretending to make them nod their head, to twinkle the eyes, and even to speak, the world is too much satisfied.—Some such things as these, and the superstitious talkings and actings of their priests, made great impressions upon my neighbours in Ireland; and they had such a deep and religious veneration for the image of our lady of Kilbrony, that a worthy gentleman, who is now with God, and knew the deep superstition of the poor Irish, did not distrain upon his tenants for his rents, but carried away the image of the female saint of Kilbrony; and instantly the priest took care that the tenants should redeem the lady by a punctual and speedy paying of their rents; for they thought themselves unblessed as long as the image was away; and therefore they speedily fetched away their ark from the house of Obed-Edom, and were afraid that their saint could not help them when her image was away. Now if S. Paul would have Christians to abstain from meats sacrificed to idols to avoid the giving offence to weak brethren, much more ought the church to avoid tempting all the weak people of her communion to idolatry, by countenancing, and justifying, and imposing such acts, which all their heads can never learn to distinguish from idolatry.

I end this with a memorial out of the councils of Sens[c] and Mentz[d], who command *moneri populum ne imagines adoret:* the preachers were commanded to 'admonish the people that they should not adore images.' And for the novelty of the practice here in the British churches, it is evident in ecclesiastical story[e] that it was introduced by a synod of London, about the year DCCXIV., under Bonifacius the legate, and Bertualdus archbishop of Dover[f], and that without disputation or enquiry into the lawfulness or unlawfulness of it, but wholly upon the account of a vision pretended to be seen by

[a] Epist. xlix. [al. cii. ad Deogratias.] qu. 3. [tom. ii. col. 279.]

[b] ['his,' 'attendantur,' 'spirare.']

[c] C. 14. [d] [Mogunt. 'Mayence,'] c. 41, apud Bellarmin., lib. ii. de imag. SS. c. 22. sect. 'Secunda propositio.' [tom. ii. col. 1002.]

[e] [Baron. in ann. DCCXIV.]

[f] [Durovernensis; 'Durovernum' is Canterbury; 'Dubris' is Dover.]

Eguinus bishop of Worcester, the virgin Mary appearing to him and commanding that her image should be set in churches and worshipped. That Austin the monk brought with him the banner of the cross, and the image of Christ, Beda tells, and from him Baronius; and Binius affirms that before this vision of Egwin the cross and image of Christ were in use; but that they were at all worshipped or adored, Beda saith not; and there is no record, no monument of it before this hypochondrical dream of Egwin; and it further appears to be so, because Albinus or Alcuinus[g], an Englishman, master of Charles the great, when the king had sent to Offa the book of C. P. for the worship of images, wrote an epistle against it, *ex auctoritate divina scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam;* and brought it to the king of France in the name of our bishops and kings, saith Hoveden[h].

§ 7. Of picturing God the Father, and the holy Trinity.

AGAINST all the authorities almost which are or might be brought to prove the unlawfulness of picturing God the Father, or the holy Trinity, the Roman doctors generally give this one answer; that the fathers intended by their sayings to condemn the picturing of the divine essence, but condemn not the picturing of those symbolical shapes or forms in which God the Father, or the Holy Ghost, or the blessed Trinity, are supposed to have appeared.—To this I reply,

Answer to their reply of painting the essence of God the Father.

first, that no man ever intended to paint the essence of any thing in the world: a man cannot well understand an essence, and hath no idea of it in his mind, much less can a painter's pencil do it; and therefore it is a vain and impertinent discourse to prove that they do ill[i] who attempt to paint the divine essence. This is a subterfuge which none but men out of hope to defend their opinion otherwise, can make use of. Secondly, to picture God the Father in such symbolical forms in which He appeared, is to picture Him in no form at all; for generally both the schools of the Jews and Christians consent in this, that God the Father never appeared in His person; for as S. Paul affirms, He is "the invisible God whom no eye hath seen or can see;" He always appeared by angels, or by fire, or by storm and tempest, by a cloud or by a still voice; He spake by His prophets, and at last by His Son; but still the adorable majesty was reserved in the secrets of His glory. Thirdly, the church of Rome paints the holy Trinity in forms and symbolical shapes in which she never pretends the blessed Trinity did appear, as in a face with three noses and four eyes, one body with three heads, and as an old man with a great beard, and a pope's crown upon his head, and holding the two ends of the transverse rafter of the cross with Christ leaning on his

[g] A.D. circiter DCCXCII.
[h] Annal., part. i. [p. 405.]
[i] Vide Plutarch. de Iside et Osiride. [per tot. libr.—e. g. p. 484 sqq., tom. vii.]

breast, and the Holy Spirit hovering over his head. And therefore they worship the images of God the Father and the holy Trinity, 'figures which' (as is said[k] of Remphan and the heathen gods and goddesses) 'themselves have made;' which therefore must needs be idols by their own definition of *idolum, simulacrum rei non existentis;* for never was there seen any such of the holy Trinity in Unity, as they most impiously represent. And if when any thing is spoken of God in scripture allegorically, they may of it make an image to God, they would make many more monsters than yet they have found out. For as Durandus[l] well observes, "If any one shall say that because the Holy Ghost appeared in the shape of a dove, and the Father in the Old testament under the corporal forms, that therefore they may be represented by images, we must say to this, that those corporal forms were not assumed by the Father and the Holy Spirit; and therefore a representation of them by images is not a representation of the divine person, but a representation of that form or shape alone: therefore there is no reverence due to it, as there is none due to those forms by themselves. Neither were these forms to represent the divine Persons, but to represent those effects which those divine Persons did effect." And therefore there is one thing more to be said to them that do so, they have "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of a mortal man[m]." Now how will the reader imagine that the Dissuasive is confuted, and his testimonies from antiquity answered? Why, most clearly, E. W.[n] saith; that "one principle of S. John Damascene[o]" doth it, it "solves all that the doctor hath or can allege in this matter." Well, what is this principle? The words are these, "(And S. Austin points at the same, *De fide et symbolo,* c. 7.[p]) *Quisnam est qui invisibilis et corpore vacantis ac circumscriptionis et figuræ expertis Dei simulacrum effingere queat? Extremæ itaque dementiæ atque impietatis fuerit divinum numen fingere et figurare.*" This is the principle to confute the doctor: why, but the doctor thinks that in the world there cannot be clearer words for the reproof of picturing God and the holy Trinity, for "to do so is madness and extreme impiety," so says Damascene. But stay, says E. W.[n], these words of Damascene are "as who should say, He that goes about to express by any image the perfect similitude of God's intrinsical perfections, or His nature, (which is immense without body or figure,) would be both impious, and act the part of a madman." But how shall any man know that these words of Damascene are 'as much as to say' this meaning of E. W., and where is this 'principle' (as he calls it) of Damascene, by which the doctor is so every where silenced? Certainly E. W. is a merry gentleman, and thinks all mankind are

Quotations in the Dissuasive vindicated.

[k] [Acts vii. 43.]

[l] In iii. sent. dist. ix. q. 2. n. 15. [p. 515.]

[m] [Rom. i. 23.]

[n] Page 60.

[o] Lib. iv. orthod. fidei, cap. 17. [al. 16. tom. i. p. 280.]

[p] [p. 217, above.]

fools. This is the ridiculous commentary of E. W., but Damascene was too learned and grave a person to talk such wild stuff. And cardinal Cajetan[r] gives a better account of the doctrine of Damascene, "The authority of Damascene in the (very) letter of it condemns those images (viz. of God) of folly and impiety: and there is the same reason now concerning the deity which was in the old law; and it is certain, that in the old law the images of God were forbidden." To the like purpose is that of the famous Germanus, who though too favourable to pictures in churches for veneration, yet he is a great enemy to all pictures of God: *neque enim invisibilis deitatis imaginem et similitudinem, vel schema, vel figuram aliquam formamus, &c.*, as who please may see in his epistle to Thomas bishop of Claudiopolis[s]. But let us consider, when God forbade the children of Israel to make any likeness of Him, did He only forbid them to express by any image the perfect similitude of His intrinsical perfections? had the children of Israel leave to picture God in the form of a man walking in paradise? or to paint the holy Trinity like three men talking to Abraham? was it lawful for them to make an image or picture, or (to use E. W. his expression) 'to exhibit to their eyes those visible or circumscribed lineaments' which any man had seen? and when they had exhibited these forms to the eyes, might they then have fallen down and worshipped those forms which themselves exhibited to their own and others' eyes? I omit to enquire how they can prove that God appeared in paradise in the form of a man, which they can never do unless they will use the friars' argument[t], *Faciamus hominem ad similitudinem nostram, &c.*, and so make fair way for the heresy of the Anthropomorphites.

But I pass on a little further. Did the Israelites, when they made a molten calf, and said, 'These are thy gods, O Israel,' did they imagine that by that image they represented the true form, essence or nature of God? or did the heathens ever pretend to make any image of the intrinsical perfections of any of their *majores* or *minores dii* or any of their demons and dead heroes? and because they neither did nor could do that, may it therefore be concluded that they made no images of their gods? Certain it is the heathens have as much reason to say they did not picture their gods, meaning their nature and essence, but by symbolical forms and shapes represented those good things which they supposed them to have done. Thus the Egyptians[x] pictured

[r] Auctoritas Damasceni in litera damnat illas (imagines Dei) insipientiæ et impietatis: et eadem est ratio nunc de deitate quæ erat in veteri lege quoad rem figurabilem vel non secundum se; constat autem in veteri lege imagines Dei esse prohibitas. [ut in not. c, infra.] —Videat (si placet) lector Lucam Tudensem adv. Albig. error., lib. ii. c. 9.—Tom. iv. bibl. pp. part. 2. [et in Magn. bibl. vett. patr. fol. Col. Agr. 1618. tom. xiii. p. 260.]

[s] Apud Nicæn. synod. ii. act. 5. [leg. 4. tom. iv. col. 246 sqq.—But the exact words do not occur.]

[t] [Fr. Hieron. ab Oleastro, in Gen. i. p. 10. fol. Lugd. 1588, et Aug. Eugub., Cosmop., p. 98.—fol. Lugd. 1535.]

[x] [Jul. Firmic., De errore, &c., c. 14.—Paulin. Nolan., nat. xi. S. Felicis, v. 100.]

Joseph with a bushel upon his head, and called him their god Serapis; but they made no image of his essence, but symbolically represented the benefit he did the nation by preserving them in the seven years' famine. Thus Ceres is painted with a hook and a sheaf of corn, Pomona with a basket of apples, Hercules with a club, and Jupiter himself with a handful of symbolical thunderbolts. This is that which the popish doctors call picturing God, not in His 'essence,' but in 'history,' or in 'symbolical shapes:' for of these three ways of picturing God, Bellarmine[y] says the two last are lawful; and therefore the heathens not doing the first, but the second and the third only, are just so to be excused as the church of Rome is. But then neither these nor those must pretend that they do not picture God: for whatever the intention be, still an image of God is made, or else why do they worship God by that which if it be no image of God, must by their own doctrine be an idol? And therefore Bellarmine's distinction is very foolish, and is only crafty to deceive; for besides the impertinency of it, in answering the charge only by declaring his intention, as being charged with picturing God, he tells 'he did it indeed, but he meant not to paint His nature, but His story or His symbolical significations, which I say is impertinent, it not being enquired with what purpose it is done, but whether or no; and an evil thing may be done with a good intention;—besides this, I say that Bellarmine's distinction comes just to this issue: God may be painted or represented by an image, not to express a perfect similitude of His form or nature, but to express it imperfectly, or rather not to express it, but *ad explicandam naturam*, to 'explain' it, not to describe Him truly, but historically; though that be a strange history that does not express truly and as it is. But here it is plainly acknowledged, that besides the history, 'the very nature of God may be explicated by pictures' or images, provided they be only metaphorical and mystical, as if the only reason of the lawfulness of painting God is because it is done imperfectly and unlike Him; or as if the metaphor made the image lawful; just as if to do Alexander honour you should picture him like a bear, tearing and trampling every thing, or to exalt Cæsar, you should hang upon a table the pictures of a fox and a cock and a lion, and write under it, this is Caius Julius Cæsar. But I am ashamed of these prodigious follies. But at last, why should it be esteemed madness and impiety to picture the nature of God, which is invisible, and not also be as great a madness to picture any shape of Him, which no man ever saw? But He that is invested with a thick cloud and encircled with an inaccessible glory, and never drew

[y] Observandum est tribus modis posse aliquid pingi: uno modo ad exprimendam perfectam similitudinem formæ, et naturæ rei ipsius; . . altero modo ad historiam aliquam oculis exhibendam; . . tertio, potest aliquid pingi extra historiam ad explicandam naturam rei, non per immediatam et propriam similitudinem, sed analogiam, sive metaphoricas mysticasque significationes.—Bell. de imag., lib. ii. c. 8. sect. 'Pro solutione.'—Hoc modo pingimus Deum.—Ibid. [tom. ii. col. 956.]

aside the curtains to be seen under any representment, will not suffer Himself to be exposed to vulgar eyes by fantastical shapes and ridiculous forms.

But it may be, the church of Rome does not use any such impious practice, much less own so mad a doctrine; for one of my adversaries[z] says, that "the picturing the forms or appearances of God is all that some (in their church) allow," that is, some do, and some do not; so that it may be only a private opinion of some doctors, and then I am to blame to charge popery with it. To this I answer, that Bellarmine[a] indeed says *non esse tam certum in ecclesia an sint faciendæ imagines Dei sive Trinitatis, quam Christi et sanctorum;* it is not so certain, viz., as to be an article of faith. But yet besides that Bellarmine allows it, and cites Cajetan, Catharinus, Payva, Sanders and Thomas Waldensis for it; this is a practice and doctrine brought in by an unproved custom of the church. *Constat quod hæc consuetudo depingendi angelos, et Deum, modo sub specie columbæ, modo sub figura Trinitatis, sit ubique inter catholicos recepta,* 'the picturing angels, and God, sometimes under the shape of a dove and sometimes under the figure of the Trinity, is every where received among the catholics,' said a great man[b] amongst them. And to what purpose they do this, we are told by Cajetan[c], speaking of images of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; saying, *Hæc non solum pinguntur ut ostendantur sicut cherubim olim in templo, sed ut adorentur,* 'they are painted that they may be worshipped;' *ut frequens usus ecclesiæ testatur,* 'this is witnessed by the frequent use of the church.' So that this is received every where among the catholics, and these images are worshipped, and of this there is an ecclesiastical custom; and I add, in their mass-book lately printed these pictures are not infrequently seen. So that now it is necessary to shew that this, besides the impiety of it, is against the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, and is an innovation in religion, a propriety of the Roman doctrine, and of infinite danger and unsufferable impiety.

To some of these purposes the Dissuasive alleged Tertullian, Eusebius and S. Hierome; but A. L.[z] says, these fathers have nothing to this purpose: this is now to be tried. These men were only named in the Dissuasive; their words are these which follow.

First, for Tertullian[d]; a man would think it could not be necessary to prove that Tertullian thought it unlawful to picture God the Father, when he thought the whole art of painting and making images to be unlawful, as I have already proved: but however, let us see. He is very curious that nothing should be used by Christians or in the service of God, which is used on, or by, or towards idols;

[z] [A. L., 'Letter,' p. 28.]

[a] Lib. ii. de reliq. et imagin. SS., cap. 8. sect. 'Ego dico tria.' [tom. ii. col. 954.]

[b] Pujol. de adorat., disp. iii. sect. 4. [p. 250.]

[c] In iii. part. sum., q. 25. a. 3. [f. 211. —fol. Bonon. MDXXVIII.]

[d] De corona milit. [p. 217, note q, above.]

and because they did paint and picture their idols, cast, or carve them, therefore nothing of that kind ought to be *in rebus Dei*, as Tertullian's phrase is. But the sum of his discourse[f] is this, "The heathens use to picture their false gods; that indeed befits them, but therefore is unfit for God; and therefore we are to flee not only from idolatry, but from idols: in which affair a word does change the case, and that which, before it was said to appertain to idols, was lawful, by that very word was made unlawful, and therefore much more by a shape or figure; and therefore flee from the shape of them; for it is an unworthy thing that the image of the living God should be made the image of an idol or a dead thing. For the idols of the heathens are silver and gold, and have eyes without sight, and noses without smell, and hands without feeling." So far Tertullian argues; and what can more plainly give his sense and meaning in this article? if the very image of an idol be unlawful, much more is it unlawful to make an image or idol of the living God, or represent Him by the image of a dead man.

But this argument is further and more plainly set down by Athanasius, whose book against the gentiles is spent in reproving the images of God real or imaginary; insomuch that he affirms[g] that the gentiles dishonour even their false gods by making images of them, and that they might better have passed for gods if they had not represented them by visible images; and therefore "that the religion of making images of their gods, is not piety, but impious. For to know God we need no outward thing; the way of truth will direct us to Him: and if any man ask which is that way, viz., to know God, I shall say, it is the soul of a man, and that understanding which is planted in us; for by that alone God can be seen and understood." The same father does discourse many excellent things to this purpose, as that a man is the only image of God; Jesus Christ is the perfect image of His glory, and He only represents His essence; and man is made in the likeness of God, and therefore he also in a less perfect manner represents God: besides these if any man desires to see God, let him look in the book of the creature, and all the world is the image and lively representment of God's power and His

[f] De cor. milit.—Joannes, Filioli, inquit, custodite vos ab idolis; non jam ab idololatria quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis, id est, ab ipsa effigie eorum: indignum enim ut imago Dei vivi, imago idoli et mortui fias. [ubi supra.] Si enim verbo nudo conditio polluitur, ut apostolus docet, si quis dixerit, Idolothytum est, ne contigeris, multo magis cum saltitaveris habitu, et ritu, et apparatu, &c. [paulo ante.] Quid enim tam indignum Deo quam quod dignum idolo? [paulo ante.]

[g] Nam si ut dicitis literarum instar Dei præsentiam signant, atque adeo acsi Deum significantia divinis dignæ censentur honoribus, certe qui ea sculpsit, eisque effigiem dedit, multo magis hos promerebatur honores.—Et paulo post, Quocirca hujusmodi religio deorumque fictio non pietatis esse, sed iniquitatis invectio.—Veritatis via ad eum qui verus Deus est diriget; ad eum vero cognoscendum et exactissime intelligendum [leg. 'ad eam' &c.] nullius extra nos positæ rei opem necessariam habemus.—Quod si quis interrogat, quænam ista sit? Uniuscujusque animam esse dixerim, atque insitam illam intelligentiam, per ipsam enim solam Deus inspici et intelligi potest.—Orat. cont. gent. [in §§ 21, 9, sq.]

wisdom, His goodness and His bounty: but to represent God in a carved stone or a painted table, does depauperate our understanding of God, and dishonours Him below the painter's art; for it represents Him lovely only by that art, and therefore less than him that painted it. But that which Athanasius[h] adds is very material, and gives great reason of the command why God should severely forbid any image of Himself: *calamitati enim et tyrannidi servientes homines unicum illud et nulli communicabile Dei nomen lignis lapidibusque imposuerunt,* 'some in sorrow for their dead children made their images, and fancied that presence; some desiring to please their tyrannous princes, put up their statues, and at distance by a fantastical presence flattered them with honours. And in process of time these were made gods, and the incommunicable name was given to wood and stones.' Not that the heathens thought that image to be very God, but that they were imaginarily present in them, and so had their name. *Hujusmodi igitur initiis idolorum inventio scriptura teste apud homines cœpit*[i], 'thus idolatry began, saith the scripture,' and thus it was promoted; and the event was, they made pitiful conceptions of God, they confined His presence to a statue, they worshipped Him with the lowest way imaginable, they descended from all spirituality and the noble ways of understanding, and made wood and stone to be as it were a body to the Father of spirits; they gave the incommunicable name not only to dead men, and angels, and demons, but to the images of them; and though it is great folly to picture angelical spirits, and dead heroes, whom they never saw, yet by these steps when they had come to picture God himself, this was the height of the gentile impiety; and is but too plain a representation of the impiety practised by too many in the Roman church.

But as we proceed further the case will be yet clearer. Concerning the testimony of Eusebius, I wonder that any writer of Roman controversies should be ignorant, and being so, should confidently say Eusebius hath nothing to this purpose, viz., to condemn the picturing of God, when his words are so famous that they are recorded in the seventh synod[k]; and the words were occasioned by a solemn message sent to Eusebius by the sister of Constantius and wife of Licinius, lately turned from being pagan to be christian, desiring Eusebius to send her the picture of our Lord Jesus; to which he answers, *Quia vero de quadam imagine quasi Christi scripsisti, hanc volens tibi a nobis mitti, quam dicis et qualem hanc, quam perhibes, Christi imaginem? utrum veram et incommutabilem, et natura characteres suos portantem, an istam quam propter nos suscepit, servi formæ schemate circumamictus? Sed de forma quidem Dei nec ipse arbitror te quærere, semel ab ipso edoctam, quoniam neque Patrem quis novit nisi Filius, neque ipsum Filium novit quis aliquando digne, nisi solus Pater qui eum genuit.* And a little after, *Quis ergo hujus-*

[h] [vid. § 9 sq. pp. 9, 11.] [i] [§ 11. p. 12.] [k] Act. 6. [tom. iv. col. 406.]

modi dignitatis et gloriæ vibrantes et præfulgentes splendores exarare potuisset mortuis et inanimatis coloribus et scripturis umbraticis? And then speaking of the glory of Christ in mount Tabor, he proceeds, *Ergo si tunc incarnata ejus forma tantam virtutem sortita est ab inhabitante in se divinitate mutata, quid oportet dicere cum mortalitate exutus, et corruptione ablutus, speciem servilis formæ in gloriam Domini et Dei commutavit?* Where besides that Eusebius thinks it unlawful to make a picture of Christ, and therefore consequently much more to make a picture of God, he also tells Constantia he supposes she did not offer at any desire of that.

Well, for these three of the fathers we are well enough, but for the rest, the objector says[m] that they "speak only against representing God as in His own essence, shape or form." To this I answer that God hath no shape or form, and therefore these fathers could not speak against making images of a thing that was not; and as for the images of His essence, no Christian, no heathen ever pretended to it; and no man or beast can be pictured so: no painter can paint an essence. And therefore although this distinction was lately made in the Roman schools, yet the fathers knew nothing of it, and the Roman doctors can make nothing of it, for the reasons now told. But the gentleman saith that 'some of their church allow only and practise the picturing those forms wherein God hath appeared.' It is very well they do no more; but I pray, in what forms did God the Father ever appear, or the holy and mysterious Trinity? or suppose they had, does it follow they may be painted? We saw but now out of Eusebius that it was not esteemed lawful to picture Christ, though He did appear in a human body: and although it is supposed that the Holy Ghost did appear in the shape of a dove, yet it is forbidden by the sixth general[n] council to paint Christ like a lamb, or the Holy Spirit like a dove. Add to this, where did ever the holy and blessed Trinity appear like three faces joined in one, or like an old man with Christ crucified leaning on his breast, and a dove hovering over them; and yet however the objector is pleased to mince the matter, yet the doing this is *ubique inter catholicos recepta;* and that not only to be seen, but to be adored, as I proved a little above by testimonies of their own.

The next charge is concerning S. Hierome[o], that he says no such thing; which matter will soon be at an end if we see the commentary he makes on these words of Isaiah, *Cui ergo similem fecistis Deum,* 'to whom do you liken God, or what image will ye make for Him who is a Spirit, and is in all things, and runs every where, and holds

[m] [Letter, p. 28.]

[n] Concil. C. P. can. lxxxii. [The canon commands that the human form be adopted instead of the lamb.]

[o] In cap. xl. Isai.—Aut quam imaginem ponetis ei qui Spiritus est, et in omnibus est, et ubique discurrit, et terram quasi pugillo continet? Simulque irridet stultitiam nationum, quod artifex sive faber ærarius aut aurifex aut argentarius deum sibi faciant. [tom. iii. col. 306.]

the earth in His fist? And he laughs at the folly of the nations, that an artist, or a brazier, or a goldsmith, or a silversmith makes a god,' viz., by making the image of God. But the objector adds that 'it would be long to set down the words of the other fathers quoted by the doctor;' and truly so the doctor thought so too at first; but because the objector says they do not make against what some of his church own and practise, I thought it might be worth the reader's pains to see them.

Other testimonies.

The words of S. Austin[p] in this question are very plain and decretory. "For a Christian to place such an image to God" (viz., with right and left hand, sitting with bended knees, that is, in the shape of a man) "is wickedness, but much more wicked is it to place it in our hearts." But of this I have given account in the preceding section.

Theodoret, Damascene, and Nicephorus do so expressly condemn the picturing God, that it is acknowledged by my adversaries, only they fly for succour to the old *mumpsimus*[q]; they condemn the picturing the essence of God, but not His forms and appearances; a distinction which those good old writers never thought of, but directly they condemned all images of God and the holy Trinity. And the bishops in the seventh synod, though they were worshippers of images, yet they thinking that angels were corporeal, believed they might be painted, but denied it of God expressly. And indeed it were a strange thing that God in the Old testament should so severely forbid any image to be made of Him, upon this reason because He is invisible; and He presses it passionately by calling it to their memory, that they 'heard a voice, but saw no shape;' and yet that both He had formerly and did afterwards shew Himself in shapes and forms which might be painted, and so the very reason of the commandment be wholly void. To which add this consideration, that although the angels did frequently appear, and consequently had forms possible to be represented in imagery, yet none of the ancients did suppose it lawful to paint angels, but they that thought them to be corporeal. Τὸν ἀόρατον εἰκονογραφεῖν ἢ διαπλάσσειν οὐχ ὅσιον, said Philo[r]. To which purpose is that of Seneca[s], *Effugit oculos, cogitatione visendus est;* and Antiphanes[t] said of God, Ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐχ ὁρᾶται, οὐδενὶ ἔοικε,

[p] De fide et symbolo, cap. vii. [p. 217 above.] Tale enim simulacrum Deo nefas est christiano in templo collocare, multo magis in corde nefarium est, ubi vere templum est.

[q] ['This worthy handmaid of mine, the letter S,' (says Grammar) 'has been of all letters the most unfortunate,'—Nam et quidam indoctus sacrificus Anglicus eam possessione sua annis triginta expulit, nec puduit illum tam longo tempore 'mumpsimus' legere, loco 'sumpsimus.' Et quum moneretur a docto ut errorem emendaret, respondit se nolle mutare suum antiquum mumpsimus ipsius novo sumpsimus.—Paceus, De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur liber, p. 80.—4to. Basil. 1517.]

[r] Lib. de legat. [tom. ii. p. 588. ed. Mangey, fol. Lond.-MDCCXLII.]

[s] Nat. quæstt., lib. viii. [leg. vii.] cap. 30. [tom. ii. p. 841.]

[t] [leg. 'Antisthenes' (so vol. ii. p. 421, note q,) apud Clem. Alex., strom., lib. v. cap. 14. p. 714.]

διόπερ αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνος οὐδεὶς δύναται, 'God is not seen with eyes, He is like to no man; therefore no man can by an image know Him.' By which it appears plainly to be the general opinion of the ancients that whatever was incorporeal was not to be painted, no, though it had appeared in symbolical forms, as confessedly the angels did. And of this the second synod of Nice[u] itself is a sufficient witness; the fathers of which did all approve the epistle of John bishop of Thessalonica, in which he largely discourses against the picturing of any thing that is incorporeal. He that pleases to see more of this affair may find much more, and to very great purpose, in a little book *De imaginibus* in the first book of the Greek and Latin *Bibliotheca patrum*[x]; out of which I shall only transcribe these words[y], *Non esse faciendum imagines Dei; imo si quis quid simile attentaverit, hunc extremis suppliciis, veluti ethnicis communicantem dogmatis, subjici.* Let them translate it that please, only I remember that Aventinus[z] tells a story that pope John the twenty-second caused to be burnt for heretics those persons who had painted the holy Trinity; which I urge for no other reason but to shew how late an innovation of religion this is in the church of Rome. The worship of images came in by degrees [a], and it was long resisted, but until of late it never came to the height of impiety as to picture God, and to worship Him by images: but this was the state and last perfection of this sin, and hath spoiled a great part of christianity, and turned it back to ethnicism.

But that I may sum up all; I desire the Roman doctors to weigh well the words of one of their own popes, Gregory the second [b], to the question, *Cur tamen Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi non oculis subjicimus,* 'why do we not subject the Father of our Lord Jesus to the eyes?' He answers, *Quoniam Dei natura spectanda proponi non potest ac fingi,* 'the nature of God cannot be exposed to be beheld, nor yet feigned.' He did not conclude that 'therefore we cannot make the image of His essence,' but none at all, nothing of Him to be exposed to the sight. And that this is his direct and full meaning, besides his own words, we may conclude from the note which Baronius makes upon it, *Postea in usu venisse ut pingatur in ecclesia Pater et Spiritus sanctus,* 'afterwards it became an use in the church' (viz., the Roman) 'to paint the Father and the Holy Ghost.' And therefore besides the impiety of it, the church of Rome is guilty of innovation in this particular also, which was the thing I intended to prove.

[u] Act. v. [tom. iv. col. 292 sq.]
[x] [Fol. Paris. MDCXXIV.] p. 734, &c.
[y] [p. 737 D.]
[z] Annal. Boiorum, lib. vii. [p. 462.]
[a] ['decrees' A.]
[b] In epistola quam Baronius Græce edidit, t. ix. annal. [ad A.D. MDCCXXVI.]

FIVE LETTERS

TO

PERSONS

CHANGED OR TEMPTED TO A CHANGE

IN THEIR RELIGION.

THE FIRST TO A GENTLEWOMAN SEDUCED TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

THE SECOND TO A PERSON RETURNING TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE OTHERS TO A GENTLEMAN TEMPTED TO THE COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

Volo solidum perenne.

THE FIRST LETTER.

TO A GENTLEWOMAN SEDUCED TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

M. B.

I WAS desirous of an opportunity in London to have discoursed with you concerning something of nearest concernment to you, but the multitude of my little affairs hindered me, and have brought upon you this trouble to read a long letter; which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, because it comes from one who hath a great respect to your person, and a very great charity to your soul. I must confess I was on your behalf troubled when I heard you were fallen from the communion of the church of England, and entered into a voluntary, unnecessary schism and departure from the laws of the king, and the communion of those with whom you have always lived in charity; going against those laws in the defence and profession of which your husband died, going from the religion in which you were baptized, in which for so many years you lived piously and hoped for heaven, and all this without any sufficient reason, without necessity or just scandal ministered to you. And to aggravate all this, you did it in a time when the church of England was persecuted, when she was marked with the characterisms of her Lord, the marks of the cross of Jesus, that is, when she suffered for a holy cause and a holy conscience, when the church of England was more glorious than at any time before, even when she could shew more martyrs and confessors than any church this day in christendom, even then when a king died in the profession of her religion, and thousands of priests, learned and pious men, suffered the spoiling of their goods rather than they would forsake one article of so excellent a religion. So that seriously it is not easily to be imagined that any thing should move you, unless it be that which troubled the perverse Jews, and the heathen Greek, *Scandalum crucis*, 'the scandal of the cross;' you stumbled at that rock of offence, you left us because we were afflicted, lessened in outward circumstances and wrapped in a cloud: but give me leave only to remind you of that sad saying of the scripture [a], that you may avoid the consequent of it; 'they that fall on this stone shall be broken in pieces, but they on whom it shall fall shall be grinded to powder.' And if we should consider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the sons of our church are very conscien-

[a] [Matth. xxi. 44.]

tious and just in their persuasions, when it is evident that we have no temporal end to serve, nothing but the great end of our souls; all our hopes of preferment are gone, all secular regards, only we still have truth on our sides, and we are not willing with the loss of truth to change from a persecuted to a prosperous church, from a reformed to a church that will not be reformed; lest we give scandal to good people that suffer for a holy conscience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted; of which if you had been more careful you would have remained much more innocent.

But I pray give me leave to consider for you, because you in your change considered so little for yourself, what fault, what false doctrine, what wicked or dangerous proposition, what defect, what amiss did you find in the Doctrine and Liturgy and Discipline of the church of England?

For its Doctrine, it is certain it professes the belief of all that is written in the Old and New testament, all that which is in the three creeds, the apostolical, the Nicene, and that of Athanasius, and whatsoever was decreed in the four general councils or in any other truly such, and whatsoever was condemned in these, our church hath legally declared it to be heresy [b]. And upon these accounts above four whole ages of the church went to heaven; they baptized all their catechumens into this faith, their hopes of heaven was upon this and a good life, their saints and martyrs lived and died in this alone, they denied communion to none that professed this faith. 'This is the catholic faith,' so saith the creed of Athanasius; and unless a company of men have power to alter the faith of God, whosoever live and die in this faith are entirely catholic and christian. So that the church of England hath the same faith without dispute that the church had for four or five hundred years, and therefore there could be nothing wanting here to saving faith if we live according to our belief.

For the Liturgy of the church of England [c] I shall not need to say much, because the case will be very evident; first, because the disputers of the church of Rome have not been very forward to object any thing against it, they cannot charge it with any evil: secondly, because for all the time of king Edward the sixth, and till the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth, your people came to our churches and prayed with us, till the bull of Pius quintus came out upon temporal regards, and made a schism by forbidding the queen's subjects to pray as by law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy, as themselves did believe. That bull enjoined recusancy, and made that which was an act [d] of rebellion, and disobedience, and schism, to be the character of your Roman catholics. And after this what can be supposed wanting in order to salvation?

[b] [See vol. v. p. 197, note i.]

[c] [ibid., p. 236 sqq.]

[d] ['as an act' A.]

We have the word of God, the faith of the apostles, the creeds of the primitive church, the articles of the four first general councils, a holy liturgy, excellent prayers, perfect sacraments, faith and repentance, the ten commandments, and the sermons of Christ, and all the precepts and counsels of the gospel; we teach the necessity of good works, and require and strictly exact the severity of a holy life; we live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for Him, and do so when He requires us so to do; we speak honour[e] of His most holy name, we worship Him at the mention of His name, we confess His attributes; we love His servants, we pray for all men, we love all Christians, even our most erring brethren, we confess our sins to God and to our brethren whom we have offended, and to God's ministers in cases of scandal or of a troubled conscience, we communicate often, we are enjoined to receive the holy sacrament thrice every year at least; our priests absolve the penitent, our bishops ordain priests, and confirm baptized persons, and bless their people and intercede for them; and what could here be wanting to salvation? what necessity forced you from us? I dare not suspect it was a temporal regard that drew you away, but I am sure it could be no spiritual.

But now that I have told you and made you to consider from whence you went, give me leave to represent to you and tell you whither you are gone, that you may understand the nature and conditions of your change. For do not think yourself safe because they tell you that you are come to 'the church;' you are indeed gone from one church to another, from a better to a worse, as will appear in the induction, the particulars of which before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice; if you mean in this affair to understand what you do, it were better you enquired what your religion is, than what your church is; for that which is a true religion to-day, will be so to-morrow and for ever; but that which is a holy church to-day, may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her trust, or obtrude new articles in contradiction to the old, or by new interpretations may elude ancient truths, or may change your creed, or may pretend to be the spouse of Christ when she is idolatrous, that is, adulterous to God. Your religion is that which you must, and therefore may competently understand; you must live in it, and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it; and in all questions concerning the church, you are to choose your church by the religion, and therefore this ought first and last to be enquired after. Whether the Roman church be the catholic church, must depend upon so many uncertain enquiries, is offered to be proved by so long, so tedious a method, hath in it so many intrigues and labyrinths of question, and is (like a long line) so impossible to be perfectly straight and to have no declination in it when it is held by such a hand as yours, that unless it be by material enquiries into the articles of the

[e] ['honourably' B.]

religion, you can never hope to have just grounds of confidence. In the mean time you can consider this; if the Roman church were the catholic, that is, so as to exclude all that are not of her communion, then the Greek churches had as good turn Turks as remain damned Christians, and all that are in the communion of all the other patriarchal churches in christendom must also perish like heathens, which thing before any man can believe he must have put off all reason, and all modesty, and all charity: and who can with any probability think that the communion of saints in the creed is nothing but the communion of Roman subjects, and the article of the catholic church was made up to dispark the inclosures of Jerusalem but to turn them into the pale of Rome, and the church is as limited as ever it was, save only that the synagogue is translated to Rome; which I think you will easily believe was a proposition the apostles understood not. But though it be hard to trust to it, it is also so hard to prove it, that you shall never be able to understand the measures of that question, and therefore your salvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wise person can believe that God hath tied our salvation to impossible measures, or bound us to an article that is not by us cognoscible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot understand: and when you shall know that learned men, even of the Roman party are not agreed concerning the catholic church that is infallibly to guide you, some saying that it is the virtual church, that is, the pope; some that it is the representative church, that is, a council; some that it is the pope and the council, the virtual church and the representative church together; some that neither of these, nor both together are infallible, but only the essential church, or the diffusive church, is the catholic from whom we must at no hand dissent; you will quickly find yourself in a wood, and uncertain whether you have more than a word in exchange for your soul, when you are told you are in the catholic church. But I will tell you what you may understand and see and feel, something that yourself can tell whether I say true or no concerning it. You are now gone to a church that protects itself by arts of subtilty and arms, by violence, and persecuting all that are not of their minds, to a church in which you are to be a subject of the king so long as it pleases the pope: in which you may be absolved from your vows made to God, your oaths to the king, your promises to men, your duty to your parents in some cases: a church in which men pray to God, and to saints in the same form of words in which they pray to God, as you may see in the offices of saints, and particularly of Our Lady: a church in which men are taught by most of the principal leaders to worship images with the same worship with which they worship God and Christ, or him or her whose image it is, and in which they usually picture God the Father and the holy Trinity; to the great dishonour of that sacred mystery, against the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, against the express

doctrine of scripture, against the honour of a divine attribute, I mean the immensity and spirituality of the divine nature. You are gone to a church that pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived in many particulars, and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children should enquire into any thing her priests obtrude. You are gone from receiving the whole sacrament to receive it but half; from Christ's institution to a human invention, from scripture to uncertain traditions, and from ancient traditions to new pretences, from prayers which ye understood to prayers which ye understand not, from confidence in God to rely upon creatures, from entire dependence upon inward acts to a dangerous temptation of resting too much in outward ministries, in the external work of sacraments and of sacramentals. You are gone from a church whose worshipping is simple, christian and apostolical, to a church where men's consciences are loaden with a burden of ceremonies greater than that in the days of the Jewish religion (for the ceremonial of the church of Rome is a great book in folio) greater I say than all the ceremonies of the Jews contained in Leviticus, &c. You are gone from a church where you were exhorted to read the word of God, the holy scriptures, from whence you found instruction, institution, comfort, reproof, a treasure of all excellencies, to a church that seals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of such cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out. And if it be told you that some men abuse scripture; it is true, for if your priests had not abused scripture, they could not thus have abused you: but there is no necessity they should, and you need not unless you list; any more than you need to abuse the sacraments or decrees of the church, or the messages of your friend, or the letters you receive, or the laws of the land, all which are liable to be abused by evil persons, but not by good people and modest understandings. It is now become a part of your religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the man that hears your confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him, as he please, without remedy. You are gone from us, where you were only taught to worship God through Jesus Christ, and now you are taught to worship saints and angels with a worship at least dangerous, and in some things proper to God; for your church worships the virgin Mary with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all nations used to be esteemed a worship peculiar to God, and it is the same thing which was condemned for heresy in the Collyridians[a], who offered a cake to the virgin Mary: a candle and a cake make no difference in the worship; and your joining God and the saints in your worship and devotions is like the device of them that fought for king and parliament, the latter destroys the former. I will trouble you with no

[a] [Epiphan. hær. lxxix. cap. 1. vol. i. p. 1058.]

more particulars, because if these move you not to consider better, nothing can.

But yet I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at least may prevail upon you, whom I suppose to have a tender and a religious conscience.

The first is, that all the points of difference between us and your church are such as do evidently serve the ends of covetousness and ambition, of power and riches, and so stand vehemently suspected of design and art, rather than truth of the article and designs upon heaven. I instance in the pope's power over princes and all the world; his power of dispensation, the exemption of the clergy from jurisdiction of princes, the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences which was once made means to raise a portion for a lady[b], the niece of pope Leo the tenth; the priest's power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from scripture, a doctrine apt to bring absolute obedience to the papacy.—But because this is possibly too nice for you to suspect or consider, that which I am sure ought to move you is this;—

That you are gone to a religion in which though through God's grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are, I hope and charitably suppose, many pious men that love God, and live good lives, yet there are very many doctrines taught by your men which are very ill friends to a good life. I instance in your indulgences and pardons, in which vicious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of purgatory, which gives countenance to a sort of Christians who live half to God and half to the world, and for them this doctrine hath found out a way that they may go to hell and to heaven too. The doctrine that the priest's absolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that suddenly too, and at any time, even on our death-bed, or the minute before our death, is a dangerous heap of falsehoods, and gives licence to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life with the hopes of heaven. And then for penances and temporal satisfaction, which might seem to be as a plank after the shipwreck of the duty of repentance, to keep men in awe, and to preserve them from sinking in an ocean of impiety, it comes to just nothing by your doctrine; for there are so many easy ways of indulgences and getting pardons, so many confraternities, stations, privileged altars, little offices, *Agnus Dei*'s, amulets, hallowed devices, swords, roses, hats, churchyards, and the fountain of these annexed indulgences the pope himself, and his power of granting what, and when, and to whom he list, that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to smart with penances; and after

[b] Maddalena de Medicis, daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis and niece of pope Leo X. was married to Francisco Cibo (p. 192 above) son of Giovanni Baptista Cibo, afterwards Innocent VIII. This pope greatly improved the revenues of his see, and was able to give his son a considerable fortune.—Paulus Jovius, vit. Leon. x., lib. i. p. 12.—opp. fol. Basil. MDXCVI.—Ciacon. in vit. Innocent. viii., in A.D. MCCCCLXXXIV.]

all, he may choose to suffer any at all, for he may pay them in purgatory if he please, and he may come out of purgatory upon reasonable terms, in case he should think it fit to go thither; so that all the whole duty of repentance seems to be destroyed with devices of men that seek power and gain, and find error and folly; insomuch that if I had a mind to live an evil life, and yet hope for heaven at last, I would be of your religion above any in the world.

But I forget I am writing a letter: I shall therefore desire you to consider upon the premises, which is the safer way. For surely it is lawful for a man to serve God without images; but that to worship images is lawful is not so sure. It is lawful to pray to God alone, to confess Him to be true, and every man a liar, to call no man master upon earth, but to rely upon God teaching us; but it is at least hugely disputable, and not at all certain, that any man or society of men can be infallible, that we may put our trust in saints, in certain extraordinary images, or burn incense and offer consumptive oblations to the virgin Mary, or make vows to persons of whose state, or place, or capacities, or condition we have no certain revelation: we are sure we do well when in the holy communion we worship God and Jesus Christ our Saviour, but they who also worship what seems to be bread are put to strange shifts to make themselves believe it to be lawful. It is certainly lawful to believe what we see and feel; but it is an unnatural thing upon pretence of faith to disbelieve our eyes, when our sense and our faith can better be reconciled, as it is in the question of the real presence, as it is taught by the church of England.

So that unless you mean to prefer a danger before safety, temptation to unholiness before a severe and a holy religion, unless you mean to lose the benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the benefit of the sacrament in great degrees by falling from Christ's institution, and taking half instead of all; unless you desire to provoke God to jealousy by images, and man to jealousy in professing a religion in which you may in many cases have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful trust, unless you will still continue to give scandal to those good people with whom you have lived in a common religion, and weaken the hearts of God's afflicted ones, unless you will choose a catechism without the second commandment, and a faith that grows bigger or less as men please, and a hope that in many degrees relies on men and vain confidences, and a charity that damns all the world but yourselves, unless you will do all this, that is, suffer an abuse in your prayers, in the sacrament, in the commandments, in faith, in hope, in charity, in the communion of saints, and your duty to your supreme, you must return to the bosom of your mother the church of England from whence you have fallen, rather weakly than maliciously, and I doubt not but you will find the comfort of it all your life, and in the day of your death, and in the day of judgment. If you will not, yet I have freed mine own soul, and

done an act of duty and charity, which at least you are bound to take kindly if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now let me add this, that although most of these objections are such things which are the open and avowed doctrines or practices of your church, and need not to be proved as being either notorious or confessed; yet if any of your guides shall seem to question any thing of it, I will bind myself to verify it to a tittle, and in that sense too which I intend them, that is, so as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly, or heresy, or disobedience, according to the subject matter. And though I have propounded these things now to your consideration, yet if it be desired I shall represent them to your eye, so that even yourself shall be able to give sentence in the behalf of truth. In the meantime give me leave to tell you of how much folly you are guilty in being moved by such mock arguments as your men use when they meet with women, and tender consciences, and weaker understandings.

The first is, Where was your church before Luther? Now if you had called upon them to speak something against your religion from scripture, or right reason, or universal tradition, you had been secure as a tortoise in her shell; a cart pressed with sheaves could not have oppressed your cause or person, though you had confessed you understood nothing of the mysteries of succession doctrinal or personal. For if we can make it appear that our religion was that which Christ and His apostles taught, let the truth suffer what eclipses or prejudices can be supposed, let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity [c], yet what Christ and His apostles taught us is eternally true, and shall by some means or other be conveyed to us; even the enemies of truth have been conservators of that truth by which we can confute their errors. But if you still ask where it was before Luther? I answer it was there where it was after; even in the scriptures of the Old and New testament; and I know no warrant for any other religion; and if you will expect I should shew any society of men who professed all the doctrines which are now expressed in the confession of the church of England; I shall tell you it is unreasonable; because some of our truths are now brought into our public confessions that they might be opposed against your errors; before the occasion of which there was no need of any such confessions, till you made many things necessary to be professed which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your superinduced follies we shall do unreasonably, unconscionably, and wickedly; but the questions themselves are so useless, abstracting from the accidental necessity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been happy if we had never heard of them more than the saints and martyrs did in the first ages of the church; but because your clergy have invaded the liberty of the church, and multiplied the dangers of damnation, and pretend

[c] [2 Maccab. i. 19 sqq.—Buxtorf, historia ignis sacri, cap. iii.]

new necessities, and have introduced new articles, and affright the simple upon new pretensions, and slight the very institution and the commands of Christ and of the apostles, and invent new sacramentals, constituting ceremonies of their own head, and promise grace along with the use of them, as if they were not ministers but lords of the Spirit, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and make void the commandment of God by their tradition, and have made a strange body of divinity: therefore it is necessary that we should immure our faith by the refusal of such vain and superstitious dreams; but our faith was completed at first, it is no other than that which was delivered to the saints, and can be no more for ever.

So that it is a foolish demand to require that we should shew before Luther a system of articles declaring our sense in these questions: it was long before they were questions at all; and when they were made questions, they remained so a long time; and when by their several pieces they were determined, this part of the church was oppressed with a violent power; and when God gave opportunity, then the yoke was broken; and this is the whole progress of this affair. But if you will still insist upon it, then let the matter be put into equal balances, and let them shew any church whose confession of faith was such as was obtruded upon you at Trent: and if your religion be Pius quartus his creed at Trent, then we also have a question to ask, and that is, Where was your religion before Trent?

The council of Trent determined that the souls departed before the day of judgment enjoy the beatifical vision: it is certain this article could not be shewn in the confession of any of the ancient churches, for most of the fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greatest offence of christendom is not only that these doctrines which we say are false were yet affirmed, but that those things which the church of God did always reject, or held as uncertain, should be made articles of faith, and so become parts of your religion; and of these it is that I again ask the question which none of your side shall ever be able to answer for you, Where was your religion before Trent? I could instance in many particulars; but I shall name one to you, which because the thing of itself is of no great consequence, it will appear the more unreasonable and intolerable that your church should adopt it into the things of necessary belief, especially since it was only a matter of fact, and they took the false part too. For in the xxi. Sess. chap. 4[d], it is affirmed, that 'although the holy fathers did give the sacrament of the eucharist to infants, yet they did it without any necessity of salvation;' that is, they did not believe it necessary to their salvation; which is notoriously false, and the contrary is marked out with the blacklead of every man almost that reads their works; and yet your council says this is *sine controversia credendum*, 'to be believed without all controversy,' and all Christians

[d] [tom. x. col. 120.]

forbidden to believe or teach otherwise. So that here it is made an article of faith amongst you that a man shall neither believe his reason nor his eyes: and who can shew any confession of faith in which all the Trent doctrine was professed and enjoined under pain of damnation? and before the council of Constance, the doctrine touching the pope's power was so new, so decried, that, as Gerson[e] says, he hardly should have escaped the note of heresy that would have said so much as was there defined: so that in that article which now makes a great part of your belief, where was your religion before the council of Constance? and it is notorious that your council of Constance determined the doctrine of the half communion with a *non obstante* to Christ's institution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, observed neglect of it, and with a profession it was otherwise in the primitive church. Where then was your religion before John Hus and Hierome of Prague's time, against whom that council was convened? But by this instance it appears most certainly that your church cannot shew her confessions immediately after Christ, and therefore if we could not shew ours immediately before Luther, it were not half so much; for since you receded from Christ's doctrine, we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who or how many or how long they professed your doctrine, if neither Christ nor His apostles did teach it: so that if these articles constitute your church, your church was invisible at the first, and if ours was invisible afterwards it matters not, for yours was invisible in the days of light, and ours was invisible in the days of darkness. For our church was always visible in the reflections of scripture, and he that had his eyes of faith and reason might easily have seen these truths all the way which constitute our church. But I add yet further, that our church before Luther was there where your church was, in the same place and in the same persons; for divers of the errors which have been amongst us reformed, were not the constituent articles of your church before Luther's time; for before the last councils of your church a man might have been of your communion upon easier terms; and indulgences were indeed a practice, but no article of faith before your men made it so, and that very lately, and so were many other things besides. So that although your men cozen the credulous and the simple by calling yours 'the old religion,' yet the difference is vast between truth and their affirmative, even as much as between old errors and new articles. For although ignorance and superstition had prepared the ore, yet the councils of Constance and Basil, and Trent especially, were the forges and the mint.

Lastly, if your men had not by all the vile and violent arts of the world stopped the mouths of dissenters, the question would quickly

[e] De potest. eccles., cons. 12. [tom. i. col. 135 D. 'Fallor si non ante celebrationem hujus sacrosanctæ Constant. synodi sic occupaverat mentes plurimorum literarum magis quam literatorum ista traditio, ut oppositorum dogmatizator fuisset de hæretica pravitate vel notatus vel damnatus.']

have been answered, or our articles would have been so confessed, so owned and so public, that the question could never have been asked; but in despite of all opposition, there were great numbers of professors who did protest and profess and practise our doctrines contrary to your articles; as it is demonstrated by the divines of Germany in Illyricus his *Catalogus testium veritatis*[f], and in bishop Morton's Appeal.

But with your next objection you are better pleased, and your men make most noise with it. For you pretend that by our confession salvation may be had in your church, but your men deny it to us; and therefore by the confession of both sides you may be safe, and there is no question concerning you; but of us there is great question, for none but ourselves say that we can be saved. I answer;

1. That salvation may be had in your church, is it ever the truer because we say it? if it be not, it can add no confidence to you, for the proposition gets no strength by our affirmative. But if it be, then our authority is good, or else our reason; and if either be, then we have more reason to be believed speaking of ourselves, because we are concerned to see that ourselves may be in a state of hope; and therefore we would not venture on this side if we had not greater reason to believe well of ourselves than of you. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reason, because we have greater concernments, and therefore greater considerations.

2. As much charity as your men pretend us to speak of you, yet it is a clear case our hope of your salvation is so little that we dare not venture ourselves on your side. The burger of Oldwater being to pass a river in his journey to Daventry, bad his man try the ford; telling him he hoped he should not be drowned, for though he was afraid the river was too deep, yet he thought his horse would carry him out, or at least, the boats would fetch him off. Such a confidence we may have of you, but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how great an interest it is that you venture.

3. It would be remembered that though the best ground of your hope is not the goodness of your own faith, but the greatness of our charity; yet we, that charitably hope well of you, have a fulness of assurance of the truth and certainty of our own way; and however you can please yourselves with images of things as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks outface us of just and firm adherencies; and if you were not empty of supports, and greedy of bulrushes, snatching at any thing

[f] [Flacius Illyricus (whose proper name was Matthias Francowitz) a Lutheran divine, who began and had the chief direction of the ecclesiastical history called 'The centuries of Magdeburg,' wrote (among many other works) 'Catalogus testium veritatis, qui pontifici Romano atque papismi erroribus ante nostram ætatem reclamarunt.' 8vo. Basil. 1556.]

to support your sinking cause, you would with fear and trembling consider the direct dangers which we demonstrate to you to be in your religion, rather than flatter yourselves with collateral, weak, and deceitful hopes of accidental possibilities that some of you may escape.

4. If we be more charitable to you than you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and essential form of christian religion; be sure you love as well as make use of our charity; but if you make our charity an argument against us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good; and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the Donatists were condemned for heretics and schismatics because they damned all the world, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their communion.

5. But that our charity may be such indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into wormwood and coloquintida, I pray take notice in what sense it is that we allow salvation may possibly be had in your church. We warrant it not to any, we only hope it for some, we allow it to them as to the sadducees in the law, and to the Corinthians in the gospel, who denied the resurrection; that is, till they were sufficiently instructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to outwear their prejudices and the impresses of their education and long persuasion. But to them amongst you who can and do consider and yet determine for error and interest, we have a greater charity, even so much as to labour and pray for their conversion, but not so much fondness as to flatter them into boldness and pertinacious adherencies to matters of so great danger.

6. But in all this affair though your men are very bold with God and leap into His judgment-seat before Him, and give wild sentences concerning the salvation of your own party and the damnation of all that disagree, yet that which is our charity to you is indeed the fear of God and the reverence of His judgments. We do not say that all papists are certainly damned; we wish and desire vehemently that none of you may perish; but then this charity of judgment relates not to you, nor is derived from any probability which we see in your doctrines that differ from ours; but because we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article. It concerns neither you nor us to say, this or that man shall be damned for his opinion; for besides that this is a bold intrusion into that secret of God which shall not be opened till the day of judgment, and besides that we know not what allays and abatements are to be made by the good meaning and the ignorance of the man; all that can concern us is to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from scripture, that you exercise tyranny over souls, that you leave the divine institution, and prevaricate God's commandment, that you divide the church without

truth and without necessity, that you tie men to believe things under pain of damnation which cannot be made very probable, much less certain; and therefore that you sin against God and are in danger of His eternal displeasure. But in giving the final sentence as we have no more to do than your men have, yet so we refuse to follow your evil example; and we follow the glorious precedent of our blessed Lord, who decreed and declared against the crime, but not against the criminal before the day; 'he that does this or that, is in danger of the council,' or 'in danger of judgment,' or 'liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell fire,' so we say of your greatest errors; they put you in the danger of perishing; but that you shall or shall not perish, we leave it to your Judge; and if you call this charity, it is well; I am sure it is piety and the fear of God.

7. Whether you may be saved, or whether you shall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the rate and value which God sets upon things. Whatever we talk, things are as they are, not as we dispute, or grant, or hope; and therefore it were well if your men would leave abusing you and themselves with these little arts of indirect support. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally perish, and you in your church damn millions who I doubt not shall reign with Jesus eternally in the heavens.

8. I wish you would consider, that if any of our men say salvation may be had in your church, it is not for the goodness of your new propositions, but only because you do keep so much of that which is our religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope any thing at all that is good of you or your religion as it distinguishes from us and ours: we hope that the good which you have common with us may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be an antidote of the venom, and an amulet against the danger of your very great errors. So that if you can derive any confidence from our concession, you must remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours; you are not at all safe or warranted for being papists, but we hope well of some of you, for having so much of the protestant: and if that will do you any good, proceed in it, and follow it whithersoever it leads you.

9. The safety that you dream of which we say to be on your side, is nothing of allowance or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect and relative; we do not say any thing whereby you can conclude yours to be safer than ours, for it is not safe at all, but extremely dangerous; we affirm those errors in themselves to be damnable, some to contain in them impiety, some to have sacrilege, some idolatry, some superstition, some practices

to be conjuring and charming and very like to witchcraft, as in your hallowing of water, and baptizing bells, and exorcising demoniacs; and what safety there can be in these, or what you can fancy we should allow to you, I suppose you need not boast of. Now because we hope some are saved amongst you, you must not conclude yours to be safe; for our hope relies upon this;—There are many of your propositions in which we differ from you, that thousands amongst you understand and know nothing of, it is to them as if they were not, it is to them now as it was before the council, they hear not of it. And though your priests have taken a course that the most ignorant do practise some of your abominations most grossly, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who (as S. Austin's expression is) *cauta sollicitudine quærunt veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint:* do according as they are able warily and diligently seek for truth, and are ready to follow [g] it when they find it; men who live good lives, and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, these men shall rejoice in the eternal goodness of God, which prevails over the malice of them that misguide you; but if we be deceived in our hopes of you, your guides have abused you, and the blind leaders of the blind will fall together. For,

10. If you will have the secret of this whole affair, this it is. The hopes we have of any of you (as it is known) principally relies upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we say that a man may repent of an error which he knows not of; as he that prays heartily for the pardon of all his sins and errors known and unknown, by his general repentance may obtain many degrees and instances of mercy. Now thus much also your men allow to us; these who live well, and die in a true though but general repentance of their sins and errors, even amongst us your best and wisest men pronounce to be in a saveable condition. Here then we are equal, and we are as safe by your confession as you are by ours. But because there are some bigots of your faction, fierce and fiery, who say that a general repentance will not serve our turns, but it must be a particular renunciation of protestancy; these men deny not only to us but to themselves too, all that comfort which they derive from our concession, and indeed which they can hope for from the mercies of God. For be you sure we think as ill of your errors as you can suppose of our articles; and therefore if for errors (be they on which side it chances) a general repentance will not serve the turn without an actual dereliction, then flatter not yourselves by any thing of our kindness to your party; for you must have a particular if a general be not sufficient. But if it be sufficient for you, it is so for us, in case we be in error as your men

[g] ['swallow' B.]

suppose us; but if it will not suffice us for remedy to those errors you charge us with, neither will it suffice you; for the case must needs be equal as to the value of repentance and [h] malignity of the error: and therefore these men condemn themselves, and will not allow us to hope well of them; but if they will allow us to hope, it must be by affirming the value of a general repentance; and if they allow that, they must hope as well of ours as we of theirs: but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themselves, and then they can no more brag of any thing of our concession. This only I add to this consideration; that your men do not, cannot charge upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious; there is nothing positive in our doctrine, but is either true or innocent; but we are accused for denying your superstructures: ours therefore (if we be deceived) is but like a sin of omission; yours are sins of commission in case you are in the wrong (as we believe you to be) and therefore you must needs be in the greater danger than we can be supposed, by how much sins of omission are less than sins of commission.

11. Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy, and a trick that must needs deceive you if you rely upon it. For whereas your men argue thus, 'The protestants say we papists may be saved, and so say we too; but we papists say that you protestants cannot; therefore it is safest to be a papist:' consider that of this argument, if it shall be accepted, any bold heretic can make use against any modest Christian of a true persuasion. For if he can but outface the modesty of the good man, and tell him he shall be damned; unless that modest man say as much of him, you see impudence shall get the better of the day. But it is thus in every error. Fifteen bishops of Jerusalem in immediate succession were circumcised[i], believing it to be necessary so to be: with these, other christian churches who were of the uncircumcision, did communicate: suppose now that these bishops had not only thought it necessary for themselves but for others too; this argument you see was ready: you of the uncircumcision who do communicate with us, think that we may be saved though we are circumcised, but we do not think that you who are not circumcised can be saved, therefore it is the safest way to be circumcised: I suppose you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had your children circumcised. But this argument may serve the presbyterians as well as the papists. We are indeed very kind to them in our sentences concerning their salvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us; if they should argue so as you do, and say, 'You episcopal men think we presbyterians though in errrors can be saved, and we say so too; but we think you episcopal men are

[h] ['and the' B.]

[i] ['Εκ περιτομῆς.—Euseb., hist. eccles., lib. iv. c. 5.]

enemies of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and therefore we think you in a damnable condition; therefore it is safer to be a presbyterian:' I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands, I am sure we had reason to complain that we are used very ill on both hands for no other cause but because we are charitable. But it is not our case alone, but the old catholics were used just so by the Donatists in this very argument as we are used by your men. The Donatists were so fierce against the catholics, that they would re-baptize all them who came to their churches from the other: but the catholics, as knowing the Donatists did give right baptism, admitted their converts to repentance, but did not re-baptize them. Upon this score the Donatists triumphed, saying, 'You catholics confess our baptism to be good, and so say we: but we Donatists deny your baptism to be good; therefore it is safer to be of our side than yours.' Now what should the catholics say or do? should they lie for God and for religion, and to serve the ends of truth say the Donatists' baptism was not good? That they ought not. Should they damn all the Donatists, and make the rent wider? It was too great already. What then? They were quiet, and knew that the Donatists sought advantages by their own fierceness, and trampled upon the others' charity; but so they hardened themselves in error, and became evil because the others were good.

I shall trouble you no further now, but desire you to consider of these things with as much caution as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you, I shall pray to God to open your heart and your understanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and 'repent, and do your first work;' which that you may do is the hearty desire of

your very affectionate
friend and servant,
JER. TAYLOR.

THE SECOND LETTER.

WRITTEN TO A PERSON NEWLY CONVERTED TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

MADAM,

I BLESS God I am safely arrived where I desired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger: and now because I can have no other expression of my tenderness, I account that I have a treble obligation to signify it by my care of your biggest and eternal interest. And because it hath pleased God to make me an instrument of making you to understand in some fair measure the excellencies of a true and holy religion, and that I have pointed out such follies and errors in the Roman church at which your understanding, being forward and pregnant, did of itself start as at imperfect ill-looking propositions; give me leave to do that now which is the purpose of my charity, that is, teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the church of England, whither you are now come, is not in condition to boast herself in the reputation of changing the opinion of a single person, though never so excellent; she hath no temporal ends to serve which must stand upon fame and noises; all that she can design is to serve God, to advance the honour of the Lord and the good of souls, and to rejoice in the cross of Christ.

1. First therefore I desire you to remember that as now you are taught to pray both publicly and privately, in a language understood, so it is intended your affections should be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer hath in the understanding part. For though you have been often told and have heard that ignorance is the mother of devotion, you will find that the proposition is unnatural, and against common sense and experience; because it is impossible to desire that of which we know nothing, unless the desire itself be fantastical and illusive: it is necessary that in the same proportion in which we understand any good thing, in the same we shall also desire it, and the more particular and minute your notices are, the more passionate and material also your affections will be towards it; and if they be good things for which we are taught to pray, the more you know them the more reason you have to love them; it is monstrous to think that devotion, that is, passionate desires of religious things, and the earnest prosecutions of them, should be produced by any thing of ignorance or less perfect notices

in any sense. Since therefore you are taught to pray so that your understanding is the precentor or the master of the quire, and you know what you say; your desires are made human, religious, express, material (for these are the advantages of prayers and liturgies well understood) be pleased also to remember, that now if you be not also passionate and devout for the things you mention, you will want the spirit of prayer, and be more inexcusable than before. In many of your prayers before (especially the public) you heard a voice, but saw and perceived nothing of the sense, and what you understood of it was like the man in the gospel that was half blind, he saw men walking like trees: and so you possibly might perceive the meaning of it in general; you knew when they came to the epistle, when to the gospel, when the *Introit*, when the *Pax*, when any of the other more general periods were; but you could have nothing of the spirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellencies which could or ought there to have been represented: but now you are taught how you may be really devout, it is made facile and easy, and there can want nothing but your consent and observation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all human confidences, from relying wholly and almost ultimately upon the priest's power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and outsides; you are not to think that the priest's power is less, that the sacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently; but you are to remember that all outward things and ceremonies, all sacraments and institutions, work their effect in the virtue of Christ by some moral instrument. The priests in the church of England can absolve you as much as the Roman priests could fairly pretend; but then we teach that you must first be a penitent and a returning person, and our absolution does but manifest the work of God, and comfort and instruct your conscience, direct and manage it. You shall be absolved here, but not unless you live an holy life; so that in this you will find no change but to the advantage of a strict life; we will not flatter you and cozen your dear soul by pretended ministries, but we so order our discourses and directions that all our ministrations may be really effective. And when you receive the holy sacrament of the eucharist, or the Lord's supper, it does more good here than they do there, because if they consecrate ritely[a], yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole representative sacrifice, yet they do not give you the whole sacrament. Only we enjoin that you come with so much holiness, that the grace of God in your heart may be the principal, and the sacrament in our hands may be the ministering and assisting part: we do not promise great effects to easy trifling dispositions, because we would not deceive, but really procure to you great effects;

[a] ['rightly' C.]

and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the same expectations as before, of pardon, of grace, of sanctification; but you must do something more of the work yourself, that we may not do less in effect than you have in your expectation; we will not, to advance the reputation of our power, deceive you into a less blessing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter yourself that in our communion you may have more ease and liberty of life; for though I know your pious soul desires passionately to please God and to live religiously, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, lest it at any time should discompose your severity. Therefore as to confession to a priest (which how it is usually practised amongst the Roman party, yourself can very well account, and you have complained sadly that it is made an ordinary act, easy and transient, sometime matter of temptation, oftentimes impertinent, but) suppose it free from such scandal to which some men's folly did betray it, yet the same severity you will find among us; for though we will not tell a lie to help a sinner, and say that is necessary which is only appointed to make men do themselves good, yet we advise and commend it, and do all the work of souls to all those people that will be saved by all means, to devout persons, that make religion the business of their lives: and they that do not so in the churches of the Roman communion, as they find but little advantage by periodical confessions, so they feel but little awfulness and severity by the injunction. You must confess to God all your secret actions, you must advise with a holy man in all the affairs of your soul, you will be but an ill friend to yourself if you conceal from him the state of your spiritual affairs: we desire not to hear the circumstance of every sin, but when matter of justice is concerned, or the nature of the sin is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a question. And you will find that though the church of England gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable ceremonies and human devices, yet in the matter of holiness you will be tied to very great service, but such a service as is perfect freedom, that is, the service of God and the love of the holy Jesus, and a very strict religious life; for we do not promise heaven but upon the same terms it is promised us, that is, 'repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus:' and as in faith we make no more to be necessary than what is made so in holy scripture, so in the matter of repentance we give you no easy devices, and suffer no lessening definitions of it, but oblige you to that strictness which is the condition of being saved, and so expressed to be by the infallible word of God; but such as in the church of Rome they do not so much stand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my journey, and although I did purpose to have spoken many things more, yet I desire that my not doing it may be laid upon the account of my weariness: all that I shall add to the main business is this;—

4. Read the scripture diligently, and with an humble spirit, and in it observe what is plain, and believe and live accordingly. Trouble not yourself with what is difficult, for in that your duty is not described.

5. Pray frequently and effectually; I had rather your prayers should be often than long. It was well said of Petrarch, *Magno verborum fræno uti decet cum superiore colloquentem,* 'when you speak to your superior you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue;' much more when you speak to God. I speak of what is decent in respect of ourselves and our infinite distances from God: but if love makes you speak, speak on, so shall your prayers be full of charity and devotion: *Nullus est amore superior, ille Te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium;* love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may say to God, 'the same love which made me speak, will also move Thee to hear and pardon:' love and devotion may enlarge your litanies, but nothing else can, unless authority does interpose.

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true sons of the church of England, lest if you follow them that were amongst us, but are gone out from us (because they were not of us), you be offended and tempted to impute their follies to the church of England.

7. Trouble yourself with no controversies willingly, but how you may best please God by a strict and severe conversation.

8. If any protestant live loosely, remember that he dishonours an excellent religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the charge of our church, than the ill lives of most Christians may upon the whole religion.

9. Let no man or woman affright you with declamations and scaring words of 'heretic,' and 'damnation,' and 'changeable;' for these words may be spoken against them that return to light as well as to those that go to darkness, and that which men of all sides can say, it can be of effect to no side upon its own strength or pretension.

THE THIRD LETTER.

WRITTEN TO A GENTLEMAN THAT WAS TEMPTED TO THE COMMUNION OF THE ROMISH CHURCH.

SIR,

YOU needed not to make the preface of an excuse for writing so friendly and so necessary a letter of enquiry. It was your kindness to my person which directed your addresses hither; and your duty which engaged you to enquire somewhere.

I do not doubt but you, and very many other ingenious and conscientious persons, do every day meet with the tempters of the Roman church, who like the pharisees compass sea and land to get a proselyte; at this I wonder not; for as Demetrius[a] said, by this craft they get their living: but I wonder that any ingenious person, and such as I perceive you to be, can be shaken by their weak assaults: for their batteries are made up with impossible propositions, and weak and violent prejudices respectively; and when they talk of their own infallibility, they prove it with false mediums, say we; with fallible mediums, as themselves confess; and when they argue us of an uncertain faith, because we pretend to no infallibility, they are themselves much more uncertain, because they build their pretence of infallibility upon that which not only can but will deceive them: and since they can pretend no higher for their infallibility than prudential motives, they break in pieces the staff upon which they lean, and with which they strike us.

But sir, you are pleased to ask two questions: first, whether the apostles of our blessed Lord did not orally deliver many things necessary to salvation which were not committed to writing; to which you add this *assumentum* (in which because you desire to be answered, I suppose you meant it for another question) viz., whether in those things which the church of Rome retains, and we take no notice of, she be an innovator, or a conserver of tradition; and whether any thing which she so retains was or was not esteemed necessary?

The answer to the first part, will conclude the second. I therefore answer, that whatsoever the apostles did deliver as necessary to salvation, all that was written in the scriptures: and that to them who believe the scriptures to be the word of God, there needs no other magazine of divine truths but the scripture. And this the fathers of the first and divers succeeding ages do unanimously affirm. I will set down two or three, so plain that either you must conclude them to be deceivers, or that you will need no more but their testimony.

[a] [Acts xix. 25.]

The words of S. Basil[b] are these, Δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, κ.τ.λ., 'every word and every thing ought to be made credible (or believed) by the testimony of the divinely inspired scripture; both for the confirmation of good things, and also for the reproof of the evil.'—S. Cyril of Jerusalem, *catech.* xii. *illuminat.*[c], saith, "Attend not to my inventions, for you may possibly be deceived; but trust no word unless thou dost learn it from the divine scriptures:" and in *catech.* iv. *illum.*[d] Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς πίστεως μυστηρίων, κ.τ.λ., 'for it behoves us not to deliver so much as the least thing, μηδὲ τὸ τύχον, of the divine and holy mysteries of faith, without the divine scriptures, nor to be moved with probable discourses: neither give credit to me speaking, unless what is spoken be demonstrated by the holy scriptures; for that is the security of our faith, σωτηρία τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, which is derived not from witty inventions, but from the demonstration of divine scriptures.'—*Omne quod loquimur debemus affirmare de scripturis sanctis;* so S. Hierome *in psal.* lxxxix.[e] And again, *Hoc quia de scripturis auctoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur, in Matth.* xxiii.[f]—*Si quid dicitur absque scriptura, auditorum cogitatio claudicat,* so S. Chrysostom *in psal.* xcv. *homil.*[g]—Theodoret[h], *dial.* i. *cap.* 6, brings in the orthodox Christian saying to Eranistes, "Bring not to me your logisms and syllogisms, ἐγὼ γὰρ μόνῃ πείθομαι τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, I rely only upon scriptures."—I could reckon very, very many more, both elder and later: and if there be any universal tradition consigned to us by the universal testimony of antiquity, it is this; that the scriptures are a perfect repository of all the will of God, of all the faith of Christ: and this I will engage myself to make very apparent to you, and certain against any opposer.

Upon the supposition of which it follows, that whatever the church of Rome obtrudes as necessary to salvation, and an article of faith that is not in scripture, is an innovation in matter of faith, and a tyranny over consciences: which whosoever submits to, prevaricates the rule of the apostle, commanding us that we 'stand fast in the liberty with which Christ hath set us free[i].'

To the other questions;—Whether an ecclesiastical tradition be of equal authority with divine; I answer negatively: and I believe I shall have no adversary in it, except peradventure some of the jesuited bigots. An ecclesiastical tradition, viz., a positive constitution of the church delivered from hand to hand, is in the power of the church to alter, but a divine is not. Ecclesiastical traditions in matters of faith there are none, but what are also divine; as for rituals ecclesi-

[b] Ethic. definit. xxvi. [p. 395, note d, above.]
[c] [§ 5. p. 165 B.]
[d] [p. 267, note u, above.]
[e] [leg. xcviii.—tom. ii. col. 384.]
[f] [p. 398, note d, above.]
[g] [p. 396, note m, above.]
[h] [p. 402, note e, above.]
[i] [Gal. v. 1.]

astical descending by tradition, they are confessedly alterable: but till they be altered by abrogation, or desuetude, or contrary custom, or a contrary reason, or the like, they do oblige by virtue of that authority whatsoever it is that hath power over you. I know not what D. *P. G.*[k] did say, but I am confident they who reported it of him were mistaken; he could not say or mean what is charged upon him.

I have but two things more to speak to. One is, you desire me to recite what else might impede your compliance with the Roman church? I answer, truth and piety hinder you. For you must profess the belief of many false propositions, and certainly believe many uncertain things, and be uncharitable to all the world but your own party, and make christianity a faction, and you must yield your reason a servant to man, and you must plainly prevaricate an institution of Christ, and you must make an apparent departure from the church in which you received your baptism and the Spirit of God, if you go over to Rome. But sir, I refer you to the two letters I have lately published at the end of my 'Discourse of friendship;' and I desire you to read my treatise of the 'Real presence:' and if you can believe the doctrine of Transubstantiation, you can put off your reason, and your sense, and your religion, and all the instruments of credibility, when you please: and these are not little things; in these you may perish: an error in these things is practical; but our way is safe, as being upon the defence, and entirely resting upon scripture, and the apostolical churches.

The other thing I am to speak to is, the report you have heard of my inclinations to go over to Rome. Sir, that party which needs such lying stories for the support of their cause, proclaim their cause to be very weak, or themselves to be very evil advocates. Sir, be confident, they dare not tempt me to do so, and it is not the first time they have endeavoured to serve their ends by saying such things of me. But I bless God for it, it is perfectly a slander, and it shall, I hope, for ever prove so. Sir, if I may speak with you, I shall say very many things more for your confirmation. Pray to God to guide you; and make no change suddenly: for if their way be true to-day, it will be so to-morrow; and you need not make haste to undo yourself. Sir, I wish you a settled mind and a holy conscience: and that I could serve you in the capacity of

your very loving friend and servant in our blessed Lord,

JER. TAYLOR.

Monday, Jan. 11. 1657. [*i. e.* 165$\frac{7}{8}$.]

[k] [Doctor Peter Gunning?—Ed. of 1673 reads, 'Mr. G.']

THE FOURTH LETTER.

TO THE SAME PERSON.

SIR,

I PERCEIVE that you are very much troubled; and I see also that you are in great danger; but that also troubles me, because I see they are little things and very weak and fallacious that move you. You propound many things in your letter in the same disorder as they are in your conscience: to all which I can best give answers when I speak with you; to which because you desire, I invite you, and promise you a hearty endeavour to give you satisfaction in all your material enquiries. Sir, I desire you to make no haste to change, in case you be so miserable as to have it in your thoughts: for to go over to the church of Rome is like death, there is no recovery from thence without a miracle; because unwary souls (such are they who change from us to them) are with all the arts of wit and violence strangely entangled and ensured, when they once get the prey. Sir, I thank you for the paper you inclosed. The men are at a loss, they would fain say something against that book, but know not what. Sir, I will endeavour if you come to me, to restore you to peace and quiet; and if I cannot effect it, yet I will pray for it, and I am sure God can. To His mercy I commend you, and rest

your very affectionate friend in our blessed Lord,

JER. TAYLOR.

Feb. 165$\frac{7}{8}$.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

TO THE SAME PERSON.

SIR,

THE first letter which you mention in this latter of the tenth of March, I received not; I had not else failed to give you an answer; I was so wholly unknowing of it that I did not understand your servant's meaning when he came to require an answer. But to your question which you now propound, I answer.

QUEST. Whether without all danger of superstition or idolatry we may not render divine worship to our blessed Saviour, as present in the blessed sacrament or host, according to His human nature in that host?

ANSW. We may not render divine worship to Him as present in the blessed sacrament according to His human nature, without danger of idolatry; because He is not there according to His human nature, and therefore you give divine worship to a *non ens*, which must needs be idolatry. For *Idolum nihil est in mundo*, saith S. Paul, and Christ as present by His human nature in the sacrament is a *non ens*; for it is not true, there is no such thing. He is present there by His divine power, and His divine blessing, and the fruits of His body, the real effective consequents of His passion: but for any other presence, it is *idolum*, it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven, for the heavens must contain Him till the time of restitution of all things. And if you in the reception of the holy sacrament worship Him whom you know to be in heaven; you cannot be concerned in duty to worship Him in the host (as you call it) any more than to worship Him in the host at *Nôtre Dame* when you are at S. Peter's in Rome: for you see Him no more in one place than in another; and if to believe Him to be there in the host at *Nôtre Dame* be sufficient to cause you to worship Him there, then you are to do so to Him at Rome, though you be not present: for you believe Him there; you know as much of Him by faith in both places, and as little by sense in either. But however, this is a thing of infinite danger. God is a jealous God: He spake it in the matter of external worship, and of idolatry; and therefore do nothing that is like worshipping a mere creature, nothing that is like worshipping that which you are not sure it is God: and if you can believe the bread when it is blessed by the priest is God almighty, you can if you please believe any thing else.

To the other parts of your question, viz., whether the same body

be present really and substantially, because we believe it to be there; or whether we do believe it to be there because God hath manifestly revealed it to be so, and therefore we revere and adore it accordingly: I answer,

First, I do not know whether or no you do believe Him to be there really and substantially. Secondly, if you do believe it so, I do not know what you mean by really and substantially. Thirdly, whatsoever you do mean by it, if you do believe it to be there really and substantially in any sense, I cannot tell why you believe it to be so: you best know your own reasons and motives of belief; for my part, I believe it to be there really in the sense I have explicated in my book, and for those reasons which I have there alleged; but that we are to adore it upon that account, I no way understand. If it be transubstantiated, and you are sure of it; then you may pray to it, and put your trust in it, and believe the holy bread to be coeternal with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost. But it is strange that the bread being consecrated by the power of the Holy Ghost, should be turned into the substance and nature of God, and of the Son of God: if so, does not the Son at that time proceed from the Holy Ghost, and not the Holy Ghost from the Son? But I am ashamed of the horrible proposition. Sir, I pray God keep you from these extremest dangers. I love and value you, and will pray for you and be, dear sir,

your very affectionate friend to serve you,

JER. TAYLOR.

March 13, 165$\frac{4}{5}$.

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[THE FOLLOWING MAY BE ADDED:—

p. 6, line 35, ... 'precedents' [For authorities, see Bellarm. de sacram. euchar., lib. iii. cap. 8.]

p. 20, med. ... 'hic saltus.' [Erasm. adag., chil. iii. cent. iii. n. 28.—tom. ii. p. 788 D.]

p. 185, end of note o, — 'causam.' [See Wood's Athenæ, life of John Clement; and Jewel, Defence of Apology, part v.]

—— ad fin., 'king of Spain.' [For the facts mentioned in the ensuing page, see 'Index expurgatorius,' 8vo. Argentor. MDCIX., with the Prefaces of Junius and Pappus.]

p. 190, to note o, add, ... et vid. p. 544, note g, infra.]

p. 192, line 6, ... 'bastard son' [But see p. 650 below.]

p. 200, note h, should be to the preceding quotation.

p. 215, to note b, add, ... —Sed. vid. etiam, p. 607 infra.]

p. 217, note k, for 51 read 21.]

p. 243, in note u, insert [? —The same reference occurs (together with that from Knott) in an earlier work of Taylor's, 'Unum necessarium,' ch. v. § 1. num. 8.]

p. 266, med. 'devils,' dele reference r.

p. 270 med., ... 'Almain.' [vid. in iii. sent. dist. ix. q. 1. f. xxvi.—fol. Par. MDXVII.]

p. 274 and 276, insert side notes as in table of Contents.

p. 276, ad fin., ... 'Norwegians.' [A.D. MCCCCXCI.—Cave, Hist. liter., tom. ii. append., p. 207.—fol. Oxon. MDCCXLIII.]

p. 277, line 2, ... 'emperor' [See his letter to the pope, in Goldast, polit. imper., part. xxii. p. 1002.]

p. 294 med., ... 'Origen.' [vid. hom. i. in Luc., tom. iii. p. 933 B.]

p. 345, line 6, ... 'adunatos.' [vid. S. Cyprian., ep. lxvi (ad Florentium &c.) prop. fin.—p. 168.]

p. 359 med. ... 'S. Austin's way' [Contra Maximin. Arian., lib. ii. cap. 14. § 3. —tom. viii. col. 704 F.]

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